

PREM 19/1521

PART 2

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Civil DISORDER

HOME AFFAIRS

The Scarman Report.

PART 1. APRIL 1980

PART 2. OCTOBER 1981

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
2.4.81		16.9.85					
20.11.81		20.9.85					
24.11.81		28.9.85					
25.11.81		20.10.85					
17.2.82		28.9.85					
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15.6.82							
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23.2.83							
25.7.83							
4.4.85							
10.9.85							
12.9.85							

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IN FOLDERS ATTACHED

① Scarman report.

② N.I.O. Consultative paper;
Police Complaints & Discipline. April 1985

PART 2 ends:-

Duty Clerk note 28.9.85

PART 3 begins:-

Home Sec. to Pm 4.10.85

Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

Cmnd. 8681 The government reply to the Fourth Report from
the Home Affairs Committee Session 1981-82 HC 98-1
Police Complaints Procedures
HMSO, October 1982

Signed Wayland Date 4 February 2014

PREM Records Team

• Brixton : UPDATE. 28.9.85

Youths laying siege to Brixton Police Station. There are car barricades (set on fire etc); petrol Bombs and unconfirmed reports of looting. There is shield-deployment by police. There have been 3 policemen injured but no details of injuries etc. There are rumours in Brixton that the woman accidentally shot by police today has died but these rumours are untrue, (con't)

The police have restricted movement in & around Brixton and there is unconfirmed report that the Tube lines are closed.

~~Home Office is taking the situation~~

The police are trying the approach that their restriction of movement is hampering the enquiry set up into the accidental shooting of the woman this morning.

Tim : This was dictated on
phone to chequers on Sat 28.9

PRIME MINISTER

SHOOTING IN BRIXTON: 28.9.85

History

26th September (last Thursday), there was an incident in Hertfordshire in which a black man was involved. This led to Hertfordshire police and Metropolitan police searching a house in Stamford Street near Waterloo. The police were unarmed; the black man fired and shot at them. This led to 0700 today (28.9.85) when local police at Brixton (armed) went to a house (Chief Inspector and local officers) and one Inspector shot twice at a dark figure - no arrests were made.

The Commissioner has set up an independent enquiry headed by Senior Officer in West Yorkshire Police - Assistant Chief Constable Domalle. A woman is seriously ill in hospital. (i.e. the wrong person).

DUTY CLERK

28 September 1985

HOME SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON 28 SEPTEMBER

"The Commissioner has taken immediate steps to call in an independent Senior Officer from another force who will carry out an investigation into the incident under the supervision of Police Complaints Authority. The incident is obviously a matter of gravest concern to me. I have asked for a full report at the earliest possible moment, then we shall have to consider what further action is necessary.

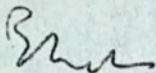
TE MINUTE

PRIME MINISTER

I am told that 3000 (and rising) are dead in the Mexico earthquake. The press may ask you if we are to give aid.

I am afraid that Enoch Powell has made a speech today calling for repatriation of Britain's African and Asian populations and issuing a challenge to you personally as sidelined in the attached. It seems likely the press will ask you to react but there are dangers in doing so on this scanty basis. I would refuse to be drawn.

Mr. Powell may not indeed yet have made the speech, even though he has issued it.



BERNARD INGHAM

20 September 1985

Enoch Powell addressing Conservative Women at Birkenhead, lunchtime Friday

He said Britain's African and Asian population needs to be reduced if catastrophe is to be avoided for everyone. The catastrophe would consist of dissension and violent disorder. He calls for a Govt programme of repatriation and states:-

" If the Prime Minister holds a different judgement -- and I am not sure she does -- let her publicly say one of two things. She can say 'Mr Powell's figures and his picture of the factual future are substantially ~~true~~ right and I believe it will be a happy and peaceable Britain which we and I shall be proud to bequeath to the next generation'

Alternatively she can say, 'Mr Powell's figures and his picture are mistaken. The true population proportion will be lower'

"If she says that however she cannot stop there. She must tell the country what she believes this lower proportion will be and why. And having done so she can then if she wishes go on to make the same assertion about a happy and united Britain."

End.

Speech by the Rt Hon. J. Enoch Powell, MBE, MP to the Birkenhead Conservative Women's Luncheon, at the Masonic Hall, Birkenhead, at 1 p.m., Friday 20th September 1985. ms

Future historians of our country will have no difficulty in perceiving what was the most decisive event that happened to it in the second half of the twentieth century. They will perceive that event to have been the massive transformation, unparalleled for hundreds if not thousands of years, in the population of England.

The nature of that transformation can be expressed in different ways. It can be said, for instance, that by the end of the century eight per cent of the residents in Britain - one in every twelve - will be newcomers of African or Asian origin. So abstract a statement conveys, however, little notion of the magnitude of the event: large areas of England, not to mention the other countries of the United Kingdom, will still not have been directly exposed to the transformation at all. Its true significance only becomes apparent when the same event is described in terms closer to local reality. In a foreseeable future, one-third or more of the population of Inner London and of major English cities and industrial areas will consist of those African or Asian newcomers.

Not so long ago, people living outside those cities and areas did not imagine that they themselves would be affected by the transformation which was occurring there. Indeed, it was not uncommonly treated as a matter for levity or incredulity. In this respect the last few years have seen a big change, a change which I find has become much more pronounced since the rioting in Birmingham earlier this month. The consciousness is now widespread that no part of the nation will be exempt from the consequences of this profound transformation in the population of the capital city and of other great centres.

The days I remember so well as a West Midlands MP, when my constituents and I felt as if we were living in a private nightmare of which others took no cognizance, are gone, and gone forever. People

everywhere know now that the whole nation is involved. Birkenhead is a long way from Liverpool, and a longer way still from Birmingham; but Birkenhead has an equal right to understand and debate something that concerns Birkenhead as deeply, if not yet as directly, as it concerns Liverpool or Birmingham. I want therefore to describe what is known of the future, and how we know it. That is the factual side. This established, it remains to supply the subjective side, that of opinions and judgments.

Since 1969 the birthplace of the parents has been recorded at the registration of ^{all} births. We know therefore, place by place, in ^{what} proportion of the total births one or both of the parents were born in the New Commonwealth countries or Pakistan. What the returns cannot show is the number and proportion of the total births where one or both parents, though themselves born in Britain, are nevertheless of New Commonwealth or Pakistan descent. Obviously this latter magnitude increases as the years go by and must eventually become preponderant. The size of it is conjectural. The official estimate is that in recent years the figures of births to mothers who were born themselves in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan would need to be increased by about ten per cent in order to take account of the births to such mothers themselves born here. Government estimates in this area have notoriously proved in the past not to be on the high side. However I will use this one, for want of a better.

It will be obvious that these birth figures represent a picture of the make-up of the population as a whole at a future date. The picture is not precise, for two reasons. For one thing, different components of the population may have different patterns of reproduction and mortality. That need not worry us too much, however, unless we care to assume that those differences are really substantial. The other extraneous factor is, of course, continued immigration. On both these counts the birth figures which I am about to give you may be regarded as underestimating the future New Commonwealth and Pakistan

ethnic element.

On the basis I have just explained, the following proportions of total births in recent years, 1981 to 1983, were to mothers of New Commonwealth or Pakistan birth or descent: Inner London, 30 per cent; Birmingham, 30 per cent; Bradford, 30 per cent; Blackburn, 33 per cent; Leicester, 33 per cent. I am not going to weary you with any more figures. What I wanted to show, and what I have shown, is that the prospect I referred to earlier that one-third at least of Inner London and other cities will be of African or Asian origin is rational and realistic. I may mention in parenthesis that these facts have been confirmed and reinforced by the corresponding statistics for 1984 which, for some reason I am not privy to, were disclosed last week by the Census authority several months earlier than they have ever previously been made available.

Only one further figure will I add, and that is in reference to the metropolis. The figure for the whole of Greater London which corresponds to the 30 per cent for Inner London is no less than 24 per cent. It is a fact which vividly illustrates how the transformation is affecting the capital city as a whole. It is akin to another factor which recent experience has underlined. Many major centres of population - Leeds, for example, or Bristol, or Liverpool - which, taken as a whole, exhibit ^{relatively} lower African and Asian percentages, may and do nevertheless contain within themselves smaller areas with very high proportions. These may be no less significant in practice for the future of those towns and cities.

The factual prospect that I have just put before you demands from Government, politicians and public a certain act of judgment, which they are bound in conscience not only to make privately but to declare publicly, and thereby to accept responsibility for it and for its implications. The act of judgment is to answer the following question. What sort of a country will Britain be when the capital city and major cities and areas of England consist of a population of which at least one-third is of African and Asian descent?

For my own part I have not dodged that question since it was first posed. My answer, upon my maturely considered judgment, is that it will be a Britain unimaginably wracked by dissension and violent disorder, not recognisable as the same nation as it has been, or perhaps as a nation at all. Let those in positions of responsibility who disagree with my judgment declare their own in equally unequivocal terms. If the Prime Minister of this country holds a different judgment - I am not sure that she does - let her publicly say one of two things. She can say: "Mr Powell's figures and his picture of the factual future are substantially right, but I believe it will be a happy and a peaceable Britain, which we and I shall be proud to bequeath to the next generation". Alternatively she can say: "Mr Powell's figures and his picture are mistaken: the true population proportions will be lower". If she says that, however, she cannot stop there. She must tell the country what she believes those Tower proportions will be, and why; and having done so she can then, if she wishes, go on to make the same asseveration about a happy and united Britain.

The time of truth is coming at last for those who sit in the seats of authority: if they can dissent neither from my projections nor from my judgment of that future Britain they cannot now, with a shrug of the shoulders and a roll of the eyes, declare, "Well, it's just too bad; you will have to make the best of it". The nation will insist upon knowing what they intend to do, so that the relevance of the measures proposed can be judged and debated and their implementation and progress can be monitored.

I do not demand from others ^{answers} / I am not prepared to give myself. For eighteen years I have told the people of this country that not only for their own sake but for that of the millions of strangers who will also be the victims of past indifference, a sufficient proportion of the African and Asian population must be enabled, with generosity and using all the organizational resources of government, to quit a scene

where the same catastrophes await them as await us. On the showing of the official estimate that I have used this afternoon, the great majority of them are not as we are, having no other country, no other home, but Britain. Only a small minority of them belong as yet to the third generation which will not have inherited the citizenship, though it will still have inherited the concern, of their lands of origin.

It is no answer to me to say: "But it would be difficult", or "But it would not succeed". Those are not the words with which in the past we have been prepared to meet the most appalling prospects, once our leaders were prepared to acknowledge them. The only condition is, precisely, that they be acknowledged. For our leaders to do that on our behalf, the nation, not for the first time in my generation, has already been kept waiting far too long.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CHB

Prime Minister. (2)



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

The attached papers cover
the Environment, Education &
Employment aspects of the
reaction to, a paper on, Scarman.

20 September 1985

Dear Mark,

MEAT 20/9

Handwritten mark

HANDSWORTH RIOT

NOT ON FILE

With William Fittall's letter to you of 13 September, he circulated some background notes about the implementation of recommendations in the Scarman Report. Where they touched matters for which other Departments were responsible these had been compiled from information which we had readily to hand here. But you will recall that William mentioned in his letter that we asked for more detailed information to be provided. The Departments of the Environment, Education and Employment have responded by providing ... the papers which I now enclose.

I am copying this letter to Private Secretaries to other members of the Cabinet and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely
Hugh Taylor

H H TAYLOR

Mark Addison, Esq

NOTES BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

CO-ORDINATION OF THE ATTACK ON INNER CITY PROBLEMS

"much could be done to achieve a better co-ordinated and directed attack on inner city problems" (8.44)

The Government has sustained its commitment to the Urban Programme and to the Inner City Partnerships. The total allocation to the seven Partnership areas through the Urban Programme in 1985/6 is £127m (£90m in 1980/81), and to the UP as a whole £338m.

"one of the objects of such an approach must be to ensure that the resources which the Government judges the nation is able to devote to the inner city are effectively spent" (paragraph 6.6)

An Urban Programme Management initiative has been launched to clarify objectives at national and local level, to link Inner Area Programmes and projects more effectively to local objectives, to improve monitoring and output information, and to clarify management responsibilities for achieving outputs cost-effectively.

The five City Action Teams, staffed by the regional directors of the Departments of Environment, Trade and Industry and Employment/Manpower Services Commission, are improving the co-ordination of their Departments' programmes in the Partnership areas, working with local authorities and the private sector to develop priorities relevant to local needs.

"the Partnerships only cover a limited number of areas of deprivation" (paragraph 6.6)

The Partnerships and the City Action teams, together with the Department of the Environment's Urban Housing Renewal Unit (see below), cover programmes relevant to the Government's four objectives for urban policy as a whole:

i. to improve employment prospects in the inner cities, by increasing both job opportunities and the ability of those who live there to compete for them;

ii. to reduce the number of derelict sites and vacant buildings;

iii. to strengthen the social fabric of the inner city and to encourage self help."

iv. "to reduce the number of people in acute housing stress."

Other aspects of Government programmes which are relevant to these objectives include the Derelict Land Programme, the Urban Development Corporation's programmes of renewal in London Docklands and Merseyside, and the weightings given to inner city areas in resource allocation for housing, education and social services expenditure.

"conflicting policies and priorities - as between central and local Government or between the different layers of local government - appears to have been a frequent source of confusion and reduced drive." (paragraph 6.6)

On implementation of the Local Government Act 1985 from April 1986 the London Boroughs and Metropolitan Districts will be the sole providers of local government services in their areas. The removal of a separate elected tier of government should improve their ability to take an overall view and pursue across the board initiatives.

"local communities must be fully and effectively involved in planning, in the provision of local services, and in the management or financing of specific projects."

Partnership authorities and other local authorities participating in the Urban Programme are encouraged to involve local communities in the preparation of their Inner Area Programmes. There is a requirement to consult the voluntary sector, and many projects are community based. Since 1980/81 urban programme expenditure on voluntary sector projects has increased from £30m to £70m. Expenditure on projects which are run by or are primarily for the benefit of ethnic minority groups has increased from £6m to £32m. Many other UP projects benefit all sections of the community. A range of Urban Programme projects is described in the DOE publication "Tackling Racial Disadvantage".

In 1982 Sir George Young was given special responsibility within the Department of the Environment for ethnic minority issues.

Among other initiatives a conference at Church House in March 1984 brought together local authority and ethnic minority representatives to discuss how services could be better adapted to the needs of the ethnic minorities. One of the follow up actions was the establishment of the Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange, which collects and disseminates best practice.

"..... The private sector and the police must be more effectively involved in the attempt to tackle inner city problems (8.44)

Private Sector

More effective involvement of the private sector is a priority of most government initiatives in the inner cities.

The Urban Development Grant Scheme, operated by the Department of the Environment in conjunction with local authorities, supports projects involving significant additional private sector investment in inner city areas. By mid September 1985 165 schemes had been approved. These involve grant offers of £78m and private sector investment of £327m.

The investment incentives offered under the Department of Trade and Industry's regional policy now extend to all the Partnership areas outside London, which have Development area or Assisted Area status.

There has also been growth in voluntary involvement by businesses. For example, Business in the Community is a partnership formed by a number of leading companies which aims to help businesses to contribute to the health of the local communities in which they operate. It has in particular, with DOE and DTI assistance, helped to build up some 180 Local Enterprise Agencies to encourage and support the growth of small businesses.

Police involvement in Partnership

The arrangements for involvement of the police and probation services in the Partnerships vary according to local circumstances. There is particularly full involvement in the Birmingham and Newcastle/Gateshead Partnerships, but the police do not currently sit on the London Partnerships because of resistance by the London Boroughs concerned.

Constructive involvement of the police is reflected in many urban Programme schemes, including specific crime prevention measures as well as schemes building links between the police and local communities, and providing constructive activities and recreation for those at risk of offending.

HOUSING

"In a discussion of housing policies, I refer to the increasing recognition of the value of rehabilitation and to the need to involve the community in housing management and development. I also endorse the finding of the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons in its Report on Racial Disadvantage that there is a strong case for local authorities reviewing their housing policies in order to ensure that they do not, wittingly or unwittingly, discriminate against minority groups (paragraphs 6.12-6.15, 8.46)"

One of the Government's key initiatives to alleviate housing stress in the inner cities has been the setting up of the Urban Housing Renewal Unit (UHRU) to help authorities to tackle run-down and badly managed housing estates. It is encouraging a variety of different approaches, including disposals to the private sector and locally-based estate management schemes. The Unit has been widely welcomed.

The Unit endorses Lord Scarman's view that large-scale redevelopment is not always successful. It is implementing his suggestion for a co-ordinated approach to rehabilitation, and drawing on the expertise of consultants from both public and private sectors. The Unit is helping authorities to maximise both private and public sector funding opportunities. The potential resources, especially from financial institutions, are substantial and the building societies are already heavily involved in housing renewal schemes.

Community involvement: Priority Estates Project

The Government also endorses Lord Scarman's view of the need for community participation in housing management. One of the schemes to which his report refers (Tulse Hill) was part of the Department of the Environment's Priority Estates Project (PEP), set up in 1979 to work with local authorities. The aim is to move management and maintenance teams out of the Town Hall and on to the housing estates where they can work closely with residents.

PEP has a well-documented history of success. It deserves to be replicated and many local authorities are already developing their own estate-based management schemes along PEP lines. One particular benefit is the way in which local housing management - working with other agencies - can play its part in the reduction of crime and of the fear of crime. UHRU is emphasising the PEP approach in visits to local authorities and already has contacts with the Home Office's Crime Prevention Unit.

"there is attraction in projects which could use the idle labour available in the inner cities to tackle the physical decay which is there so evident" (paragraph 6.29)

The Government has encouraged local authorities to set up Community Refurbishment Schemes, in which local people who have been out of work for more than a year help to refurbish and improve rundown council estates. The schemes are supported by MSC's Community Programme, and the Urban Programme. Some 7,000 dwellings have been included in CRS schemes on Merseyside, and the initiative is now being extended to other conurbations.

There are many other examples of Community Programme places being used to clean up and regenerate the inner city.

PRIVATE SECTOR HOUSING: IMPROVEMENT AND REPAIR

The Government, throughout their period of office, have given a high priority to the improvement and repair of private sector housing. This included special measures in 1982/83 and 1983/84 under which the maximum grant rate was raised to 90% for all applicants. Local authorities were then offered additional resources to enable them to increase their grant spending. As a result, expenditure in England rose from £90m in 1978/79, to £425m in 1982/83 and £911m in 1983/84.

One initiative for the systematic renewal of rundown inner city housing which has been developed under the Urban Programme is enveloping, the wholesale external renewal of blocks of housing. This has been piloted in the Birmingham Partnership area, where the programme has included the improvement of more than 6,000 houses in the Handsworth area.

The Government's Green Paper 'Home Improvement - A New Approach, published in May 1985 strongly re-emphasises this commitment. It endorses the value of a partnership between local authorities, the financial institutions and the building industry in helping individual householders to meet their responsibilities for home maintenance and improvement. In particular, it proposes that local authorities could be empowered to contribute towards housing association agencies as well as having the power to fund services for themselves, and that they would be expected to secure help from the private sector, including the building societies.

The consultation period ends on 30 September. The Government will then consider how best to give these proposals effect.

Allocation Policy

On the question of housing policies and procedures, in particular allocation and transfer of housing, the Race Relations Act 1976 makes discrimination unlawful. The CRE investigations in Hackney and Liverpool have shown that discrimination against ethnic minorities can happen without the authority being aware that it is happening. The Government's position has been made clear - authorities with significant ethnic minority groups are encouraged to keep records and to take measures to remove discrimination in housing. But record keeping in itself does not guarantee fair treatment or ensure good housing management. It provides the factual basis against which policy and practice can be reviewed as recommended by the Scarman report.

Allocations policy is just one area of housing management where the special needs of ethnic minorities have to be taken into account. Sir George Young is meeting local authority associations to discuss the many housing issues that concern ethnic minorities.

SCARMAN REPORT - EDUCATION

General

In his statement on 14 March 1985 on the publication of the Swann Report the Secretary of State for Education and Science said that the Government's policies for schools are designed to raise the performance of all pupils. Ethnic minority pupils will benefit fully from these measures - set out in the 'Better Schools' White Paper. In addition some 40 pilot projects, totalling £1 million, designed to improve the response of the education system to ethnic diversity, are being supported through the new Education Support Grant scheme in 1985/86; and a further £1 million is being made available for new projects in 1986/87.

Facilities for under-fives

- (a) Places available in LEA nursery schools and classes have increased by 20% since 1981.
- (b) Government initiative to stimulate voluntary sector support for children under five in disadvantaged families, including ethnic minorities, launched in 1983 - DHSS grant of £2 million a year until 1986/87. 15 major organisations running 110 projects providing full-day care, part-day care or family support.

Training of teachers

- (a) Need to take account of ethnic diversity of society written into new criteria governing initial teacher training.
- (b) Government encouraging inclusion in training courses of opportunity for all teacher training students to gain teaching experience in a multiracial school.
- (c) Government proposes that from 1986/87 onwards the in-service training grant scheme should include training in response to ethnic diversity.
- (d) Discussion papers issued this July on increasing supply of ethnic minority teachers and on collection of ethnically based statistics on teachers.

Teaching of English

Good practice in English language teaching being encouraged and disseminated by HM Inspectors of schools through programme of courses and conferences. English teaching supported by grants under Section 11 of Local Government Act 1966.

Parental Involvement in Schools

A wide variety of schemes have been initiated by schools to involve parents in the education of their children, eg. by helping them to read, by joining mother-toddler groups, and by coming to meetings at school.

Other points

Scarman also referred to:-

- (a) The importance of police involvement in schools. On this the Government is encouraging liaison between the police and education services so as to build on the work already being done by police in schools. Conclusions of a conference of Chief Officers of Police and Chief Education Officers in 1984 being followed up.
- (b) The need to educate children in the use of leisure. The Government's emphasis is on improving education in the round - see 'Better Schools' White Paper.

HANDSWORTH EMPLOYMENT BRIEFING

1 The employment situation of the ethnic minorities

General

The only current source of statistics on ethnic minority employment and unemployment is the annual European Community Labour Force Survey. This is based on a sample providing national and regional but not detailed local information. (The Department of Employment collected quarterly figures of ethnic minority unemployment from 1963 to 1982 and is at present considering pilot tests with a view to their possible resumption).

2 The latest Labour Force Survey figures show that in 1984 the national unemployment rate among non-whites was about twice that for whites. In the West Midlands metropolitan county the ratio was somewhat higher. The relevant figures were:

	WHITES			NON-WHITES		
	Econo- mically Active	Unem- ployed*	Unemp- ment Rate	Econo- mically Active	Unemp- loyed*	Unemp- ment Rate
	'000	'000	%	'000	'000	%
GB	24842	2642	11	1040	213	20
West Midlands	1080	147	14	128	40	31

* Survey definition (Out of employment, seeking work.)

3 The general picture is confirmed and supplemented by the PS1 survey "Black and White Britain", published in July 1984. This stated that:

"The most striking feature of the position of black Britons in relation to jobs is that they have been much harder hit by the recession. Unemployment among blacks has risen much faster than among Whites. Among those in work, examination of the employment patterns of white, Asian and West Indian people over

the eight years between 1974 and 1982 shows very little tendency for them to become more similar. There remains a strong tendency for blacks to be employed in the lower occupational levels.⁴

4 However, the PSI also noted two more hopeful signs against "a generally bleak background", as follows:

" (a) Blacks have made some advance in particular sectors. Those are chiefly the public health and transport services. The progress represents consolidation of their position in sectors of public employment where blacks were initially recruited as immigrants.

(b) The development of Asian businesses and self-employment among Asians has been marked. Of Asian men who were employees in Britain in 1974 about one in ten became self-employed by 1982."

Local employment situation

5 Employment opportunities for Handsworth residents have been heavily affected in recent years by the loss of manufacturing employment in the Birmingham area. Unemployment in the Handsworth jobcentre area is currently 10,700. The percentage unemployment rate for the Birmingham travel to work area was 16.2% in August 1985, compared with 13.2% for Great Britain. The Department does not produce percentage rates for smaller areas, but local authority statistics show about 30% of residents in Handsworth and the surrounding wards as unemployed.

6 Young people registered as unemployed at the Careers Office in Handsworth show the majority (71%) to be of ethnic minority origin and of those, two thirds are of Asian origin, the remainder from Afro-Caribbean groups. Table 1 shows the destinations of the Birmingham LEA 1984 school leavers, highlighting the variations between ethnic and white groups.

TABLE 1

BIRMINGHAM LEA AREA - SURVEY OF DESTINATION OF 1984 SCHOOL LEAVERS

DESTINATION	TOTAL %		WHITE %		ALL ETHNIC GROUPS %	
ENTERED EMPLOYMENT	1537	9.2	1402	10.4	135	4.1
ENTERED TRAINING (MAINLY YTS)	6203	37.1	5373	40.0	830	25.3
STAY AT SCHOOL, (6TH FORM)	4480	26.8	3705	27.6	775	23.6
ENTERED FURTHER EDUCATION	1889	11.3	1263	9.4	626	19.1
ENTERED UNEMPLOYMENT	1554	9.3	1150	8.6	404	12.3
NOT KNOWN	1053	6.3	541	4.0	512	15.6
ALL	16716	100%	13434	100%	3282	100%

Source: DE Careers Service Branch



19 21 83
9

HANDSWORTH: BACKGROUND BRIEFING

2 Support for Ethnic Minority Businesses

1 Para 6.27 of the Scarman Report makes the following recommendations on the small firms front:

(a) the need for private financial support for ethnic minorities;

(b) the need for advisory services tailored to the needs of this group.

2 The Department of Employment gives the same assistance towards the establishment of businesses run by ethnic minorities as it does towards the setting up of those run by anybody else.

3 It is recognised that there are particular disadvantages in being small; for example difficulties in attracting finance, weaknesses in management skills; lack of management time etc. It has therefore been concerned to design measures to help small firms overcome these disadvantages so that they can survive the critical early stages of development and grow into stronger and bigger enterprises.

4 Assistance is available in a variety of forms. These include the Department's Small Firms Service which provides information and advice on how to set up and run a business. There is a confidential counselling service attached to the Service provided by experienced businessmen. The Counsellors can advise on how to obtain finance from commercial sources and can give guidance on the preparation of business plans. In some cases, this may lead to the small businessman being able to secure finance through the Department's Loan Guarantee Scheme.

5 While these measures have been taken to help ease the inherent difficulties associated with running a small business the Department is at the same time anxious that small firms should neither be isolated from economic reality nor have an unfair competitive edge over their larger counterparts. It would therefore be opposed to proposals to give money direct to ethnic minorities, in the form of soft loans or grants to start up businesses on the same grounds that it is against subsidies for small firms generally.

6 This said, against the background of its policy of "non-discrimination" the Department does recognise that the ethnic minority groups represent a vast untapped source of entrepreneurial talent. The Department is also aware that the problems facing small businessmen and would-be entrepreneurs generally are all the more severe for members of ethnic minority communities; this is particularly so in the case of Afro-Caribbeans.



7 The Department is therefore constantly striving to reach out to members of ethnic minority groups; to encourage them to go into business and to show those already in the field that the Department can be a valuable source of assistance. As a measure of this the Small Firms Service has gone to considerable lengths to improve its contact and visibility with the ethnic minority community.

8 Some examples should suffice. Recently the London Small Firms Centre helped organise an Ismaili Conference on small businesses. Officials of the Leeds Centre have given talks to Asian women's groups on how to start up businesses. Government schemes of assistance and services have been advertised in both English and Asian languages in the Bradford area Asian press. The Small Firms Centres have contact with local community relations organisations and can call on them to provide interpreters should the need arise. Individual Small Firms Service Counsellors have done much on a personal basis to cultivate good relations with the local ethnic business community. Finally, the Small Firms Service has gone to considerable lengths to recruit ethnic Counsellors - though to date this has proved difficult.

9 In addition to the Department's own initiatives, it is, together with the appropriate Regional Offices of the DTI, fully supporting the Home Office pilot project to set up three local enterprise agencies (counselling and advisory centres) to cater for ethnic minorities. Two are to be set up in London the other in Birmingham. The Department is to provide funding for 3 years - £5,000 per year for each agency.

10 The recent transfer of responsibility for small firms from DTI to the Department of Employment provides even greater opportunities to encourage ethnic minority participation in business. It is widely recognised that small business are the key to our future economic success. The Department will therefore be doing everything possible to ensure that the latest source of entrepreneurial talent of ethnic minority groups is put to good use. By working closely with the Department's Equal Opportunities Division a co-ordinated effort on this front is possible.

11 The Birmingham City Action Team has identified among its priorities the encouragement of enterprise developments among ethnic minority communities. It mounted a presentation in August of the MSC enterprise training and allowance schemes (described in Brief 3) and is planning to follow this up by linking these more closely with the activities of the Small Firms Service.

HANDSWORTH EMPLOYMENT BRIEFING

3 Programmes to combat unemployment

General

The Scarman report noted criticisms of the adequacy of MSC programmes as regards (a) preparation for skilled work and (b) coverage of ethnic minority needs. The report also called for schemes to provide employment on inner city regeneration programmes. Since then, the situation has been radically changed by the introduction of (a) the Youth Training Scheme, offering comprehensive training and work preparation for school leavers for a full year, which it is intended to extend to two years; and the Community Programme which provides temporary jobs lasting up to a year for long term unemployed adults on projects which are of benefit to the local community. The Youth Training Scheme aims to provide high quality training and planned work experience as a foundation of skill which can be built on later in working life. This element will be further enhanced as the Scheme is developed to cover a two year period.

Provision for ethnic minorities

2 The policy of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) is to make its services available equally to all, regardless of ethnic origin, and all MSC's training programmes are developed in accordance with this policy. Wherever possible MSC prefers to offer integrated training, but does provide programmes both nationally and locally to cater specifically for ethnic minorities where they have special needs, such as language training. It is intended that equal opportunity statements will be included in publicity material, and that all MSC's contracts will contain explicit anti-discrimination clauses.

Position in Birmingham/Handsworth

3 MSC's Area Manpower Board (AMB) for Birmingham is particularly active in its concern for equal opportunities. It has set^{up} an equal opportunities sub-committee to have special responsibility for ensuring that the needs of the ethnic minorities communities are taken into account in the training provision supplied. The AMB has also recently published a wide ranging Policy Statement on the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and the "elimination of discrimination" in MSC schemes. MSC also funds a YTS development officer ("enabler") post whose role is to foster links between MSC and the local ethnic minority communities, and to encourage young blacks and Asians to consider the full range of opportunities open to them.

4 There is a Skillcentre based in Handsworth which provides training for adults, to help them re-enter employment and train in basic skills. Whilst the courses are open equally to all, as the Skillcentre is located in Handsworth, it attracts applicants from those living in the area, many of whom are from ethnic minority groups.

5 MSC also part-funded a project with local clothing industry employers and Handsworth Technical College to identify the training needs, and develop suitable training opportunities, for ethnic minority groups.

Other local projects

6 Other local projects include:

- (a) the Community Programme, under which there are some 26 projects in the area offering 700 places, representing an annual expenditure of £3 million. The activities carried on include environmental improvement/landscaping work, renovation of property for community use, and social

service projects such as advice centres, help for the elderly, gardening for disabled people.

- (b) the Enterprise Allowance Scheme, which provides help for unemployed people who wish to start their own businesses. There are currently 1227 people participating in the Scheme in Birmingham including some 50 in Handsworth during the last 12 months. No information is collected on their ethnic origin but the local team estimate that about 50% are of Asian origin and 30% of Afro-Caribbean origin.

- (c) Community Industry, which in Birmingham provides 150 places lasting up to 12 months for disadvantaged young people aged 17-19 on projects of community benefit. Some 43% of the participants are non-white. The two nearest projects to Handsworth (at Hockley Port, about a mile away) involve work on a city farm and a sports and leisure complex.

- (d) the Training for Enterprise Scheme offers training to people who wish to start their own businesses (including those seeking Enterprise Allowances) and also helps existing small businesses in various ways. About one-sixth of the participants in the scheme (nationally) are of non white origin.

HANDSWORTH EMPLOYMENT BRIEFING

4 Positive action

General

The Scarman report noted the provision made in the Race Relations Act (under sections 35, 37 and 38) for special provision for ethnic minority groups and urged that this should be made effective where the need was clearly established.

2 Under Section 37 specified training bodies (ie MSC and ITBs) and organisations designated by the Secretary of State for Employment may offer training to members of a particular racial group for particular work, or encourage them to take advantage of opportunities for doing that work, when they have been under-represented in that work either locally or nationally.

3 The Department of Employment believes that it is not generally desirable to segregate people on racial grounds but it fully recognises that the ethnic minorities may require special provision in certain circumstances. It therefore accepts that use should be made of Section 37 wherever the need is established. There are at present 9 training bodies designated under orders currently in force, two of which are in the West Midlands (the West Midlands Engineering Employers Association, ^{and} the COPEC Housing Trust).

In addition, the MSC is authorised under the Act to use the powers under section 37 without designation.

4 Under Section 38(1) and (2) employers may offer training to their employees of a particular racial group to fit them for work in which that group has been under-represented or may encourage people from that racial group to take advantage of opportunities for doing that work. Section 38 (3), (4) and (5) provides for training and encouragement (in respect of posts and membership respectively) by trade unions, employers' associations

and similar organisations. The Department would encourage the use of these provisions wherever it is appropriate and helpful.

5 Section 35 provides for the special needs of racial groups to be met in regard to education, training and welfare. Again the Department would encourage its use wherever appropriate and helpful.

Positive action provisions in Birmingham

Language training

6 Through the Industrial Language Training Service (ILTS), which has 30 units throughout the country, MSC provides language training to ethnic minority employees within companies and organisations. ILTS also carries out communication and awareness training.

7 Additionally MSC provides work related literacy and language training courses, which include English as a second language (ESL). ESL provision is concentrated in areas of greatest need, including inner city areas.

8 There is a 40 place Mode B2 YTS scheme run by Handsworth Technical College, which offers a high content of language training, from which ethnic minority young people particularly benefit.

Other positive action courses

9 Birmingham Area Office funded a 15 week management course for Afro-Carribeans which finished in June, and plans to fund something similar next year.

Additionally, MSC Head Office has a modest budget to fund experimental training courses for ethnic minorities. Several proposals from the Birmingham area, submitted through the Area Office, are currently being considered, including proposals:

- 1 designed to prepare ethnic minority trainees for employment in identified areas of skill deficiency/shortage;
- 2 designed to prepare trainees so that they will apply for and benefit from other MSC provision.

Handsworth Technical College has also put up a number of ideas which could be developed.

Cervical Disorder:

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PEZ

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33 without



FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

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HOUSE OF LORDS,
LONDON SW1A 0PW

NSPM

16th September, 1985

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear William,

Handsworth Riot

with MCA?

The Lord Chancellor has seen your letter of 13th September 1985 to Mark Addison and has commented as follows:

"There is an aspect of Handsworth which continues to give me concern. It is that both white and black hooligans seem to be picking on Indians and Pakistanis (who, on the whole, are both industrious and left to themselves relatively inoffensive) for attack. Is there anything which can be done about this?"

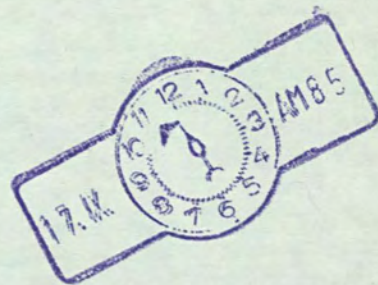
I hope the factual account of Handsworth will either confirm or repudiate the impression I get which is that there was an element of deliberate planning there either by drug pushers or left wing anarchists."

I am copying this letter to Mark Addison and other Private Secretaries of Members of the Cabinet.

Mrs Gresham
Richard

Richard Stoate

W.R. Fittall Esq.,
Private Secretary to the
Right Honourable Secretary of State for
the Home Department,
Queen Anne's Gate,
London SW1H 9AT.



CC SS

desp in bob
Ellis-Rees

#77



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434
My ref:

B/100/17109/ES

Your ref:

13 September 1985

Dear David

HANDSWORTH

My Secretary of State was asked at yesterday's Cabinet to provide a short note for Ministerial colleagues on the support that the Government has given to Handsworth through the Birmingham Inner City Partnership. The note is attached.

I am sending copies of this letter and the note to the Private Secretaries to all Cabinet Ministers, with a request that they let other Ministers in their Department have copies, and to Richard Hatfield.

Yours sincerely

Alan Davis

ALAN DAVIS
Private Secretary

David Norgrove Esq

DN

PSG DESPATCH NOTE

CIRCULATE COPIES OF THE
SIGNED LETTER TO:

- 1. Ps/All Ministers
- 2. Ps/Mr Heia
- Mr Delafore
- Mr Sorensen
- Mr Ellis-Rees
- Mr McDonald
- Mr Whetnall

HANDSWORTH AND THE BIRMINGHAM INNER CITY PARTNERSHIP

The Birmingham Partnership, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Environment, brings together Central Government, the Birmingham City Council, the West Midlands County Council and the Health Authorities.

Since 1979 it has spent £130m. Handsworth is a priority area, and has received £20m in the last 4 years.

£14m has been spent on housing enveloping schemes which involve the wholesale external renovation of private properties at no cost to their owners and represent a better economic proposition than clearance/redevelopment. The Government contributes 75% of the money on Urban Programme (UP) schemes; the local authority finds 25%. Enveloping schemes are also subsidised by Central Government.

Nearly all the investment has been achieved since 1981, and assertions, based on the 1981 Census figures, that Handsworth has been neglected or is full of crumbling housing are wide of the mark.

Examples of Government funded projects in Handsworth are:

Housing Enveloping: to date 6,300 properties improved; another 1,000 in the pipeline. This has involved UP expenditure of £2.7m and housing expenditure of £14m. The UP has also supported schemes to improve houses in multiple occupation and to help unemployed young blacks to refurbish empty houses for reoccupation, often for themselves.

Shopping. £2.75m has been spent on the systematic upgrading of shops in Soho Road, Lozells Road, Villa Road, Dudley Road.

Health. A new health centre has been built in the Soho area, at a cost of £0.4m. The Partnership has also funded specialised health workers and investigations relevant to dietary, health and child care needs of black and Asian families.

Leisure and Recreation. £0.5m has been spent on the improvement of Handsworth Park (62 acres) and the associated Sports Hall. A Play Centre at the Sports Hall is to be built at a cost of £150,000. Other sport and play facilities have been built or improved, and Grove Lane swimming pool is to be replaced at a cost of £1.4m.

Economy and Employment. £3m has been spent on industrial developments close to the residential area, including Camp Lane, Soho Road and Avenue Road. £1.5m has been spent on schemes to train and counsel black offenders for work and skills training courses at Handsworth Technical College.

Community Relations. "Lozells Project" pioneered community policing (UP cost £0.25m).

Social Fabric. Well over 100 other schemes have been supported under UP, includes projects which promote self help among ethnic minorities, such as the Handsworth Cultural Centre (£0.3m), Muhammed Ali Centre (£0.25m) and Community Transport (£0.5m), and projects encompassing day nurseries, provision for ethnic minority mentally ill, single homeless, interpreters for minority languages, lone mothers and children, Asian women groups, childminder visitors.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON HANDSWORTH

The area in which the disturbances took place lies around the junction of the City Wards of Handsworth, Soho and Lozells. Together these three Wards contain 88,000 inhabitants, about 9% of Birmingham's population and about 30% of the core area covered by the inner city partnership. About half the population is black or Asian, fairly evenly divided (it is the Sikh stronghold in Birmingham). It is a residential area, housing mainly built for Victorian artisans, with shopping along the Soho and Lozells road, but with little industry or scope for industrial sites. In consequence the contribution of the Urban Programme in this part of the City has mainly been on housing and environmental schemes and on support for community enterprise and voluntary groups among the large ethnic population.

Unemployment in Handsworth is high - 40% total unemployment in June 1985; less than 35% car ownership (1981 Census); demand for training places in (white-run) schemes is low. There is however no evidence to suggest that Monday's rioting was a product of community resentment about the physical conditions of the inner city; and several of those community leaders whose projects the UP supports have come forward as peacemakers. There are no grounds for concluding that the Urban Programme has failed in Handsworth or that major new investment in the area is needed, but it will be important to continue support, in particular for responsible black leaders.

Handsworth/Soho/Aston Wards (1981 census figures except where shown)

Population (est 1984)	88,000	9% of City population
Persons in households with head born in New Commonwealth	Aston 38% Handsworth 55% Soho 62%)) 49% overall)
Owner-occupation	Aston 22% Handsworth 51% Soho 51%	
Car-ownership	under 35%	
Unemployment (June 1985)	11,700 (40%)	
Youth unemployment (16-19) (Jan 1985)	54%	
Young blacks unemployed (est)	60% +	

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PRIME MINISTER

13 September 1985

BIRMINGHAM RIOT/POLICY UNIT REPORT AND ANALYSIS

1. Media

The week's Socialist blinkers go to Claire Short in Thursday's Times, who led the "unemployment caused the riot" brigade (up in Birmingham from 6% to 30% since 1979) but failed to consider and explain why Socialist-style policies in Birmingham (huge state intervention and subsidy - £20 million in Handsworth in the last two years, and £130 million in Birmingham since 1979) have all failed.

The woolly cul de sac prize should go to the chairwoman of the Liberal community relations panel, who wants a Junior Minister (maybe DoE) - Times, 13 September - for "community relations". The unspoken truth of the week is that dreadlocks and drug addiction are first class tickets with reserved seats all the way to unemployment.

In the forest of weak knees, the Home Secretary's line "it's crime" was well received in the expected corners. Mr Cedric Jeffreys, a retired dentist, was refreshingly well-informed through his practice close to Handsworth for 42 years. He said in the Times: "Tension has been building up for two or three generations. It started as a simple fear among families from the West Indies that they were being discriminated against. Real and imagined grievances have

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grown in their minds, till a small minority are ready to do violence when they imagine they have been provoked". Against this background we have sought hard evidence.

2. Policy Unit Report

I have now spoken informally to a number of Asian traders and workers in Lozells Road and neighbourhood, and white and West Indian residents in neighbouring streets, as well as the Assistant Chief Constable in charge of operations, all the leading Policy Community Liaison Officers and some officials. Evidence fell into six sections from the night of the riot and subsequently.

a. Was this riot principally criminal? Was the motive financial greed?

204 individuals have now been arrested, and the police are digesting the evidence of criminal planning for Monday. Two vans were brought to remove alcohol from one food store and off licence. Another van came to take a load of videos and televisions. There were reports of girls who tried on dresses while looting took place in dress shops. Some participants certainly came from Wolverhampton, Birmingham Sparkbrooke; and others from Manchester and London had stayed behind after the weekend carnival. All the jewellery shops for some miles were looted. A large number of bombs was used, and intimidated was exemplified by one Indian trader who told me that he was threatened at knifepoint to produce £200 or have his shop burnt down.

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b. What was the involvement, if any, of drugs?

For the two previous years, the Metropolitan Police had assisted Birmingham police to remove main supplies of drugs before the carnival. This year, a bigger operation was mounted by Birmingham alone at an earlier time before the carnival.

c. Is there evidence that the unrest was racial?

I came across a number of allegations by Asians that they had personally been the butt of racial taunts by West Indians, particularly because of their financial success. There is overwhelming evidence that Asian shops had been chosen as targets for attack, and the arson systematically avoided Caribbean shops.

d. Was this riot linked with any political group?

The police have clear evidence, as has Special Branch, that a group from Notting Hill with Far Left connections - entitled the Tabernacle Group - were present in Birmingham this week, and were the architects of a demonstration which it was intended should be filmed by the television cameras yesterday outside the Law Courts.

e. Complaints against the police.

I heard a number of complaints that there were too few police; that they came too late; that their riot gear was supplied too late; that they could not push aside the burning vehicles intended as barricades.

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Against this is the reality that on Monday evening, as in any evening in Birmingham, there were a few hundred police on duty on the streets in the whole of Birmingham. There is an establishment of 6,700 police in the West Midlands. When off duty rest periods and leave are taken into consideration, this amounts to a thin blue line. Without the full co-operation of the public, the police cannot maintain law and order. Unlike the situation in 1981, the police this week were able to contain much of the crime and prevent further trouble in subsequent days.

f. **The future.**

Tomorrow one, or possibly two, marches are planned, and the police are preparing for trouble. The police will continue to adopt a new style of low profile, but know they are still sitting on a bombshell, with so many volatile, idle youths who have now tasted blood.

Further ahead, some traders will undoubtedly leave. Some have already left. Business in the area will be set back, and the application by Birmingham to mount the Olympics has undoubtedly been jeopardised.

3. Conclusion

While there is overwhelming evidence that this was a criminal exercise, carried out by selfish, greedy and idle youths, it was racial in execution. There was a dangerous political group present and involved in the community this

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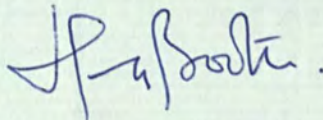
- 5 -

week, which was quick to exploit the situation. Undoubtedly the thin police line in Birmingham makes much improvement on the service provided on Monday very difficult, unless there is more public support. It is too early to judge long-term effects, but the Government must be fully prepared for a repeat of this week's trouble.

Can such incidents be avoided?

You will be receiving a report from the Home Office on the police rôle. It may be that no police force can hope to prevent organised looting and violence of the kind we saw at Handsworth unless it is closer and better informed and assisted by the public. Is this a theme you would like us to pursue? We believe it may be fruitful.

Attached is the relevant profile of West Midlands crime.



HARTLEY BOOTH

CONFIDENTIAL



Report
of the
CHIEF CONSTABLE
of
West Midlands
Police
1984

Crime

In 1984 the number of recorded crimes rose by 17,505 (8.3%) from 210,061 in 1983 to 227,566. After two successive years in which the detection rate had increased, 1984 saw a decrease of 5.6% — from 35.8% to 30.2%. Sixty-eight thousand, seven-hundred and eight crimes were detected out of a total of 227,500 recorded. Of those 68,708 detected crimes, juveniles are known to have been responsible for committing 15,576 (22.7%) compared with 16,390 (21.8%) in 1983.

There were 45 murders (a 13% increase) in 1984 all of which were detected. Woundings increased marginally from 7,211 to 7,482 (3.8%) with a total of 4,694 (62.7%) detections. The greatest increase in violent crime was in respect of robbery. Two-thousand four-hundred and fifty-five robberies were recorded, an increase of 555 (29%) over the 1983 figure. The detection rate for robbery was 28.8% as compared with 25.6% in 1983. Of the robbery offences detected juvenile involvement was 35%.

Burglary of dwelling houses again gave cause for concern with a 17.1% increase in 1984 — 43,679 offences recorded as against a 1983 total of 37,308. Of the 1984 total, 13,893 offences (31.8%) were detected. The cash value of property stolen amounted to £27 million — more than double the 1983 total of £12.5 million. Of the property stolen just over £½ million worth was recovered. Such statistics, depressing as they are, take no account of the distress caused to householders by these offences but it must be emphasised that the risks of becoming a victim of serious crime in West Midlands are small.

The overall increase in crime is in line with the trend nationally, and the crime figures compare favourably with those in other major conurbations such as Greater Manchester or Merseyside. The British Crime Survey showed that statistically there is very little chance of an individual being involved in an assault. The category most at risk is young men who have been out drinking, not the elderly or women in particular.

There is little evidence to suggest that the deployment of police officers in connection with the miners' dispute had a causal relationship to the rise in crime. Society at large is changing and much of the crime is related to the social environment. Inter-agency co-operation between police, local authorities and other agencies offers a prospect of a solution through a corporate approach to improve conditions and to reduce crime. There is evidence that ventures such as Community Watch and Victims Support Groups are receiving community support and the Force's newly formed Community Services Department will provide much needed impetus in this area.

010

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CC H/B



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

13 September 1985

Dear Mark

Prime Minute. (2)
This note contains the
Scarman check list you asked for
at Cabinet. Herby Burt's round-
up note is also attached. MHA 13/9

HANDSWORTH RIOT

At yesterday's Cabinet it was agreed that Ministers should be provided with background information both on Handsworth and on the implementation of the Scarman Report.

DOE are circulating in the course of this afternoon a brief on urban programme projects in Handsworth and on social conditions more generally. I now attach:

- ... 1. a copy of the Home Secretary's speech to the ACPO conference of last night;
- ... 2. a summary of non-police recommendations in Scarman and what has happened since;
- ... 3. a summary of the police and law and order recommendations in Scarman.

I should stress that in the time available it has proved possible to produce the second document only by using information already available within the Home Office. Officials here are in touch with colleagues in other departments so that a more detailed document can be available in the course of next week. One difficulty, as the attached note makes clear, is that Lord Scarman's recommendations in the social policy field were less than specific.

Ministers might also like to be aware that latest reports from West Midlands police indicate that they are now receiving a considerable amount of information about those involved in the riot. In addition to those arrested for public order offences twenty people have so far been arrested as a result of the criminal investigation.

Copies of this letter and enclosures go to the Private Secretaries of Members of the Cabinet.

Yours ever
William
W R FITTALL

Mark Addison, Esq

HOME SECRETARY'S SPEECH AT A DINNER GIVEN BY
THE ASSOCIATION OF CHIEF POLICE OFFICERS IN
PRESTON ON THURSDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER 1985

Inevitably, and rightly, there has been a rush of comment following the disastrous riot in Handsworth on Monday night. I do not intend to go over the whole ground again this evening. But there are one or two points which I think need picking out of the debate and emphasising.

The first one is a principle. Public order has once again been shown to be the most fundamental social good. The right to go about one's lawful occasions in peace is the most basic human right of them all. Without that policies for jobs and policies against deprivation will simply not take root. Such economic and social policies are necessary, particularly in our inner cities, and that is why they are being

/intensively

2.

intensively pursued in places like Handsworth,
using massive public resources. A Government
which simply ignored these considerations
would not, of course, have doubled to
£330 million the resources devoted to the Urban
programme. Nor would it have contributed
three-quarters of the £20 million which has
gone over the last four years into the Urban
Programme in Handsworth alone.

Handsworth needs more Jobs and better housing.
But riots only destroy. They create nothing
except a climate in which necessary
development is even more difficult. Poor
housing and other social ills provide no kind
of reason for riot, arson and killing. One
lady interviewer asked me whether the riot was
not a cry for help by the rioters. The sound
which law-abiding people at Handsworth heard
on Monday night, the echoes of which I picked

Up on Tuesday

3.

up on Tuesday, was not a cry for help but a cry for loot. That is why the first priority, once public order is secure, must be a thorough and relentless investigation into the crimes which were committed.

It was plain to me that people in Birmingham, and the country as a whole, also needed a clear, factual account of what took place. Rumours and stories circulate and can do harm unless the true facts are established. I do not believe there is any point in holding a further massive judicial enquiry on the lines of that conducted by Lord Scarman. I have, however, asked the Chief Constable of the West Midlands to prepare a factual account of the events of these days in Birmingham and of the tactics and measures adopted by his force. I have further arranged for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary to be closely

/associated with the

4.

associated with the preparation of this report, so as to ensure that any points which are important for policing in this country as a whole are fully covered. The Chief Constable will make this report public, as soon as it is ready. It will provide a clear-cut account of the sequence of events and of the connection between them.

Finally, I hope that you as chief police officers will dismiss as shallow those who argue that what happened at Handsworth means that community policing has failed. On the contrary, I feel sure that as professionals your judgment will continue to be that the closer the police can get to the community which they serve the more likely is their policing to succeed. Of course ways and means are a matter for debate and will need constant adjusting force by force. But community

/policing is really

5.

policing is really a new name for an old idea, an idea which lies at the heart of policing in this country and which we must not allow to fade away.

SCARMAN REPORT - NON-POLICE RECOMMENDATIONS

In Part VI of his Report, Lord Scarman deliberately declined to make specific suggestions or proposals in the fields of Government financial or economic policy; but he did comment on, and make recommendations about, aspects of policy touching on social problems which he thought were inextricably bound up with the matters referred to him.

The following specific recommendations can be identified:

The Inner City

(a) Better co-ordinated and directed attack on inner city problems (8.44).

Merseyside Task Force created 1981, with direct personal involvement of S of S for Environment: Government Departments combining to work with local authorities and private sector. Internal review of urban policy in 1984 followed by setting up of five City Action Teams in major Partnership areas - London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, with specific object of ensuring better co-ordination between Government Departments, principally DOE, DTI and MSC, which provide Government assistance to those areas. (Those Departments provide Team's members.) Other Departments (DHSS, DES and Home Office) have links with the teams. Massive increase in Urban Programme expenditure since Scarman: £210m in 1981/82, £270m in 1982/83, to £348m in 1983/84. That level has been maintained in two subsequent years. Share going to ethnic minority projects: £8m in 1981/82; £27m in 1983/84.

(b) Involvement of local communities in planning, provision of local services and management and financing of specific projects (para. 8.44).

Principally a matter for local authorities. But DOE Ministers responded to Scarman by writing to leaders of Partnership and Programme authorities emphasising need to consult local communities, specifically mentioning ethnic minority communities before deciding which projects to support themselves or propose for support also from Government.

(c) Private Sector and police to be more effectively involved in attempts to tackle inner city problems.

Government has encouraged private sector involvement by introduction of Urban Development Grant (DOE). Some run down inner city estates are being re-developed by private sector consortia (cf Cantrell Park in Merseyside). Police are now regularly consulted about eg urban programme projects and are often members of Partnership Committees.

Ethnic Minorities

Scarman drew attention to three particular areas of need: housing; education and employment (para. 8.45).

(a) Housing (para. 8.46): value of rehabilitation; involving community in housing management and development; local authorities to review housing policies to guard against discrimination.

Government has encouraged improvement and rehabilitation. Has supported greater tenant involvement in housing management (eg through Housing Act 1980 and Priority Estates Project). Report of CRE investigation into housing in Hackney has provided checklist of action to avoid discrimination.

(b) Education (para. 8.47): need for Government initiative in ethnic minority education: under 5s; teacher training; teaching of English and involvement of parents.

Government wished to be advised by Swann Committee on Education of Ethnic Minority Children (published 1985). Response by S of S for Education and Science has encouraged improvements in training, re-affirmed support for English teaching and parent involvement. Government initiative to stimulate voluntary sector support for children under 5 in disadvantaged families launched by 1983 - £2m a year until 1986/87. 14 major organisations running over 80 projects providing either full-day care, part-day care or family support.

(c) Employment (para. 8.48): need for blacks to have stake in community through business and the professions; long-term need to provide employment, educational, recreation and leisure opportunities.

Training and special programmes reviewed in light of Scarman. Many relevant initiatives taken. Small businesses encouraged: Local Enterprise Agencies; Enterprise Allowance; expansion of Small Firms Service; (Home Secretary's ethnic minority business initiative, modest and not yet publicised). Training reviewed: new 2 year YTS, vast expansion of Community Programme. (£2bn annually on special measures) Special consideration is given to schemes/projects in inner cities. Recreation and leisure schemes supported under Urban Programme.

Response to Ethnic Minority Needs

(a) Support for HAC call for improving information about ethnic minority needs (8.49).

White Paper on Racial Disadvantage (Feb. 1982) endorsed ethnic monitoring where there was operational need. Subsequently, Government has given lead by decision to monitor whole Civil Service: exercise will be complete in 1987.

(b) Inclusion of ethnic question in Census (8.49).

Government Reply to HAC report (published Nov. 1984 Cmnd 9238) accepted case in principle for inclusion of ethnic question. Necessary preparatory work in hand, but inclusion in 1991 Census is subject to test on acceptability.

(c) Ethnic monitoring by local authorities of services they provide (8.45).

Principle endorsed by Joint Central/Local Government Working Party on Racial Disadvantage (report July 1983). Commended by HO/DOE Ministers at Conference with local authorities in March 1984. Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange (LARRIE) data bank established (1984) jointly by central local government to disseminate good local authority practice.

(d) Need for a well co-ordinated and directed programme to combat racial disadvantage and for positive action (para. 8.50).

Ministers have accepted that more needs to be done. More is being done, cf DOE action on inner city and City Action Teams; but have not agreed need for one Government Department to direct and co-ordinate all action. Government believes racial disadvantage best tackled through main spending programmes, where each Department retains responsibility for its own field. Accepts that special help sometimes needed for disadvantaged groups, including ethnic minorities, to bring them up to the level of rest of population. Section 11 for local authority staff, Urban Programme and MSC schemes all used for this purpose.

(e) Endorsement of HAC report recommendation for reform of section 11 (para.8.51).

New guidelines issued to local authorities in November 1982, setting out changes in administrative arrangements to increase effectiveness of the scheme and make it more relevant to present day needs. Since then a wider range of posts have been approved, including "strategic" ones in central positions. All new posts are now for maximum of 3 years subject to periodic review of effectiveness. Existing posts are being similarly reviewed. Scarman acknowledged that wider reforms, eg extending the categories of persons for whom special provision can be made (at present only Commonwealth immigrants) allowing payments to voluntary bodies, or for non-staff costs) would all need primary legislation. Ministers have said that they have no plans for such legislation.

Community Relations Councils and the CRE

(a) Need for review of the role of CRCs (8.53).

CRCs are funded by CRE and/or local authorities. Difficult and sensitive subject. CRE has introduced new funding policy for CRCs under which their activities are subject to closer monitoring of relevance and effectiveness.

E.R.

(b) CRE should consider intervening as mediator where breakdown in relations between police and local community (8.54).

Such action not considered necessary in most cases - in light of development of police/community liaison arrangements, but Chairman and senior officers have sometimes helped on a personal basis in local situations.

SCARMAN REPORT: POLICE AND LAW AND ORDER MATTERS

The attached checklist summarises in detail the implementation of Lord Scarman's recommendations on policing matters. The following paragraphs may be useful as speaking notes:

"It is nonsense to suggest that the Government has failed to implement the recommendations of the Scarman Report. On the police side all the recommendations have been implemented, half of them in full, and the rest in different degrees depending on resources, further consultation and action still being taken.

Thanks to strong recruiting efforts the proportion of black and Asian policemen has been increased by 90%. Police training has been radically changed, with much greater emphasis on community and race relations, specialised public order training for all ranks, longer training for police recruits in a wider range of skills, and new training programmes being developed for the supervisory ranks.

Police patrolling is now very much in line with Scarman recommendations, with problem areas being patrolled on foot by mature officers assigned for longer periods to build up closer relationships with the local community. The law of stop and search has been completely overhauled, with new statutory safeguards, in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act which comes into force next January.

Pilot schemes of lay visitors to police stations has been encouraged, for random checks on the detention of suspects, and the scheme is being extended. The new Police Complaints Authority adds a strong independent element into the supervision of investigating complaints, and must state publicly in each case whether it is satisfied with the conduct of the investigation. And a statutory duty has been imposed on all police forces to set up proper consultative arrangements with representatives of the local community.

This can hardly be described as a programme of inaction. In the light of the Scarman Report the police and Government have examined almost every area of police activity, and enormous changes have taken place. It is only

right to acknowledge that, and the great effort that has gone into making those changes. The police are keenly aware of the need for support from their local communities, and much better organised now to respond to local need. I hope that local communities recognise that, and in turn give their support to the police."

SCARMAN CHECKLIST: POLICE MATTERS

1. This note summarises the action taken since 1981 in response to Lord Scarman's recommendations on police matters.

Recruitment

2. Improving ethnic minority recruitment to the police (paragraph 8.28)

Study Group reported in July 1982. Circular sent to police. Subsequent monitoring by HMIC confirms most forces taking active steps. June 1982 386 ethnic minority officers: July 1985 726 (88% increase).

3. Tests should be developed for identifying racial prejudice in police recruits, and incorporated in police selection procedures (paragraph 8.29)

Met concluded difficult to devise objective tests; better to identify prejudiced attitudes during probationer training. Met doing further work on psychological tests (including tests of prejudice) in recruit selection procedures, but still at early stage.

Training

4. Recruit training should be increased to minimum of six months, and integrated with subsequent probation period (paragraph 8.30)

Following Police Training Council review, from 1984 2 1/2 month initial course increased to total of 4 months (14 week course followed by probationary training in force, and further 2 week course towards end). Reason for not introducing 6-month course: 2-year apprenticeship offers better balance between courses, tutoring and on the job training; and resource constraints.

5. Recruit training should include more training in prevention, as well as handling of disorder; and in greater understanding of cultures and attitudes in multi-racial society (paragraph 8.30)

High priority in new curriculum to both these aspects.

6. Probationary period should include training in situations of potential conflict (eg street stops), tutor or parent constable scheme, and period in ethnic minority city areas; but should not involve solo foot patrols in sensitive areas (paragraph 8.31)

Police Training Council report on community and race relations training commended to all forces in September 1983. Probationary period includes attachment to tutor constable, but not practical for all probationers to spend time in multi-racial city area.

7. Training in public disorder, with common programmes and minimum standards, should be provided for all ranks up to and including Assistant Chief Constable (paragraph 8.32)

Specialised public order training for all ranks since 1984, but disrupted by the miners' strike. Common minimum standards being developed by the Central Planning Unit.

8. Greater attention to management training in supervisory responsibilities of Inspectors and Sergeants (paragraph 8.35)

Police Training Council review of management training for ranks from sergeant to chief superintendent. New training programmes being prepared. Attention of

chief constables being drawn to recent research on supervisory roles of sergeants and inspectors.

Discipline

9. Racially prejudiced or discriminatory behaviour should be a special offence in the Police Discipline Code, with the normal penalty being dismissal (paragraph 8.37)

1985 Police Discipline Regulations contain new offence of racially discriminatory behaviour. Any of the prescribed penalties (caution; fine; reduction in rank; dismissal) may be imposed.

Policing methods

10. Chief Constables should re-examine mix of foot and mobile patrols; role of Home Beat Officers; opportunities for police to get to know community; continuity and experience of officers in inner city areas (paragraph 8.38)

Policing methods now very much in line with Scarman recommendations. Problem areas patrolled on foot by mature officers assigned for long periods to build up relationship with local community. Community constable schemes in most forces. Community liaison officers ensure local sensitivities recognised.

Consultation and accountability

11. Police and police authorities should set up consultative arrangements at once, and Government should introduce statutory duty requiring them to do so (paragraph 8.39)

1982 Circular encouraged establishment of consultative arrangements. Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 imposed statutory duty; 1985 Circular on consultative committees.

12. Statutory framework for local consultation in London, and consideration of advisory board for London-wide consultation (paragraph 8.40)

PACE 1984 requires Met police to establish consultative arrangements in 40 boroughs and districts in MPD. Since 1981 regular meetings for local authority representatives to discuss policing of London with Commissioner and Home Secretary.

Police handling of disorder

13. Water cannon, CS and plastic bullets should not be used except when life is at risk, and only on authority of chief constable (paragraph 8.41)

Water cannon not issued. Guidelines on CS and baton rounds state to be used only when conventional policing methods tried and failed, and necessary to prevent loss of life, serious injury or widespread destruction of property. Or absence of chief constable his deputy can authorise use.

Stop and search

14. The law needed rationalising and additional safeguards (paragraph 8.58)

Implemented in Part I of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, which comes into force in January 1986.

Repeal of "sus"

15. A careful watch should be kept on the Criminal Attempts Act 1981 (paragraph 8.59)

Government undertook to keep close watch on section 9 (interference with motor vehicles). Proportion of non-whites arrested in MPD under section 9 significantly lower than proportion previously arrested for 'sus'.

Lay visitors to police stations

16. There should be provision for random checks on the interrogation and detention of suspects in police stations (paragraph 8.65)

Pilot schemes in Lambeth, Enfield, Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Humberside, Leicestershire, South Yorkshire and West Midlands. Home Office preparing circular encouraging lay visitor schemes.

Reform of police complaints procedure

17. Public confidence in the complaints procedure required an independent element in the investigation of complaints, and a conciliation process (paragraph 8.61)

New Police Complaints Authority (April 1985) supervises investigation of complaints, and must state publicly whether satisfied with conduct of investigation. Conciliation process included in new complaints procedure.

New Riot Act

18. There should not be a new statutory offence of failing to disperse after a public warning (paragraph 8.62)

The Government agrees that the existing law provides the police with adequate powers (Public Order White Paper paragraph 6.15).

Amendments to Public Order Act 1936

19. There should be a requirement of advance notice of a procession to the police; the requirement of "serious public disorder" for imposing conditions or banning marches was too stringent a test (paragraph 8.63)

Public Order White Paper proposes national requirement of advance notice for marches. Instead of relaxing public order test, it proposes two additional criteria for imposing conditions on demonstrations, to prevent serious disruption to local community, and coercion of individuals.

20. Racist marches in sensitive areas should be capable of being banned under the existing power to prohibit a specified class of procession; if this proved difficult, the Act should be amended to enable one specified march to be banned (paragraph 8.64)

Public Order White Paper proposes new power to ban a single march (paragraph 4.14). New power to impose conditions in order to prevent intimidation or coercion should help to steer racist marches away from sensitive areas.



10 DOWNING STREET

Pome Pinter

Barnard says

there is great
press interest about
the Cabinet's discussion
on Birmingham, especially
on my "public enquiry".

Barnard would like
a line to take

as soon as possible after
Cabinet.

N. C. W. 12.9

Prime Minister.

This note from Hedley broadly confirms
reports you have had through
the Home Office. MCA 11/9

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

11 September 1985

BIRMINGHAM RIOT - CABINET DISCUSSION, THURSDAY 12 SEPTEMBER

From personal observation of the scene of the riot and of the police control room on Monday night, it was clear the police were taken by surprise and were baffled by the reasons for the riot. They were stung that years of community "spade work" appeared wasted and were convinced that the Carnival of that weekend had been one of the happiest ever.

The Chief Police Community Liaison Officer had been newly appointed - just three weeks before. He was sadly devoid of clues. His predecessor who had done the job for 16 years had left at short notice without training his successor.

The West Midland police Drug Squad is the second largest in the country without having the second largest drug problem. West Indians were prime suspects for Cannabis and various other drugs. The police denied that drugs were involved in the riot. I have reason to doubt this.

A leading enquiry which the police have in hand, not yet in the Media, is the search to discover why 100 men could so quickly gather after the 5.15 pm incident. There is evidence of some planning: the number of petrol bombs and the series of "ambush" telephone calls to the police early on Monday evening.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Conclusion

The police were initially slow in fielding many officers, but did admirably later. They had good supplies of ready riot gear. They lacked a machine to push aside burning barricade cars. They managed to arrest a small number of 25 which is understandable, but again police cameras would have helped.

I am returning to Birmingham on Friday.

HB.

HARTLEY BOOTH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

EVENTS

ANNEX

9 September

- 11.15 am - Asian shopkeeper stabbed by black during attempted robbery, Villa Road, Hansworth.
- 5.00-5.30 pm - Black driver stopped by traffic policeman near Villa Cross Public House, Villa Road. 100 blacks appear on the scene, summoned by a call from the black driver. Police are investigating whether this response was orchestrated. Traffic policeman injured. Two youths arrested.
- 5.30-7.45 pm - Police receive a number of requests for help. They send CID. Police believe these calls were ambushes. (Press reports have not received this information.)
- 7.45 pm - Fire services attend the fire at Villa Cross Bingo Hall opposite Villa Cross Public House.
- 7.45-8.00 pm - Fireman told to let the building burn and is attacked by black youths throwing bottles, bricks and firebombs. This fireman was detained in hospital for suspected injury to his head.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

- 8.00-9.00 pm - Firemen retreat. Up to 300 police in riot gear in Villa Road. Lozells Road under attack.
- 9.00-9.45 pm - Police advance, youths retreat. Looting and burning of shops. Barricades built. 400 rioters. Police have difficulty getting past burning cars to reach the centre of the riot.
- 9.45-10.30 pm - 600 police in the area stoned and firebombed. Police advance over barricades.
- 10.30-12.00 pm - Area sealed and riot contained. Groups of 50 rioters run in an area of 4 miles from the heart of the riot.

Tuesday 10th September

- 3.30 am - Fire under control. Smoke continued for 12 hours later.
- 7.00 am - First bodies found in Lozells Road Post Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

cc ss

Transcript by
HELEN LEITH of:

PRESS CONFERENCE ON RIOTS IN BIRMINGHAM
GIVEN BY DOUGLAS HURD, HOME SECRETARY,
IN BIRMINGHAM ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 1985

MR. HURD

Thank you very much for coming, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Can I just start off, it may save a little time if I just say something about my visit and the tragic and disgraceful scenes which happened here last night. Today, I have had meetings here with the Police. I have had meetings at the Fire Headquarters with the Fire Officers and I have thanked members of both forces for the great gallantry which they clearly showed last night and of which I have heard many tributes already. I also had an interesting meeting with about twenty community leaders from the Hansworth area and listened to their points. I urged them to make a joint statement if they could put one together which would reassure those particularly living in the Hansworth area and help to restore confidence and they promised to consider doing that. Some of them made the point, which is obviously a familiar one, and I have heard it on the telly and the radio often today, which is that what happened last night is the result of unemployment and deprivation, and unemployment and deprivation are social evils which is why we have spent a great deal of money trying to deal with them, and in particular in the Hansworth area we have put in twenty million pounds under the Urban Programme - that is the Hansworth area alone, of which three-quarters comes from the Government. Now, one can argue it should be more, one can argue it should be spent in different

ways, but there can be no doubt that a massive effort has been made to put public money into Hansworth over recent years. It is my belief that unemployment, social conditions, don't justify in any way setting fire to other people's houses, putting other people's lives at risk, looting other people's property. We can talk, and Parliament does talk, and Local Authorities do talk, about social phenomena, and that is fine, but we are not actually dealing here today with social phenomena, we are dealing mainly with crimes and I am sure that that is the point which ought to be emphasised over and over again. What I believe is necessary in the immediate future is first of all the maintenance and restoration of public order - that must be the first priority of the Police and I pay tribute to the way in which that task is being tackled. Secondly, a strong and relentless criminal investigation designed to bring those who committed these crimes to justice. Thirdly, as I have said, the statement of the community leaders designed to restore confidence. Those I think are three immediate things which are needed, I think that other things follow after that, there is of course statutory provision for compensation as you know. There will, of course, be reports about the actual events which occurred yesterday, last night and again, today and how the Police handled them. All these are important elements, but I think the main immediate things is to restore confidence, establish order and get the communities building bridges again, in an area where so much work has gone on, over recent years, by the Police, by the Fire Authorities, by the Local Authorities, by Government, so much work has gone on to try and build bridges between communities in an unstable part of this city. That is all I wanted to say by way of introduction, now let me try and answer your questions. Who's first?

QUESTION

How do you react to suggestions that your visit to the area this afternoon has aggravated the problem and in fact led to a renewed outbreak of violence?

MR. HURD

Well, I wonder what you would have said if I had sat behind my desk in London while this was going on, I wonder what would have been in the Daily Mirror tomorrow and I wonder what you would have said if I had come here and sat here at Police Headquarters or maybe gone to Fire Headquarters? No, I think it is part of my job, as Home Secretary, to acquaint myself with what is going on and I think it was right to go and listen to the people who were actually affected. I have listened to young blacks who have put their grievances, I have listened to Asian shopkeepers who told me what had happened to them last night and pointed to their shops which had been burnt out and I talked to a family who had lived in Hansworth for thirty four years. I think that that was the right thing to do and I would have been wrong if I hadn't done it.

QUESTION

Mr. Hurd, can you just describe for us please what your own experience of the violence was this afternoon?

MR. HURD

Well, I arrived in the road, and as I said, began to walk down it as perhaps some of you saw and talked to a group of young blacks and some were talking and some were shouting but we were having some sort of a conversation and it was clear that others were beginning to throw things and I moved on, and talked, as I say, to some Asians and to some people who had

lived there considerably longer and it was again clear that I was still within range of a certain number of missiles, nothing so far as I know came particularly close.

QUESTION

Is it fair to say, Mr. Hurd that your visit was abruptly curtailed by what happened?

MR. HURD

No, I did what I set out to do.

QUESTION

Mr. Hurd, can you tell me what happened to your foot? Was that a result of the violence?

MR. HURD

(Laughs) No, my foot was injured in my garden - it is a cracked ankle, I stepped incautiously off a garden seat onto an uneven paving stone and the ankle cracked, and it is getting better.

QUESTION

Mr. Hurd, did you believe that there were sufficient Police Officers present during your visit?

MR. HURD

Of course, yes. I didn't feel unsafe at any time.

QUESTION

Did you feel any fear?

MR. HURD

No, I didn't, I mean, maybe that was unwise on my part, but I did not feel any fear, in fact I don't think most people would if they had been in my position on that occasion.

QUESTION

How did it compare with your experiences in Northern Ireland?

MR. HURD

Well, these things are very different.

QUESTION

Are you confident that the Police Force is actually capable of controlling the situation or have you considered any other measures, such as bringing in the Army?

MR. HURD

No, no, for Heaven's sake. We are not in that situation at all. Of course, I have discussed with the Chief Constable his plans and he was very successful last night in bringing in Police Officers from other Forces under the Neutral Aid Scheme of which you know and if necessary, he will do that again, in fact there are Officers from other Forces on duty in Birmingham at this minute and there is plenty of scope for that and I have no doubt at all - this was one of the points on which I wished to satisfy myself - I have no doubt at all that Birmingham and the West Midlands can

summon up the resources which it needs to deal with this situation.

QUESTION

Are you concerned about the fact that this violence might possibly spread to other areas of the country?

MR. HURD

Well, we had, did we not, in 1981, what were called the Copy Cat Riots, and I imagine that Police Forces up and down the country, particularly those covering areas which have been sensitive in the past, are watchful at the moment, to see if that happens again. Of course, it shouldn't, of course nothing is gained by it, of course nothing is gained except damage to the community, damage to the job prospects, damage to the whole future of the cities which we are talking about, it is senseless and a deeply damaging form of excitement.

QUESTION

What would be your message to the people of Handsworth at such a time?

MR. HURD

My message to the people of Handsworth would be "You've been through a shaking experience and I understand that. But the Police and the Fire Officers have been and are in action to protect you. The community leaders have stressed to me their absolute contempt for what has happened. The Local Authorities, who've been very helpful to me today and have issued a very helpful paper before I arrived, although we belong

to different parties, we share in this, I believe the same objective, and I hope that the people of Handsworth will regain confidence in their surroundings, in their way of life and set up, set in motion, what is bound to be a slow business, of restoring bridges between themselves in the knowledge that the Authorities of the State and the Local Authorities are helping them in that.

QUESTION

Do you think something similar will happen again this evening?

MR. HURD

I can't answer that, except in the same way as I have answered the question about the Copy Cat Riots.

QUESTION

Mrs. Thatcher said she would be expecting a report from you on the events yesterday, what will you be telling her?

MR. HURD

Probably telling her, in a suitable version, what I have told you. She has had a word with me on the telephone this morning and I told her what I had heard overnight indirectly and I will obviously get in touch with her later on.

QUESTION

The Police are obviously helping by their enquiries to establish the reasons for what happened last night. Is that sufficient or do you feel there is any need for any other form of enquiry?

MR. HURD

Well, I think there are three things, aren't there? People are tragically dead and therefore there will be coroner's inquests. That the law provides. There is a whole series of criminal investigations in hand about the crimes which were committed last night and the community leaders urged very strongly that these investigations be carried through quickly and fully. Thirdly, I think that we will need to know exactly what happened last night, which stories are correct, which stories are incorrect and I think that that is important. I haven't closed my mind to any answer as regards enquiries but my instinct, my preference is against having a great new enquiry into the question of inner city life in Birmingham, this is a pretty well tilled field and many people, may worthy people have looked into this over the years. There are arguments about what should be done but my mind rather shakes from having a great new long, slow enquiry into the whole background all over again.

*MS certifies already joined to Party in the past.
MAG/12*

PRIME MINISTER

10 September 1985

BIRMINGHAM RIOT

- 1 AM - 5.30 AM Birmingham Control Room and riot streets.
- * 50 shops and houses were burnt out - one had collapsed into the road. Property Asian.
 - * 400 rioters - all West Indian.
 - * 650 police deployed from four police areas - 25 arrests.
 - * Extensive looting - mostly jewellery shops.
 - * Petrol bombing of a fire engine.
 - * False calls to the police to lure them into ambushes (mostly detected harmlessly).
 - * Follows a calm period in community relations - the Carnival at the weekend was peaceful.
 - * Casualties - 23 injured police officers, 1 injured fireman, 2 injured public and 3 deaths.
 - * Chief Constable of Birmingham describes the incident as worse than Brixton or Toxteth because of the damage done.

HBS

HARTLEY BOOTH



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 April, 1985.

Reform of Police Complaints System

Thank you for your letter of 1 April about the proposed reform of the Police Complaints system. The Prime Minister has noted the Northern Ireland Secretary's intention to publish a consultation paper on 11 April.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Home Secretary, the Foreign Secretary, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

(C.D. Powell)

N.D. Ward, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL

LONDON SW1A 2AZ

Charles Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

1st April 1985

Dear Mr Powell,

nr

REFORM OF POLICE COMPLAINTS SYSTEM

Robin Butler's letter of 18 March drew attention to the need to let you have in good time papers requiring the Prime Minister's attention before Easter. One such matter of which the Prime Minister may wish to be aware is the publication of a discussion document on the police complaints system in Northern Ireland.

The Prime Minister will already be aware of Mr Hurd's intention to legislate for the reform of the police complaints system in Northern Ireland along broadly the same lines as the changes being introduced for England and Wales in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. The main elements of the Secretary of State's proposals are:

- (i) the creation of a new Police Complaints Commission (to replace the existing Board) which would be empowered to supervise the investigation of the most serious complaints;
- (ii) the introduction of a flexible system for resolving minor complaints without recourse to formal investigation;
- (iii) repeal of the power vested in the Police Authority under Section 13 of the Police Act (Northern Ireland) 1970 which allows it to convene a tribunal to consider a report of complaints matters which affect or appear to affect the public interest. This power proved to be deficient on the one occasion it has been used and the new proposals are designed in part to provide an effective substitute;
- (iv) a reserve power for the Secretary of State to ask the Commission to supervise the investigation of matters where there is some indication that a police officer may have committed a criminal or disciplinary offence, even though a formal complaint has not been lodged, in the public interest. (This proposal goes beyond what is enacted for England and Wales);



- (v) changes in the arrangements for police disciplinary hearings and appeals aimed principally at strengthening the safeguards available to police officers.

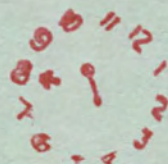
There is a considerable political dimension to and interest in the Government's plans in this issue in Northern Ireland and the Secretary of State intends that the proposals should be given wide publicity so that all concerned should have full opportunity to comment. Mr Hurd would wish the Prime Minister to know of his intention to publish a consultation paper on 11 April. A copy is enclosed for information.

The main Political Parties here know of the Secretary of State's plans to consult interested parties, as do the Irish Government. Arrangements have been made to let the various parties, including Mr Peter Barry and the Department of Foreign Affairs, to have advance copies of the consultation paper for information and informal comment.

I am copying this letter to Private Secretaries to the Home Secretary, the Foreign Secretary, the Attorney General and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

yours sincerely,
J. H. Coleman

MP N D WARD



01 APR 1965

File

D85

25 July 1983

This is just to record that the Prime Minister has seen a copy of Tony Rawsthorne's letter to me of 22 July about the prospects for public order for the rest of the summer.

Timothy Flesher

Hugh Taylor, Esq.,
Home Office.

Sgt

SECRET

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT



Prime Minister:

The lesson appears to be that civil disorder 22 July 1983
of the Brixton kind depends
at least as much on transient factors
and accident as on underlying
social conditions.

Dear Tim,

JF 22/7

PUBLIC ORDER: PROSPECTS FOR THE REST OF THE SUMMER

The Home Secretary believes that the Prime Minister may wish to be aware of assessments he has received of the public order prospects for the rest of the summer.

The background to this is that, as in 1982, so far this year there has been no extensive disorder such as that in 1981. There have again been lesser disorders, sometimes between the police and - generally young and black - people, and some in areas where tension and disorder has been experienced before. Recent examples include attacks on the police in Brixton on 4 June, in Notting Hill on 20 June, and in Bristol on 21-22 June. I attach accounts of those incidents (two in the form of Written Answers to Parliamentary Questions from Mr Harvey Proctor, MP). The assessment available to us is that these events were not co-ordinated or pre-planned. But incidents of this sort have been borne in mind in the assessments of the prospects for public order provided by the Security Service and key chief officers of police.

As to the rest of the summer, the assessment from the Security Service is that there is no intelligence to suggest that any black or white subversive groups or individuals are planning civil disturbances or that they are considering how they might exploit any disturbances that might otherwise arise. If disturbances were to break out, some subversive groups would be likely to move quickly to extract the maximum political advantage from them. Given the problems of the inner-cities and of areas of high ethnic minority population, and the strained relations in some places between the police and the ethnic (particularly the black) communities, local incidents will undoubtedly occur from time to time. The greatest threat of serious civil disorder involving the ethnic minority communities would appear to arise from a spontaneous hostile reaction to a perceived wrong or a particular incident, leading to violent confrontation with the police. If a major confrontation developed in a particular locality, then sympathetic violence could well follow elsewhere.

Similarly, the assessments from the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and the Chief Constables of Greater Manchester, Merseyside and the West Midlands report no intelligence of planned disorder. In London, there remain a number of areas of tension and potential trouble, including Brixton and Notting Hill. Developments in such areas are constantly monitored and reviewed. The police are engaged in a major planning and liaison operation for the Notting Hill Carnival on 28-29 August, with the aim of ensuring a peaceful carnival, with a low-key presence. The situation in Greater Manchester is stable at present, and there are

/no indications

Tim Flesher, Esq

SECRET

SECRET

no indications of serious threats or difficulties. The same is reported of Merseyside, although the chief constable there regrets that some local political rhetoric speaks of predictions of riots and violence. The recently begun demonstrations about the conviction of (white) Mr Dennis Kelly for the murder of (black) Mr Billy Osu do not at present appear to pose a serious threat to public order, but the position is being monitored very closely, under the personal direction of the chief constable. In the West Midlands, there are slight indications of a marginal increase in the risk of attack on officers patrolling on their own, but otherwise the system for monitoring the potential for disorder provides a reasonably fair prospect. The most serious threat of disorder is from gangs of youths seeking confrontation with the police; their aggression does not appear to be directed against the police. The overall assessment from the police is, like that from the Security Service, that the greatest risk is of a spontaneous outbreak of disorder sparked by a minor incident and with a potential for imitation.

The police have continued with and developed the work on public order which Lord Whitelaw reported in his minute of 29 June 1982 to the Prime Minister, both in their systems for monitoring the potential for spontaneous disorder and techniques for attempting to defuse it, and in their organisation, training, tactics and equipment for dealing quickly and firmly with disorder should it occur.

Like the assessment for last year, therefore, the summary is that the possibility of public disorder this summer certainly cannot be ruled out but that, if trouble occurs, there is a good prospect that a prompt and firm response from the police would enable it to be contained and prevent it from developing into the sort of riots seen in 1981.

I am copying this letter to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Tim Rawsthorne

A R RAWSTHORNE

SECRET



22 JUL 1983

121234
567890

INCIDENT IN BRIXTON ON SATURDAY 4 JUNE 1983

At 5.33 pm two uniformed officers on foot patrol in Railton Road saw a black man aged about 21 in possession of what they suspected were controlled drugs and arrested him. The man punched one of the officers and ran off, but after a short chase they caught him. The officers were then attacked by a group of 10 - 15 men who kicked and punched them and one of whom inflicted a knife gash on the back of one of the officers. The arrested man was able to escape, and one of the officers' personal radio was stolen by one of the group.

2. The officers had been able to put out a radio call for assistance, and other officers, in a number of vehicles, arrived at 5.37 pm. The attackers had by then run off, and the police, in their search for them, left Railton Road. One officer, who had arrived in an "Allegro" Panda car, pursued the search on foot, leaving his car parked in the Road.

3. A little before 6.00 pm, the police received information that one of the attackers was in Railton Road. A police van went there, and the officers found and arrested the man, who has since been charged with assaulting the officers who made the first arrest, and with the theft of the radio. The presence of the van and the arrest of this man attracted a crowd of about 150 black people into Railton Road and, as the van moved off, some of the crowd threw stones and bottles at it.

4. At this stage, the officers in the van recognised the need to retrieve the "Allegro", but the hostility of the crowd made that impracticable, and the crowd overturned and set fire to the car. The van moved out of Railton Road, and many of the crowd then dispersed quickly. Those who remained committed no more offences.

5. The local Commander had as a contingent measure obtained the presence of six Divisional Support Units in the area, but judged that there was no reason, and that it could be counter-productive, to deploy them together in Railton Road. After a 'cooling off' period, and when the number of people in the Road was down to about 40, at about 7.45 pm he sent in one Unit, who removed the car, without

E.R.

incident.

6. At 10.00 pm the Commander held a meeting about the events at Brixton Police Station with the Deputy Chairman of the Community/Police Consultative Group and the Deputy Chairman of the Lambeth CRC, which is said to have been satisfactory; and there was no further disorder during the week-end.

EXTRACT FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT

WRITTEN ANSWER

THURSDAY 30 JUNE 1983

COL. 104

Public Disorder

Mr. Proctor asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will call for a report from the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis concerning incidents of public disorder which took place in All Saints road, Notting Hill, London, on Tuesday, 21 June, including the ethnic breakdown of the people involved in the disturbances; and if he will make a statement on the contents of the report.

Mr. Hurd: I believe my hon. Friend may have in mind an incident on 20 June. We understand from the Commissioner that at about 3 pm on 20 June two police officers on foot patrol in All Saints road saw a man whom they believed to be wanted on warrant for various offences enter a community centre. They informed the local inspector, who deployed a district support unit nearby and entered the centre and made an arrest. As the arrested man was being taken from the premises, there was a disturbance in which the inspector sustained a head injury which required treatment in hospital. The police estimate that most of those involved in the disturbance were black. Other officers came to the inspector's help and a man was arrested for obstruction. A crowd of about 50 spectators gathered outside the premises, but there was no disorder in the street. At 9 am on 21 June a man was arrested in All Saints road in connection with the assault on the inspector. A sizeable crowd gathered, but the only incident was that one of the crowd spat at an officer and was arrested. The man appeared in court on 23 June and was bound over.

We deplore the injury to the officer, and the action by those who attempted to hinder the police in the proper execution of their duties.

EXTRACT FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT

WRITTEN ANSWER

MONDAY 4 JULY 1983

COL. 1

HOME DEPARTMENT

St. Paul's Bristol (Incidents)

Mr. Proctor asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will call for a report from the chief constable for Avon and Somerset concerning incidents of public disorder which took place in the St. Paul's area of Bristol on Tuesday 21 June, including the ethnic breakdown of the people involved in the disturbances; and if he will make a statement on the contents of the report.

Mr. Hurd: I understand from the acting chief constable that at about 9.00 pm on 21 June two police officers on foot patrol in the St. Paul's area saw a man whom they believed to be driving whilst disqualified. With the assistance of other officers who arrived in police vehicles they arrested the man. These events attracted a crowd of about 50 youths, who attacked the police. The police were able to take the arrested man to a police station, but during the attack two officers were injured by missiles, and one of the officers was detained in hospital overnight. Police vehicles were damaged, including one empty car which was overturned. Later in the night the police righted the car and drove it away.

Following the initial disorder, until 3.00 am on 22 June there were intermittent incidents in the area in which, typically, small groups of youths would gather, throw stones at officers, and then disperse quickly. In addition, eight shop windows were broken, and goods were stolen from three of them.

Altogether, about 70 officers were deployed in the area, 11 more of whom were injured slightly. A total of eight police vehicles were damaged. Three more people were arrested during the night, and a further five people suspected of involvement in the incidents were arrested subsequently. The first man to be arrested has been charged with motoring offences. The others arrested have been charged variously with causing criminal damage, burglary, possession of offensive weapon, assaulting the police and offences under section 5 of the Public Order Act 1936. The police estimate that most of those involved in the disorder were black.

I understand from the acting chief constable that for some months the area had largely been free from tension. We share his hope that the actions of an irresponsible minority should not jeopardise relations between the police and the great majority of the local community, who fully support the police in their efforts to maintain law and order.

22 JUL 1988



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Home
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Ref. No: HA (83)6

CONFIDENTIAL

Policing in the Metropolis
A brief for the debate on the
adjournment
Monday 28th February 1983

Conservative Research Department,
32 Smith Square,
London SW1
Tel. 222 9000

Enquiries on this brief to:
MR TONY HUTT

Public Order in London

In July 1981 a number of serious disorders occurred in a number of Britain's major cities, notably in Southall and Brixton in London, as well as Toxteth in Liverpool and parts of Manchester. About 4,000 people were arrested, two-thirds under 20 years old. Less than half of those arrested were unemployed. Two-thirds had criminal records. According to the Home Office, two-thirds of those arrested in London were of 'ethnic appearance'.

The Government responded swiftly and firmly by increasing the supply of equipment to enable police to deal with riots, and riot training and tactics were stepped up. The Home Secretary, Mr William Whitelaw, appointed Lord Scarman to inquire into the disturbances in Brixton on 10-12th April 1981. His report 'The Brixton Disorders' (Cmnd. 8427) was presented to Parliament on 25th November 1981. Mr Whitelaw said:

"Lord Scarman's detailed recommendations on policing policy and policing arrangements add up to a statement of philosophy and direction for the future ... I accept and endorse this statement of philosophy." (Hansard, 25th November 1981 Col. 891)

Lord Scarman's Report

The report set out the 'difficulties, social and economic, which beset the ethnically diverse communities who live and work in our inner cities'. While pointing to housing, educational and family problems, he made clear "social conditions ... do not provide an excuse for disorder. They cannot justify attacks on the police in the streets, arson or riot." He praised the police for standing "between our society and a total collapse of law and order in the streets." He did, however, identify various areas where policing could be improved. The Government promptly acted on many of these suggestions.

1. Recruitment. The Report recommended attracting more black recruits. The Home Secretary commented a year later "Progress is now being made in the recruitment of black and Asian police officers. The latest figure I have for England and Wales is 418. Applications in London from the ethnic minorities more than doubled in the first six months of this year, and the number joining more than doubled." (Hansard, 5th November 1982, Col. 223-4).
2. Training. Lord Scarman suggested general improvements including extension of the initial training period for recruits to six months. Mr Whitelaw said:

"The Police Training Council is now fully engaged on fashioning new approaches to training in public order, management and supervision, community and race relations, and probationers. It has now settled clear objectives for probationer training" (Hansard, 5th March 1982 Col. 223).

3. Monitoring and discipline. Lord Scarman suggested that the normal penalty for racially-prejudiced behaviour be dismissal. Mr Whitelaw said on 5th March 1982:

"Chief officers and the staff associations have firmly and publicly set their face against any toleration of racially prejudiced or discriminatory behaviour in the service... In the light of ... work on training and selection and in view of the unanimous view of the Police Advisory Board, I am not persuaded that the case for imposing a specific disciplinary offence of racially prejudiced behaviour has been made out" (Hansard, Col. 224)

4. Methods. Lord Scarman proposed a re-examination of the mix of mobile and foot patrols and the role of Home Beat officers. This is in line with Conservative objectives. Since 1979 more officers have been put back on the beat in the major cities, and in one area alone of the Metropolitan Force there has been a 23 per cent increase in foot patrols.
5. Complaints. Lord Scarman called for an 'early introduction of an independent element in the investigation of complaints and the establishment of a conciliation process'. That is precisely what is proposed in the Government's White Paper on Police Complaints Procedure.
6. Consultation. Lord Scarman rejected the idea of replacing the Home Secretary as Police Authority for London as has been demanded by the Labour Party. He did, however, recommend the establishment of a statutory framework for consultation between Police Authorities and local authorities. Mr Whitelaw referred on 5th November 1982 to planned legislation to "entrench in statute law the obligation of consultation between police and community. This provision will not, and must not, provide a straitjacket which ignores local wishes" (Hansard, Col. 224)

The Metropolitan Police Commissioner's Report

On 24th January 1983 Mr Whitelaw published the report submitted to him by Sir Kenneth Newman, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis. Sir Kenneth's proposals are designed to:

- (a) make the force more responsive to the needs and feelings of the local community;
- (b) secure a better balance between levels of police command;
- (c) improve the performance of police in dealing with street robbery and burglary;
- (d) initiate a more corporate style of police management.

Sir Kenneth's report recognises that "the level of public support and confidence in the police bears importantly on the effectiveness with which the police task is performed. While the police still stand high in opinion polls, these are pitched at a very general level, and perhaps obscure the fact that the pattern in London is variable."

The future strategy has two main thrusts; each complementary: crime prevention and crime detection. The first will depend on the rationalisation and redeployment of manpower and the use of consultative committees as vehicles for directing the overall strategy. Problems identified locally will be tackled systematically by co-ordinating the contributions of police, public and local agencies. Crime detection will concentrate on improved information gathering, analysis and targeted action.

Sir Kenneth's report highlights six main objectives which need to be pursued:

1. to increase directed foot patrols in priority areas with a view to reducing criminal opportunity through police/community cooperation and contact.
2. to maintain and improve police capability for policing demonstrations and outbreaks of spontaneous rioting with a more economic use of manpower.
3. to increase the detection of offences street robbery and burglary by reorganising detective manpower, by coordinating over manpower (e.g. crime squads and S.P.G.) and by upgrading the status of information gathering.
4. to maintain the present standard of performance of squads centrally deployed against organised crime, with less manpower.
5. to maintain present performance in regulating traffic and traffic law enforcement, with less manpower.
6. to improve support services.

The Government's response

Mr Whitelaw said on 24th January:

"I believe that the Commissioner's proposals, and the action that will follow, will respond to the primary concerns of the majority of the people who live and work in the Metropolis through focussing more directly both on persistent crime problems and on improving cooperation between police and public... From my discussions with a number of Hon Members already, I am confident that the Commissioner's present proposals are attuned very much to their constituents' practical concerns."

Mr Whitelaw went on to say:

"The Commissioner, and I, are both determined to ensure that whatever criticisms may be levelled at particular aspects of Metropolitan policing, London is provided with a programme of effective law enforcement, springing from close community involvement and consultation."

London Policing: Government Consultation

On 17th December 1982, Mr Whitelaw announced the setting up of a regular series of meetings between himself, as Police Authority for the Metropolis, the Commissioner and representatives of the Boroughs and districts in the Metropolitan Police district, to discuss its policing. This new forum will provide an enhanced role for Borough and District representatives both to state their views, and to consider practical issues concerned with the policing of the Metropolis, including persistent crime problems such as burglary and the importance of crime prevention; general manpower levels and finance; recruitment from the ethnic minorities; training and consultation arrangements.

Labour's Policy

Labour's policy, endorsed at the 1981 Party Conference, is to introduce "effective democratic control through the setting up of police authorities throughout Britain, including London, with stronger powers than those enjoyed by existing police committees ... such powers to include the approval of all police policies, the appointment of senior officers, control over resources and manpower, training, disciplinary power, and the development of police/community relations."

The Labour GLC and the Police

The Labour Group on the GLC go much further than the official Party line in their hostility to the police. In a discussion paper published on 6th January 1983 the GLC Labour Group proposes that the Home Secretary would be replaced as the Police Authority by a body composed entirely of locally elected councillors. A London police authority would be created with two components: first, the GLC Police Committee, and second, Police Committees in all 32 London boroughs. The paper concludes that it is feasible for police authorities to have ultimate control of police operations, although it concedes that they should have no say in the outcome of an individual arrest.

The report also calls for radical decentralisation of the Metropolitan Police.

It proposes certain preconditions for the creation of a locally elected police authority for London:

1. National policing services should no longer be the responsibility of the Metropolitan Police, which should confine itself to servicing the needs of Londoners.
2. The servicing of London by two police forces, the Metropolitan and the City of London Police should be ended.
3. The boundaries of the Metropolitan Police should be co-terminous with those of the GLC and the police districts with those of the boroughs.

The report proposes that Boroughs would have ultimate authority on policing in their area and could accept or reject guidelines

to be laid down by the GLC. Borough police committees would have total control over how their proportion of the police precept would be allocated.

One consequence of the Report's proposals would be that policemen in London would become employees of local government instead of holders of public office. At present police constables have a direct responsibility to enforce the law and are not 'employed' by anyone. The duty to enforce the law would be placed instead on the police authority and police officers would have the professional responsibility of carrying out these duties. The Report says:

"Most policing decisions would continue to be made by the professionals on the ground, the individual police officers and their superior officers. However, those decisions would be made under the aegis of the police authority, which could recall, limit or extend the degree of delegation at any time."

A critique of the GLC Proposals

1. A Policing Crisis

The document's starting point is described in these terms. Whatever criticisms might legitimately be levelled at the Metropolitan Police, such an attitude deliberately ignores the following realities:

- a. the very rapid and full response to Lord Scarman's report by the Commissioner and the Home Secretary (a response highly praised by the author of that report);
- b. the substantial switch-back to putting men on the beat since 1979;
- c. the overwhelming desire of Londoners for better protection against burglary and street crime; and
- d. the real practical advance in improved relations between police and community in the Metropolis.

2. The Real Objective of the Document

The real objective of the document is exposed in its asking Londoners to endorse political control of operations. This represents an unthinking, ideological rejection of impartial law enforcement. It will undermine community confidence more rapidly, and more completely, than any temporary, insensitive, police operation.

3. The Management of the Met

It is nonsense to think that the capital city can be policed effectively by over thirty separate borough police forces. The document conveniently ignores, and therefore risks undermining, initiatives which those actually responsible are reported to have in hand, especially Sir Kenneth Newman. The bureaucracy likely to be produced looks vast and more expensive.

The GLC in Action

The political motives of those in power at County Hall are immediately suspect because of their activity in trying to generate anti-police activity and representation from various pressure groups in London. In September 1982 the GLC Police Committee approved grants to a number of bodies including £14,973 to the Institute of Race Relations to fund a project monitoring press and media coverage of the relationship between the police and blacks in London; £32,576 to the Public Order Research Group, Cities of London and Westminster Trades Council to pay for a full-time worker to research into the policing aspects of rallies, public meetings and demonstrations; £15,061 to the Hayes Police Monitoring Group to operate a police monitoring operation; £10,438 to the Police Sub-Committee of Islington Council to meet the cost of two staff in 1982-3 to service the newly formed Police Committee of this extremist-led Labour Council.

TH/TK
28 February 1983

Home Affairs
2 -

PRIME MINISTER

ms

BRIXTON

Elsewhere in the Box is a report on Monday night's disturbances in Brixton which the police handled very effectively. These disturbances were of course the subject of discussion at the Brixton Police Community Liaison Committee which met on Tuesday night. This meeting proved to be most encouraging despite attempts at disruption by a Trotskyite rent-a-mob. The more responsible black leaders supported the police action which is a new and most welcome development.

Tf. ms

3 November 1982



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

2 November 1982

Prime Minister:

Clearly a successful
police operation, nipping
trouble in the bud before it
developed into major
disorder.

Dear Tim

JH
MK
2/11

BRIXTON

I attach a summary of the initial written report from the Metropolitan Police on the facts of the disorder in Brixton yesterday.

The police operation was clearly necessary and successful.

Discussion of the events and issues will no doubt dominate the meeting this evening of the Community/Police Consultative Group for Lambeth. It is not easy to assess in advance the course and outcome of the meeting, which is public and likely to attract considerable media coverage. But the police and leading figures in the community, including local M.P.s., have made considerable efforts today to make responsible people aware of the need and opportunity for their views to be well represented at the meeting, which may serve to counter attempts by others to use it as a platform for promoting dissension and anti-police feeling. If that happens, it may be seen publicly that relations between the police and the community generally have not been impaired by yesterday's events. The police in the area will in any event be ready to respond to any attempts at further disorder tonight, whether or not that were to focus on the meeting.

I will let you have an account of the meeting tomorrow.

Tim
Fletcher

Tim Flesher, Esq.

E.R.

DISTURBANCES IN BRIXTON
MONDAY 1 NOVEMBER 1982

On Monday 1 November 1982 at 5.30 am police officers assisted the Under Sheriff of Greater London in the execution of a Writ of Possession in respect of nine properties in Railton Road, Brixton. This operation was completed by 6.55 am, without incident. There was a light police presence in the area throughout the morning.

2. At 12.37 pm about 80 people gathered in Railton Road and decided to march to Lambeth Town Hall in protest at the evictions. The group moved off at 1 pm, calling first at Brixton Police Station, where they stayed for only 3 minutes and where there were no incidents. The group then went to Lambeth Town Hall, accompanied by a small number of police officers, where they were refused entry to the building but were seen by the Leader of the Council. Mobile police units arrived and the crowd dispersed at 1.50 pm, most of them going to Railton Road.

3. The area was relatively quiet until about 3 pm when a number of youths entered a semi-derelict property at number 56 Mayall Road. It appears that the property had previously been used as a club and the youths were demanding that the local authority should reconnect the electricity supply. As tension appeared to be increasing, the Community Liaison Officer and other senior police officers attempted to make contact with local community leaders, but none was available.

4. The youths eventually left the building and, whilst they remained in Railton Road and showed signs of hostility, none was violent.

5. At about 5.30 pm bricks and three petrol bombs were thrown at police officers in Railton Road and additional units were brought in to disperse the crowd. A little later, two portacabins and some diesel fuel in a council yard in Railton Road were set alight.

6. During the evening a group of youths went into the "Atlantic" public house on the junction of Coldharbour Lane and Atlantic Road. They assaulted the licensee, Mr Leon, who is a local councillor and a member of the Community/Police consultative group of Lambeth. His injuries were slight. He had supported the decision to possess the properties in Railton Road.

7. Later in the evening people who have yet to be identified set fire to a derelict property at number 58 ~~May~~all Road. The building was gutted. Near by in Railton Road the windows of a second-hand furniture shop were broken and a mattress was set alight. The fire was quickly put out.

8. At about 6.30 pm a barricade was erected across Railton Road and more bricks and petrol bombs were thrown at police officers. At the directions of the senior officer the barricade was cleared and the crowd were dispersed into the side roads.

9. The major and last confrontation occurred at 7.45 pm when 100 youths gathered at the junction of Atlantic Road and Coldharbour Lane. They were quickly dispersed by police officers.

10. At the end of the day a total of 8 arrests had been made in connection with the disorder.

11. One police officer was slightly injured, as were three members of the public, including a reporter who was stabbed in the hand. A number of press cameramen were robbed.

12. Apart from the fires, the only damage caused was to equipment of a BBC news team and slight damage to police vehicles.

13. The police believe that the local community supported them in their actions and that the disorder was attributable to a relatively small number of trouble-makers who are eager to confront them.

12 NOV 1982

12 NOV 1982

CB

Home Affairs



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

21st October 1982

Dear Tim

amendments
done 21/10/82

... I should be grateful if the enclosed amendments can be made to the Government's reply to the Home Affairs Committee's report on Police Complaints Procedures which I sent with my letter of 18th October.

I am copying this letter to recipients of the earlier correspondence.

Yours sincerely

Karin

KARIN R. FISHER
Assistant Private Secretary

T. Flesher Esq.

THE GOVERNMENT REPLY TO THE
FOURTH REPORT FROM THE HOME AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
SESSION 1981-82 HC98-I
POLICE COMPLAINTS PROCEDURES

Cmnd 8681
ISBN 010 186810 3

CORRECTIONS

- (i) Page 13, paragraph 13, line 6,
delete 'without' and insert 'with'.

- (ii) Page 13, paragraph 13, final line,
delete 'disciplinary' and insert 'disciplinarily'.

October 1982

LONDON: Her Majesty's Stationery Office

THE GOVERNMENT REPLY TO THE
FOURTH REPORT FROM THE HOME AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
SESSION 1981-82 HC881
POLICE COMPLAINTS PROCEDURES

Comm 881
1981-82

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Home Off



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

18 OCT 1982

Dear Tim ✓

DF 18/10

...
Cmd.
8681

The Home Secretary thought the Prime Minister would be interested to see the enclosed copy of the Government's reply to the Home Affairs Committee's report on Police Complaints Procedures which is due to be published tomorrow.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of members of the Cabinet and to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Karin R Fisher

KARIN R. FISHER
Assistant Private Secretary

T. Flesher, Esq.



Prime Minister:

You may like
to be aware of
the latest position

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

28 July 1982

Dee Tom

JF
28/7

MT

DISTURBANCES IN TOXTETH

We have received a report from the Merseyside police about disturbances in Toxteth last night, and the night before. Some mention of this has been made in the press, and you might like to know the facts.

2. The incidents began at mid-day on Monday 26 July when 2 police officers arrested 2 white youths on suspicion of the possession of a stolen property. The officers were attacked by 8 other youths and the 2 who had been arrested escaped. One of the officers was slightly injured.

3. There were problems overnight from 26-27 July taking most frequently the form of youths stealing cars and driving recklessly around the area. This attracted approving crowds of between 60-80 people, usually young, of both sexes and black and white, gathering on the streets. When the police sought to intervene their vehicles were stoned. In one incident, a stolen car was overturned and set alight. The trouble ceased by about 1 am on Tuesday 27 July. There were 2 arrests.

4. Incidents of the same sort were repeated last night, starting at about 9 pm when stones were thrown at police vehicles, in one instance, 2 officers were slightly injured. At 9.45 pm a stolen car was overturned and set on fire. A crowd of about 200 people gathered in Upper Parliament Street and erected barricades. The atmosphere was tense but police officers, deployed in small numbers although wearing protective clothing were able, with the assistance of community leaders, to persuade the crowd to disperse peacefully.

5. The police viewed these incidents seriously and are making every effort to defuse the tension. Today is particularly delicate and important, as the anniversary of the death of David Moore, who was killed on 28 July 1981 by a police vehicle. There is some suggestion that the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee proposes to hold a commemorative, wreath laying ceremony, to be filmed by Granada Television. It seems that the first plan was to lay a wreath this evening but that it may now take place, if it does at all, at mid-day, when the light would be better

T Flesher, Esq.

for the television cameras. This is illustrative of the intense media interest and activity in the area, which does not help the police in their efforts to produce calm.

6. The Police Authority discussed the situation yesterday and were, apparently, content with the police account of the incidents, as being unrelated and sporadic, and with the police action.

7. We are keeping in close touch with the Merseyside police. They believe that they are fully prepared to deal with any outbreak of serious public disorder which may occur, but they wish as far as possible to avoid a major confrontation and are making every effort in that respect.

I am sending a copy of this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment).

C J Walters
C J Walters

C J WALTERS

28 JUL 1952

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PRIME MINISTER

CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

You may be interested to see the attached paper by the Home Secretary which will be considered at the meeting of H Committee on 28 June. The paper proposes that the forthcoming Police and Criminal Procedure Bill should include a provision to require consultation between the Police and the community. The background to this is of course Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton riots which recommended a statutory framework for local consultation between the Police and the community. The Home Secretary has already accepted the principle of local consultation and indeed arrangements already exist in many areas encouraged by the administrative guidelines which the Home Secretary has issued.

The Home Secretary nevertheless wishes to go further and to establish a statutory duty on the Police to consult the community although without spelling out in detail whom and how they should consult. The principal advantage of placing consultation on a statutory basis would be to establish the somewhat tentative arrangements made in some areas on a firm basis and therefore increase the flow of information and support between the Police and the community which Scarman felt to be essential to effective policing. Police opposition to statutory provisions was largely directed against over-detailed regulation which the Home Secretary's proposals seek to avoid.

The proposals essentially envisage that in the provinces the Police authority in consultation with the Chief Constable should be responsible for making arrangements for the consultation while in the metropolis it would be for the Commissioner to make arrangements with each borough and district. The Home Secretary's general responsibilities in relation to the Police would give him sufficient authority to oversee the consultation arrangements.

22 June 1982

I confess to being very worried about this. It will soon be said that the police cannot make a move without consultation. I cannot see what they are going to be compelled

about. not to consult

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Home Affairs

Prime Minister

M/A 15/6/82



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

15 June 1982

Dee Mike

When he spoke in the Commons debate on Lord Scarman's report on 10 December 1981, the Home Secretary gave a commitment to draw up guidelines on the procedure and best practice of consultation between the community and the police after this subject had been discussed nationally with representatives of police authorities and chief officers of police.

I attach a copy of the written answer which the Home Secretary proposes to give tomorrow announcing the issue of this guidance to chief officers of police and police authorities in England and Wales and, separately in the Metropolis, to the Commissioner of Police and to the Chief Executive of each borough and district in the Metropolitan Police district. It is intended that this written answer should be repeated in the Lords.

I am sending copies of this letter to Private Secretaries to the Secretaries of State for Education and Science, Northern Ireland, Environment, Scotland, Wales and Social Services, the Lord President, the Chief Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Chief Whips in both Houses and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

C J WALTERS

M A Pattison, Esq.

DRAFT ARRANGED QUESTION

To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, when he will publish guidance on local consultation arrangements between the community and the police; and if he will make a statement.

DRAFT REPLY

Guidance about local consultation arrangements between the community and the police is being issued today to chief officers of police and police authorities in England and Wales and, separately in the Metropolis, to the Commissioner of Police and to the chief executive of each Borough and District in the Metropolitan Police District. The guidance covers the purpose and aims of local consultation and the machinery that might be appropriate to support it within the existing statutory framework for policing. It has been prepared after discussion with a wide range of bodies. I have placed copies of the guidance in the Library.

The development of better understanding and mutual support between the community and the police is a crucial element in enhancing police effectiveness. A regular means of consultation can enable local views to be taken into account by chief officers and police authorities in carrying out their respective statutory responsibilities and, at the same time, provide opportunities for the community to gain a better understanding of the police. I firmly believe that there is a need in all areas for an agreed means of consultation, and I hope that this two-way flow of information will, in its focus on local problems, encourage an agreed and constructive response by the local community in joint efforts to discourage and prevent crime.

Because the needs and problems of different areas vary, a uniform pattern of consultation would, in my view, be neither necessary nor constructive. The guidance to chief constables and police authorities offers, therefore, illustrative examples of possible arrangements. As Police Authority for the Metropolis, I have concluded that the arrangements most likely to be effective in the Metropolitan Police District would be based on the Boroughs and Districts, but this would not preclude more informal arrangements for consultation being made within these areas. I hope Borough and District Councils in the Metropolitan Police District will play their full part in the development of consultation arrangements.

The success of consultation arrangements depends on the full support and active participation of the community. Those who become involved will need to understand the purposes of, and the limits to, consultative arrangements, and those to whom the guidance is addressed will, of course, make it available to all those involved

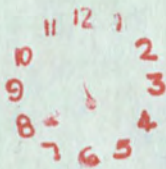
E.R.

in consultation groups. It is also being distributed, with the assistance of the CRE and NCVO, to community relations councils and ethnic minority organisations, and to councils for voluntary service. Because of the general public interest in consultation, copies of the guidance will be available on request from the Home Office. The guidance is also being circulated to Chief Probation Officers, Chief Education Officers, and Directors of Social Services. My rt hon Friends, the Secretaries of State for Education, the Environment and Social Services share my wish that local representatives of the services for which they have statutory responsibilities should play a full part in helping to prevent crime.

The issue of this guidance fulfils the commitment I made after the publication of Lord Scarman's report. I am still considering the wide range of views that have been put to me on the question of statutory provision to govern consultation arrangements, and will make my views known as soon as possible.

Much good work has already been done in many areas. I am sure that chief officers and police authorities, and the Commissioner and the Boroughs and Districts in the Metropolis, will seek to build on this work in the light of the guidance and develop consultative arrangements best suited for their own areas. For my part, I accept that it is my responsibility to review the arrangements made on a regular basis.

71 5 JUN 1982



Home Affairs



QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

17 March 1982

Wm 15/3

Dear Len

RIOTS: FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Thank you for your letter of 5 March. I am grateful for your agreement on the two points, and I note that your agreement to extending the specified period has been given on the understanding that the cost will be contained within existing PES provision.

The local authority associations are being told of these decisions.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

The Rt. Hon. Leon Brittan, Q.C., MP.

18 MAR 1982

12 1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9





Wm 5/3
Home Affairs

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP
Secretary of State
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT

5 March 1982

R. Hill

RIOTS, FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Thank you for your letter of 17 February asking me to consider two proposed changes to the terms of the 60% special grant scheme for riots on which our officials have been unable to reach agreement. (I was glad to learn that the more extreme local authority suggestions, such as 100% government funding of riot damage assistance, have been rejected.)

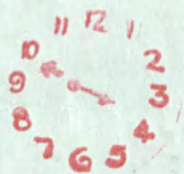
I am not truly convinced that there is an argument on merits to offer the concessions suggested. But I can appreciate the political argument for showing flexibility on these two relatively minor points. I am therefore ready to agree that the specified period for grant shall be extended to 31 July 1981. This would be on the understanding that the cost will be contained from within existing PES police provision for 1981-82 and 1982-83. Similarly I am ready to allow "mutual aid" costs, for police forces which do not themselves qualify for special grant, to be exempt from grant penalties in 1981-82 only. To follow through the decision on snow clearance, the mutual aid costs concerned should be audited.

I have been considerably eased in making these decisions by your earlier assurances that, if unfortunately there should be further riots, the terms of the 1981 scheme would not constitute a precedent.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Leon
LEON BRITTAN

-5 MAR 1962



112

SECRET

AND PERSONAL



File A#

Home Affairs,

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

The Prime Minister was very interested to read the report by the Security Service on exploitation by subversive groups of last year's civil disturbances which you sent me with your minute A07560 of 19 February 1982.

I am returning the report with this minute.

RAW.

22 February 1982

SECRET

AND PERSONAL

SB

Ref: A07560



SECRET AND PERSONAL *ms*

MR. WHITMORE

I think that the Prime Minister may like to see
the attached report by the Security Service, which
assesses the expenditure to which subversive groups
have exploited the aftermath of last summer's civil
disturbances.

2. I should be grateful if you would let me have the
report back when the Prime Minister has read it.

RA

Robert Armstrong

Prime Minister.

19th February 1982

*This an interesting and rather
encouraging report. If you do not
have time to read it in full, the
last two paragraphs contain the main
points.*

RA

SECRET AND PERSONAL

19-82.



H Affair
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

Prime Minister 2

Wh
18/2

17 FEB 1982

RIOTS: FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

* See Pt 1.
Last Summer, we moved quickly to make available to the local authorities in areas worst affected by riots a special grant of 60% of compensation payments and additional policing costs. The principles of the scheme were set out in the 10 Downing Street letter of 10th August, which made clear that it was offered as a basis for discussion with the local authorities. A meeting with the Local Authority Associations took place in October, and since then they have made representations for 100% funding. These we have, of course, rejected.

We have however made some play of the fact that we are still considering the details of the scheme. Our officials have considered, and rejected, a number of adjustments to it. But there are two points outstanding - and these would now be the only changes to the scheme - on which they have been unable to reach agreement. These are the cut-off date for qualifying for special grant, and the question of exemption from RSG penalties of additional expenditure incurred by police authorities who will not, themselves, qualify for the special grant, but were involved in substantial costs, e.g. through the provision of mutual aid.

The cut-off date originally proposed was 17th July. But I accept the local authorities' criticisms that it is unreasonable for us to identify, with hindsight, the worst incidents of rioting, and tie the grant scheme to those costs alone. For some time, the situation remained very tense. Heavy policing was necessary, and it was only through it that the problem was contained. Even so, violence flared again in Toxteth at the end of July, and more damage was done to property. I am fully persuaded that the costs incurred during that period are directly attributable to the earlier riots and, therefore, that the time limit for the scheme should be extended. I propose that the cut-off date should, therefore, be fixed at 31st July. The additional cost to the Exchequer would be very small - about £200,000 which in the main represents the 10% addition to the usual police grant which would be paid anyway.

I recognise that it can be argued that since the local authorities will not be satisfied, we should offer no concession. But to make no change - and to refuse to do so after protracted consideration of the local authorities' arguments - would, in my view, be unnecessarily provocative and damaging to the Government's position.

/On

The Rt. Hon. Leon Brittan, Q.C., M.P.

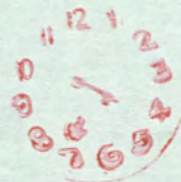
On the question of exemption from RSG penalties, your officials had insisted that the treatment of the special riot grant should be the same as that for assistance with snow and flood damage. You have now agreed that on snow and flood damage the exemption can go wider than the expenditure which qualifies for the special grant, and I am sure that similar treatment should now be given to additional expenditure arising from the riots incurred up to the end of July.

I hope you can agree quickly to these two points. We are close to the end of the financial year, and the police authorities need to know where they stand.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Michael Heslting and Sir Robert Armstrong.

J. R. [unclear] 10/7 !

18 FEB 1982



25/11/81

Mr. Speaker, with permission, I should like to make a statement on the Report of Lord Scarman's Inquiry into the disorders in Brixton in April of this year, which I have published today.

Lord Scarman's Report has, at its centre, the disorders themselves. He describes these as riots - initially spontaneous and, throughout, inexcusable in their violence. He measures the immediate response to that disorder in these words:

"Those who were privileged, as I was, to hear the evidence during the Inquiry, will have had many opportunities to marvel at, and be thankful for, the courage and dedication which was displayed by members of the police and emergency services in Brixton over that terrible week-end".

The Report ranges more widely, and goes on to discuss those factors, which in Lord Scarman's view, led to the disorders. He sees them as stemming from a breakdown in confidence between the police and the coloured community, against a background of

/urban deprivation ...

urban deprivation, racial disadvantage and a rising level of street crime. The Report acknowledges the good work which had been done, and is being done, by the police, and others, to prevent such events recurring but emphasises that all those concerned have important lessons to learn for the future.

Lord Scarman's detailed recommendations on policing policy and policing arrangements add up to a statement of philosophy and direction for the future which rests on the need for the police to carry out their duty with the consent and support of the community. The Report rightly leads discussion away from simple concepts of "hard" and "soft" policing, and focuses on issues which reflect the real variety of policing, and the duty of the police to apply the law firmly and sensitively without differing standards. Lord Scarman emphasises that the consent and support of the community depend on good two-way communications between the police and the public. The operational judgment of the police will be informed, and not undermined, by consultation with the community it serves. At the same time, the community has a duty to maintain discussion with the police, and respond to their initiatives. Without consultation of this kind, there will not be accountability,

/and the

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and the necessary balance between preserving the peace and enforcing the law will be distorted.

I accept and endorse this statement of philosophy. It will be my responsibility, and that of my Rt. Hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland in his area of responsibility, in consultation with all concerned, to see that it is carried into practice.

In particular, I accept the need to develop formal arrangements in every police force area for consultation between police and community at different levels, and for the involvement of chief officers of police in local social and economic decisions affecting policing. Similarly, I endorse the need for regular and systematic consultation at Borough level in the Metropolitan Police District, where Lord Scarman recommends that the Home Secretary should remain police authority. I shall set up early discussions on the arrangements for consultation in Lambeth.

I accept the need for more effort to be put into training with a new emphasis on the problems of policing a multi-racial society, and on the prevention and handling of disorder.

We must

● We must concentrate on those now in the service as well as on recruits, especially in the area of supervision and management.

I accept that the procedure for handling complaints against the police must be substantially reformed if it is to command public confidence. I have already given this matter a great deal of consideration, and I shall bring forward proposals to the House as soon as I can.

Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated, the rest of Lord Scarman's Report is concerned with racial disadvantage, the law in the field of public order, and social and economic conditions. All of these affect the problems of policing in a multi-racial inner-city environment.

The Report emphasises that despite the efforts of successive Governments, the problems of inner-cities persist. Lord Scarman's recommendations point to the need to seek ways in which better co-ordination and better value for money can be achieved. That is this Government's purpose, through the Merseyside Task Force in particular. Equally, the Report - like the study I recently presented into racial attacks -

/illustrates

illustrates the consequences of failure fully to understand the ethnically diverse society of our inner-cities, and the response it demands. We shall need to pursue that response not only in relation to Lord Scarman's Report, but also in reply to the valuable Report of the Select Committee of this House on Racial Disadvantage.

The police have a right to look for action by society as a whole; they must not become scapegoats. As far as the Government is concerned, we accept the responsibility, in which we must all share, to make our multi-racial society work more justly.

Mr. Speaker, my Rt. Hon. Friend the Leader of the House is ready to provide time for a debate in which we can examine this important Report more thoroughly than will be possible today. The House, and the country, owe to Lord Scarman a considerable debt. I welcome the Report and I thank him for it.

SUBJECT

MASTER

CONFIDENTIAL



Home Affairs BK

cc HO (M/S)

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

24 November 1981

Dear Sarah

Mr. Raison called on the Prime Minister yesterday evening at 1800 hours to discuss race relations, following his visit to the United States, and in particular to discuss the Report attached to the Home Secretary's minute to the Prime Minister of 26 October.

Mr. Raison first emphasised the importance of words and gestures in the field of race relations. The minority communities needed to feel that the Government was on their side, and Ministers should do all they could to create a sympathetic climate towards them. After a short discussion, Mr. Raison agreed that there were a number of useful gestures the Government could make:

- a) He would put to the Prime Minister a list of candidates from the ethnic communities for honours. In preparing this, he would consult the other Ministers most concerned, and in particular Sir Keith Joseph and Mr. Waldegrave, given that there might be suitable candidates in the academic field. It would be too late to include any of these names in the New Year Honours List, but they could be considered for next year's Birthday Honours and subsequent lists.
- b) He would in due course produce a draft passage for inclusion in one of the Prime Minister's speeches, emphasising the Government's commitment to a multi-racial society, and generally being supportive of the minorities. A list of the Prime Minister's speaking engagements for 1982 is attached. I should be grateful if you could treat this as particularly confidential.
- c) As indicated in the Report attached to the Home Secretary's minute to the Prime Minister, Mr. Raison would consider ways in which more could be done to encourage private enterprise by ethnic minorities, particularly West Indians. It might help here to encourage departmental Ministers to make more appointments from the minorities to public boards, and Mr. Raison might consider suggesting names for inclusion in the list of the "great and the good".

/s/ d) Mr. Raison

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- 2 -

d) Mr. Raison agreed to suggest a list of names from the ethnic minorities for inclusion in dinners and receptions held here by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Raison then went on to say that he hoped the Government could be as forthcoming as possible in replying to the Report of the Select Committee on Home Affairs on Racial Disadvantage. There were three issues on which he hoped that Ministers could reach early agreement, and on which the Government's response to the Select Committee might be positive:

i) Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966, grants could be made to local authorities with a high population of Commonwealth immigrants to increase their employment of ethnic staff. The administrative guidelines under which these grants were made needed to be improved.

ii) Earlier this year, H Committee had turned down an experimental project for monitoring the ethnic background of those employed in the Civil Service. Mr. Raison hoped that this decision could be reconsidered.

iii) Under the Race Relations Act of 1976, the Commission for Racial Equality had presented a Code of Practice to the Secretary of State for Employment. Mr. Tebbit would obviously want to consider this carefully. But it would help if the Code could be approved quickly. This would be important in responding to Lord Scarman's recommendations on race relations, and would demonstrate the Government's commitment to the anti-discrimination provisions of the Race Relations Act.

Mr. Raison concluded that early action on these three subjects would be seen as symbols of the Government's good intentions. He hoped that the ethnic communities would respond in kind, for he could not deny that there was indeed a serious crime problem among the black minorities.

I am copying this letter to Colin Walters in your Secretary of State's office.

yours
Willie Rickett

Miss Sarah Kippax,
Home Office

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS FOR 1982

JANUARY

Monday 11 Address Conservative Group for Europe
Wednesday 13 Speak to the National Federation of Self-Employed

FEBRUARY

Tuesday 23 Address Engineering Employers Federation

MARCH

Monday 8 Finchley AGM
Friday 12 Launch a ship in Sunderland
Saturday 13 Local Government Conference
Saturday 27 Central Council, Harrogate

APRIL

Wednesday 7 Morning: speak to the FCS in Loughborough
Thursday 22 Civic Trust Dinner
Friday 30 Speak to Bedford Constituency

MAY

Friday 14 Conservative Scottish Conference in Perth
Saturday 15 and) Franco/British Council in Edinburgh
Sunday 16) (I am assuming that a speech is required)
Wednesday 26 Women's Conference

JUNE

Saturday 12 Welsh Conference

SEPTEMBER

Thursday 2 or) Address large fête in North East Scotland
Thursday 9)

OCTOBER

Friday 8 Party Conference

NOVEMBER

Monday 15 or) Lord Mayor's Banquet
Monday 22)

CONFIDENTIAL

NOVEMBER (continued)

Wednesday 17

Address North Atlantic Assembly, London

Friday 26

St. Andrew's Night Dinner in Glasgow

DECEMBER

Saturday 4

CTU Conference

Wednesday 8

Open Conference on Information Technology,
Barbican Centre

Prime Minister 2

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27/11



Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP
Secretary of State
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT

23 November 1981

SCARMAN REPORT

I was glad to learn from your note of 16 November to the Prime Minister about the action you propose to take over the Scarman report. As you say it raises wide issues on the social and economic front. The recommendations made by Lord Scarman will need to be discussed in more detail after publication.

The Scarman report raises a lot of questions about our priorities in a number of fields. These may need to be re-assessed. As far as public expenditure is concerned we shall need to look at the Scarman recommendations in the 1982 public expenditure survey, in the light of detailed costed proposals, and the timetable envisaged for their implementation. **The presumption must be that we redeploy existing resources in the light of revised priorities, rather than add to the total.**

My officials are in touch with yours on the briefing which will be needed in respect of questions arising on your statement.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

LEON BRITTAN

24 NOV 1981

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Prime Minister

23 November 1981

SCARMAN

I have seen a copy of the Home Secretary's minute to you of 16 ~~November~~ covering a draft oral statement on Scarman. I am entirely content with the substance of what Willie Whitelaw proposes to say.

I am copying this to Willie Whitelaw.

WJH

MH



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H Affairs

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 November, 1981.

Scarman

The Prime Minister has seen the Home Secretary's minute of 16 November.

She is content with both the text and proposed timing of his statement.

I am sending copies of this letter to David Heyhoe (Lord President's Office), Jim Nursaw (Law Officers' Department), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office), and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATTISON

John Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office.

JR

Naturally, all this will be controversial, and the statement says that the Leader of the House is ready to provide time for a debate. The Home Secretary rightly says that collective discussion of the report will be necessary shortly after publication.

As background, you may wish to look again at my summary of the report at B, and Lord Scarman's findings and recommendations at C. 3

Content with the Home Secretary's draft statement?

WBSR

Yes not

17 November 1981

CONFIDENTIAL



PRIME MINISTER

SCARMAN

.....
I have now received the report of Lord Scarman's Inquiry into the disorders in Brixton in April of this year. The first part of the report concentrates on the riots themselves and their immediate causes; the weight of his detailed recommendations relate to policing and to relations between the police and the community. The second part of his report, to which Lord Scarman himself attaches equal importance, goes wider, and comments on the social and economic factors which were in his view the underlying background to the disorders. I am circulating, with this minute, Lord Scarman's own summary of his findings and the conclusion of his report (Chapters VIII and IX).

.....
The publication of his report will be a major event, and I need to make an oral statement at that time. It will focus on those policing issues to which I can, and need to, respond straightaway, but I must also put on record the Government's present position on other matters like racial disadvantage and inner-city policy which Lord Scarman's findings affect. We shall need to return to these matters collectively after publication. Attached is a copy of the Oral Statement I propose to make on 25 November.

An oral statement alone will not satisfy Parliament or public interest in Scarman, and I have discussed with Francis Pym the need for a proper debate in due course. This is reflected in the statement attached.

I am copying this minute to members of the Cabinet, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

How

16

November 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

THE SCARMAN REPORT

Mr Speaker, with permission, I should like to make a Statement on the Report of Lord Scarman's Inquiry into the disorders in Brixton in April of this year, which I have published today.

2. Lord Scarman's report has, at its centre, the disorders themselves. He describes these as riots - initially spontaneous and, throughout, inexcusable in their violence. He measures the immediate response to that disorder in these words:

"Those who were privileged, as I was, to hear the evidence during the Inquiry, will have had many opportunities to marvel at, and be thankful for, the courage and dedication which was displayed by members of the police and emergency services in Brixton over that terrible weekend."

3. The report ranges more widely, and goes on to discuss those factors, which in Lord Scarman's view, led to the disorders. He sees them as stemming from a breakdown in confidence between the police and the coloured community, against a background of urban deprivation, racial disadvantage and a rising level of street crime. The report acknowledges the good work which had been done, and is being done, by the police, and others, to prevent such events recurring but emphasises that all those concerned have important lessons to learn for the future.

4. Lord Scarman's detailed recommendations on policing policy and policing arrangements add up to a statement of philosophy and direction for the future which rests on the need for the police to carry out their duty with the consent and support of the community. The report rightly leads discussion away from simple concepts of 'hard' and 'soft' policing, and focuses on issues which reflect the real variety of policing, and the duty of the police to apply the law firmly and sensitively without differing standards. Lord Scarman emphasises that the consent and support of the community depend on good two-way communications between the police

and the public. The operational judgement of the police will be informed, and not undermined, by consultation with the community it serves. At the same time, the community has a duty to maintain discussion with the police, and respond to their initiatives. Without consultation of this kind, there will not be accountability, and the necessary balance between preserving the peace and enforcing the law will be distorted.

5. I accept and endorse this statement of philosophy. It will be my responsibility, in consultation with all concerned, to see that it is carried into practice.

6. In particular, I accept the need to develop formal arrangements in every police force area for consultation between police and community at different levels, and for the involvement of chief officers of police in local social and economic decisions affecting policing. Similarly, I endorse the need for regular and systematic consultation at Borough level in the Metropolitan Police District, where Lord Scarman recommends that the Home Secretary should remain Police Authority.

I shall arrange early discussion on the details of the machinery to be set up in London.

7. I accept the need for more effort to be put into training with a new emphasis on the problems of policing a multi-racial society, and on the prevention and handling of disorder. We must concentrate on those now in the service as well as on recruits, especially in the area of supervision and management.

8. I accept that the procedure for handling complaints against the police must be substantially reformed if it is to command public confidence. I have already given this matter a great deal of consideration, and I shall bring forward proposals to the House as soon as I can.

9. Mr Speaker, as I have indicated, the rest of Lord Scarman's report is concerned with racial disadvantage, the law in the field of public order, and social and economic conditions. All of these affect the problems of policing in a multi-racial, inner-city environment.

E.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

10. The report emphasises that despite the efforts of successive Governments, the problems of inner-cities persist. Lord Scarman's recommendations point to the need to seek ways in which better co-ordination and better value for money can be achieved. That is this Government's purpose, through the Merseyside Task Force, in particular. Equally, the report - like the study I recently presented into racial attacks - illustrates the consequences of failure fully to understand the ethnically diverse society of our inner-cities, and the response it demands. We shall need to pursue that response not only in relation to Lord Scarman's report, but also in reply to the valuable report of the Select Committee of this House on Racial Disadvantage.

11. The police have a right to look for action by society as a whole; they must not become scapegoats. As far as the Government is concerned, we accept the responsibility, in which we must all share, to make our multi-racial society work more justly.

12. Mr Speaker, my Rt Hon Friend the Leader of the House, is ready to provide time for a debate in which we can examine this important report more thoroughly than will be possible today. The House, and the country, owe to Lord Scarman a considerable debt. I welcome the report and I thank him for it.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

cc Mr. Whitmore
Mr. Duguid

*I'm afraid the report
seems highly critical
of the police*

Scarman Inquiry

I attach Lord Scarman's summary of his findings and recommendations. The report itself, of which I have a copy, is 250 pages long. The Home Secretary will make proposals on the handling of the report and the Government's response in the next week or so.

The main points of the report are:

- a) Policing Brixton has to be seen against the background of the problems the area shares with other decaying inner city areas. The blacks in Brixton have similar but more severe problems than their white counterparts. These are not an excuse for disorder, but perhaps provide some explanation.
- b) The disorder in April was a spontaneous reaction to what was seen as police harassment. It was not a race riot, although there was a strong racial element.
- c) The major cause of the hostility of young blacks towards the police was a loss of confidence by a significant part of the Lambeth public in the police. Both the police and the community leaders must accept a share of the blame for this.
- d) Broadly, the police response to the disorders is to be commended, not criticised, although there was some harassment, and some racist conduct by the police.
- e) Perhaps most important, Lord Scarman feels there is scope for a more coherent and better directed response by the police to the challenge of policing modern, multi-racial society. Measures he suggests should be taken include an urgent study of ways of increasing the recruitment of Constables from ethnic minorities; current work on methods of avoiding selecting racially prejudiced officers to be pursued; the length of initial training for recruits to be increased, with more emphasis on the handling of ethnic minorities; more attention

to be given to management training in the supervisory responsibility of Inspectors and Sergeants; training on community relations to be compulsory for officers up to Superintendent, and training in handling of public disorders to be compulsory up to Commander; dismissal to be made the penalty for racially prejudiced behaviour.

f) On police methods, Lord Scarman concludes that "hard" policing is essential in some circumstances, but he recommends that chief officers should re-examine their policing methods with police authorities and community leaders. He suggests they concentrate on the pattern of patrolling, the role of home beat officers, the provision of opportunities for operational officers to get to know their community, and ways of ensuring greater continuity in sensitive inner city areas.

g) Lord Scarman comes out in favour of more local consultation between chief officers and police authorities, though he does not suggest any control of the police by these authorities. He recommends that a statutory duty should be imposed on police authorities and chief officers to co-operate in setting up consultative arrangements. He supports the retention of the Home Secretary as police authority for London, but recommends that the Metropolitan Police should be required to consult with the community at Borough or Police District level.

h) He acknowledges the necessity of equipping the police properly, but recommends that water cannon, CS gas, and plastic bullets should only be used where there is a real danger to life, and only on the chief officer's authority.

i) Lord Scarman concludes that his approach to policing is necessary as a response to modern social developments, and not just as a reaction to the presence of ethnic minorities .

j) Lord Scarman looks at the wider social questions behind the riots. He calls for a Government initiative in ethnic minority education. He concludes that "There can be no doubt that unemployment was a major factor in the complex pattern

/of

of conditions which lies at the root of the disorders in Brixton and elsewhere". He calls for more information to be made available about ethnic minority needs, and a clear determination to enforce existing law on racial discrimination.

k) He suggests that the role of Community Relations Councils should be reviewed, and commends the idea that the Commission for Racial Equality should be willing to intervene more positively in local disputes.

l) He reprimands the media, and urges editors and producers to accept that they have a responsibility to assess the impact on events of their own reporting, and to ensure balanced coverage.

Lord Scarman recommends the early introduction of an independent element in the investigation of complaints against police and the establishment of a conciliation process.

Finally, he makes some proposals on reform of the law. The most important is for a more selective application of the Public Order Act. He rejects the need for a new Riot Act.

WFSR

2 November 1981

PART VIII - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

PART I - INTRODUCTION.

- 8.1 The problem of policing a deprived, multi-racial area like Brixton cannot be considered without reference to the social environment in which the policing occurs (paragraphs 1.2 - 1.7).

PART II - SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

- 8.2 In its appearance and amenities Brixton, in the central part of the London Borough of Lambeth, shares many of the features of other decaying inner city areas (paragraphs 2.1-25).
- 8.3 The Borough suffers from very serious housing problems (paragraphs 2.6-2.9), and a lack of sufficient leisure and recreational facilities (paragraphs 2.10 - 2.11).
- 8.4 The population of the area, which is declining, tends to be relatively young, working class and transient. There is a marked incidence of social problems. Some 36% of the population of Brixton are black: the percentage is higher among young people (paragraphs 2.12 - 2.15).
- 8.5 The black community in Brixton face similar problems to those facing their white counterparts, but more severe . The family, education, unemployment and discrimination are particular areas of difficulty (paragraphs 2.16 - 2.22). As a result, young black people may feel a particular sense of frustration and deprivation. Spending much of their lives on the street, they are there bound to come in contact with criminals and with the police (paragraph 2.2
- 8.6 While differences undoubtedly exist between Brixton and other areas which have experienced disorder this year, the similarities are more striking (paragraphs 2.24 - 2.30).
- 8.7 The social conditions in Brixton do not provide an excuse for disorder. But the disorders cannot be fully understood unless they are seen in the context of complex political, social and economic factors which together create a predisposition towards violent protest (paragraphs 2.31 - 2.38).

PART III - THE DISORDERS.

FRIDAY, 10 APRIL.

- 8.8 The disorders followed an incident involving an injured youth. The police officers involved in this incident acted reasonably. The disorder was spontaneous. The decisions taken subsequently by the police were appropriate in the circumstances: but it was unwise to continue Operation 'Swamp '81' on Friday evening and Saturday (paragraphs 3.4-3.27).

SATURDAY, 11 APRIL.

8.9 Many young people, especially many young black people, were spoiling for a row as a result of their frustrations, fancied or real, and of their beliefs as to what had happened on Friday. An incident outside the S&M Car Hire Office, involving two plain clothes police officers questioning a suspect and subsequently arresting another man, provided the spark. The actions of the two officers concerned were not unlawful: but they lacked discretion and judgement (paragraphs 3.28-3.80).

SUNDAY, 12 APRIL.

- 8.10 A day of after-math. The disorders, though less intense than those of Saturday, were serious and more widespread (paragraphs 3.81-3.93).

THE NATURE OF THE DISORDERS.

- 8.11 On each of the three days, the disorders constituted a riot. They were not premeditated. They began as a spontaneous reaction to what was seen as police harassment: but once they had begun, an element of leadership and direction did emerge; and strangers were observed participating in the disorders. White people, as well as black people, helped to make and distribute petrol bombs on Saturday.

- 8.12 The disorders were communal disturbances arising from a complex political, social and economic situation, which is not special to Brixton. There was

a strong racial element in the disorders; but they were not a race riot. The riots were essentially an outburst of anger and resentment by young black people against the police (paragraphs 3.96-3.110).

PART IV - THE POLICE.

POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS.

- 8.13 A major cause of the hostility of young blacks towards the police was loss of confidence by significant sections, though not all, of the Lambeth public in the police. The reasons for this loss of confidence included the collapse of the police liaison committee in 1979; 'hard' policing methods which caused offence and apprehension to many; lack of consultation about police operations; distrust of the procedure for investigating complaints against the police; and unlawful and, in particular, racially prejudiced conduct by some police officers (paragraphs 4.1-4.4).
- 8.14 The dilemma facing the police Commanders in Brixton is as simple to state as it was, and remains, difficult to resolve: how to cope with a rising level of crime - and particularly of street robbery ("mugging") - while retaining the confidence of all sections of the community, especially the ethnic minority groups. The crime problem may not have been "unique"; but it was serious (paragraphs 4.11-4.15).
- 8.15 Commander Adams sought to deal with the problem in a number of ways, one of which was the deployment of officers of the Special Patrol Group (SPG) to assist local officers in special operations against crime. However well-intended, the operations provoked the hostility of young black people and precipitated a crisis of confidence between the police and certain community leaders. In particular, when combined with other incidents, they led to the breakdown of the formal arrangements for liaison between the ethnic minority communities, the local authority and the police (paragraphs 4.16-4.28).
- 8.16 Following the breakdown of the liaison arrangements, the Lambeth Borough Council appointed a Working Party into Community/Police Relations in the Borough. The Final Report of the Working Party, published in January 1981, succeeded only in worsening community relations with the police, although it reflected attitudes, beliefs and feelings widely prevalent in Lambeth since 1979 (paragraphs 4.29-4.33).

8.17 Moves to re-establish the liaison committee followed the appointment of Commander Fairbairn to 'L' District. But the launching of Operation 'Swamp '81' in the week of 6-11 April 1981, contributed, along with other factors, to increased tension in the streets of Brixton (paragraphs 4.34-4.42).

8.18 Neither the police nor the local leaders can escape responsibility for the breakdown of relations between the police and the community in Brixton. Both must accept a share of the blame (paragraphs 4.43-4.46).

THE MAIN CRITICISMS OF THE POLICE.

8.19 Six main criticisms were made of the police in the course of the Inquiry:

- (1) "racial prejudice";
- (2) "harassment";
- (3) "unimaginative and inflexible policing";
- (4) "over-reaction to the disorders";
- (5) "delay and lack of vigour" (in handling the disorders);
- (6) "failure to act against looting".

I consider these bearing in mind two principles of policing a free society:

- (1) "consent and balance"; and
- (2) "independence and accountability" (paragraphs 4.47-4.60).

8.20 I find that the direction and policies of the Metropolitan Police are not racist. But racial prejudice does manifest itself occasionally in the behaviour of a few officers on the streets (paragraphs 4.62-4.64).

8.21 Harassment does occur: and in Brixton even one isolated instance of misconduct can foster a whole legion of rumours which rapidly become beliefs firmly held within the community (paragraphs 4.65-4.68).

8.22 The Metropolitan Police at district command level and above do not lack awareness of the need for good community relations. But the police in Lambeth have not succeeded in achieving the degree of public approval and respect necessary for the effective fulfilment of their functions and duties. Attitudes and methods in the senior command of 'L' District had not become sufficiently adjusted to the problems of policing a multi-racial community (paragraphs 4.69-4.80).

8.23 Although there were sometimes instances of misconduct by police officers during the disorders, in general I reject the criticism that the police over-reacted in the handling of them. In particular, I reject the criticisms that the police should have withdrawn on the Saturday, and that the police strategy encircled the crowd so that, being trapped, it turned at bay on the police (paragraphs 4.81-4.89).

8.24 I find that the disorders did reveal weaknesses in the capacity of the police to respond sufficiently firmly to violence in the streets. The weaknesses lay not in failures of strategic conception but in the police's preparedness and ability to execute that conception (paragraphs 4.90-4.94).

8.25 I am satisfied that any delay by the police in stopping the looting on Saturday arose not from any reluctance to do so but from the fact that because of the limited resources they had available in the early part of the evening, they could not cope with both the disorder and the looting. The police commanders felt that they had to give priority to the former. They were right to do so (paragraphs 4.95-4.96).

8.26 I conclude that, while nothing can excuse the unlawful behaviour of the rioters, both the police and the community leaders must carry some responsibility for the outbreak of disorder. Broadly, however, the police response to the disorders, once they broke out, is to be commended, not criticised (paragraphs 4.97-4.99).

PART V - POLICING - PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

8.27 There is scope for a more coherent and better directed response by the police to the challenge of policing modern, multi-racial society (paragraphs 5.1-5.5).

RECRUITMENT.

8.28 I reject proposals that an annual quota of places in the police should be reserved for coloured minorities and that standards for recruitment might be lowered. Nevertheless vigorous efforts are required to recruit more black people into the police. A possible way forward may lie in the provision of special additional training for would-be black entrants to the police. This would only be effective if coupled with a more purposeful drive to get black applicants to come forward in greater numbers. Other ways of involving black people in the police - such as the cadet scheme and the special constabulary - must also be considered. I recommend that the Home Office, with Chief Officers of Police, and in consultation with Police Authorities and representatives of the ethnic minority communities, conduct an urgent study of ways of improving ethnic minority recruitment into the regular police and of involving the ethnic minorities more in police-related activities (paragraphs 5.6-5.13).

8.29 Efforts must be made to avoid racially prejudiced people entering the police service. I recommend that the work currently being undertaken in the Metropolitan Police designed to identify scientific ways in which evidence of racial prejudice can be identified should be vigorously pursued with the support of the Home Office, and that the results should in due course be incorporated into the procedures for selecting recruits to all police forces (paragraphs 5.14-5.15).

TRAINING THE POLICE

8.30 Improvements in police training are in hand. But there is scope for further improvement. In particular the length of the present period of initial training for recruits is insufficient. I recommend that it be increased to a minimum of 6 months. More attention should be given, in an extended curriculum, to training in the prevention, as well as the handling, of disorder, and in an understanding of the cultural backgrounds and the attitudes to be found in our ethnically diverse society (paragraphs 5.16-5.23).

8.31 The period spent by a recruit on probation after the initial training course is an essential and integral part of the recruit training process. It should include practical training and supervision in the handling of people in situations of potential conflict such as stops in the street, training provided either through a 'street duties' course or, preferably, through a tutor or parent constable scheme. An officer's period on probation should include a period in a city area where ethnic minorities form a substantial proportion of the population. Probationer constables should not, however, save in an emergency, go out alone on foot patrol in an inner city or any other racially sensitive area (paragraphs 5.24-5.26).

8.32 As for in-service training, courses designed to develop the understanding that good community relations are not merely necessary but essential to good policing should, I recommend, be compulsory from time to time in a police officer's career up to and including the rank of Superintendent. Training in the handling of public disorder should be provided for all ranks up to and including Commander (Assistant Chief Constable). The Home Office, together with Chief Officers of Police, should seek to establish common programmes and minimum standards for in-service training in both these areas (paragraphs 5.27-5.30).

8.33 Above all, the central theme in all training must be the need for the police to secure the consent and support of the public if they are successfully to perform their duties (paragraphs 5.31-5.32).

SUPERVISION AND MONITORING.

8.34 Young police officers are an unavoidable, indeed valuable, part of the modern police service. The need is not to remove them from sensitive areas but to ensure that they receive proper guidance and supervision (paragraphs 5.33-5.35).

8.35 As far as supervision is concerned, the role of Inspectors and Sergeants is crucial. I recommend that greater attention be given to management training in the supervisory responsibilities of officers of these ranks. Close supervision is particularly important in stop and search type operations (paragraphs 5.36-5.37).

8.36 The continuous monitoring of performance as a check against which policing policy and approach can be judged is equally essential. I reject, however, a proposal made by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) as to how this

might be improved (paragraphs 5.38-5.40).

DISCIPLINE.

8.37 I endorse a proposal by the CRE that racially prejudiced or discriminatory behaviour should be included as a specific offence in the Police Discipline Code. I also recommend that it should be understood throughout the police that the normal penalty for racially prejudiced behaviour is dismissal (paragraphs 5.41-5.42).

METHODS OF POLICING.

8.38 I discuss some of the issues raised by the debate about community policing. I find that there will continue to be circumstances in which the use of 'hard' policing methods, including the deployment of the Special Patrol Group, is appropriate, even essential. Nevertheless, I conclude by recommending that, in consultation with their Police Authorities and with local community leaders, Chief Officers of Police should re-examine the methods of policing used, especially in inner city areas, with particular reference to:

- (1) the pattern of patrolling, especially the mix of foot and mobile patrols;
- (2) the role of the Home Beat Officers, with particular emphasis on ways in which they can be integrated more effectively into the mainstream of operational policing;
- (3) the provision of opportunities for operational officers to get to know the community they are policing;
- (4) ways of ensuring greater continuity and a balanced spread of officers of different ages in more sensitive inner city areas, and of ensuring that officers transferred to work in such areas are given an effective introduction to the problems and needs of those areas (paragraphs 5.44-5.54).

CONSULTATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

.39 Community involvement in the policy and operations of policing is perfectly feasible without undermining the independence of the police or destroying

the secrecy of those operations against crime which have to be kept secret. There is a need to devise means of enabling such involvement. Outside London, Police Authorities can use their existing powers to set up local consultative or liaison committees. Chief Officers of Police should take Authorities fully into their confidence, and should co-operate with Police Authorities in establishing consultative arrangements in their police areas. I recommend that a statutory duty should be imposed on Police Authorities and on Chief Officers of Police to co-operate in the establishment of such consultative arrangements. I also recommend that meanwhile Police Authorities and Chief Officers of Police should act at once under their existing powers to set up such arrangements (paragraphs 5.55-5.66).

8.40 In London, I do not recommend any change in the law substituting some other body for the Secretary of State as Police Authority. I do, however, recommend that a statutory framework be developed to require local consultation between the Metropolitan Police and the community at Borough or Police District level. The possibility of an Advisory Board or other consultative arrangement between the Home Office, the Commissioner and the London Boroughs at force level should also be studied (paragraphs 5.67-5.71).

POLICE HANDLING OF DISORDER.

8.41 I suggest that the experience of the disorders in Brixton and elsewhere reveal the need for a number of improvements in police arrangements for handling disorder. Many of these are already in hand. I recognise the importance, and necessity, of your decision that such equipment as water cannon, CS gas, and plastic bullets should be available in reserve to police forces. I recommend that such equipment should not be used except in a grave emergency - that is, in circumstances in which there is a real apprehension of loss of life - and then only on the authority of the Chief Officer of Police himself (paragraphs 5.72-5.74).

CONCLUSION.

8.42 I conclude that the approach to policing I have suggested is not necessary merely as a response to the presence of ethnic minorities in our cities: it would be necessary as a response to modern social developments even without the presence of such groups. Differing standards must not be allowed in the application of the law. But the law must be applied sensitively, as well as firmly (paragraphs 5.75-5.77).

PART VI - THE DISORDERS AND SOCIAL POLICY.

8.43 Any attempt to resolve the circumstances from which the disorders of this year sprang cannot be limited to recommendations about policing but must embrace the wider social context in which policing is carried out. As a Judge conducting a quasi-judicial inquiry, it would be inappropriate for me to make specific suggestions or proposals in the fields of Government financial or economic policy. I do, however, consider it part of my duty to comment on those aspects of policy which touch on the social problem which is inextricably bound up with the matters referred to me under Section 32 (paragraphs 6.1-6.4).

THE INNER CITY.

8.44 The failure of the many attempts over the last three decades to tackle the problem of inner city decline successfully is striking. One of the reasons for this, I suggest, is the lack of an effective co-ordinated approach to tackling inner city problems. I conclude that much could be done to achieve a better co-ordinated and directed attack on inner city problems, and I recommend action to achieve it. I also recommend that local communities must be fully and effectively involved in planning, in the provision of local services, and in the management and financing of specific projects. The private sector and the police must also be more effectively involved in the attempt to tackle inner city problems (paragraphs 6.5-6.9).

THE ETHNIC MINORITIES.

8.45 I draw attention to three particular areas of need:-

- (1) housing;
- (2) education;
- (3) employment (paragraphs 6.10-6.11).

8.46 In a discussion of housing policies, I refer to the increasing recognition of the value of rehabilitation and to the need to involve the community in housing management and development. I also endorse the finding of the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons in its Report on Racial Disadvantage that there is a strong case for local authorities reviewing their housing policies in order to ensure that they do not, wittingly or unwittingly, discriminate against minority groups (paragraphs 6.12-6.15).

8.47 I discuss the criticisms of educational provision made during the Inquiry and draw attention to four areas for potential improvement. These are the provision of facilities for under-fives; the training of teachers in the particular needs, the cultural background, and the expectations of minority group children and parents; the teaching of English; and the involvement of parents, and of black parents in particular, in the work of the schools. I suggest that the time has come for a Government initiative in ethnic minority education, particularly in the four respects I have mentioned. I also refer to the importance of police involvement in schools, and to the need to educate children in the use of leisure (paragraphs 6.16-25).

8.48 Unemployment is a problem which faces both white and black people, but there is evidence that its weight falls disproportionately heavily on black people. The encouragement of black people to secure a real stake in their own community, through business and the professions, is of great importance if future social stability is to be secured. There can be no doubt that unemployment was a major factor in the complex pattern of conditions which lies at the root of the disorders in Brixton and elsewhere. The solution, of course, depends on a successful outcome of current economic problems. But the structural causes of unemployment are deeper and more complex. In order to secure social stability, there will be a long term need to provide useful, gainful employment and suitable educational, recreational and leisure opportunities for young people, especially in the inner city (paragraphs 6.26-6.29).

THE RESPONSE TO ETHNIC MINORITY NEEDS.

8.49 I suggest that if alienation among the black community is not to develop, there should be a more ready recognition of the special problems and needs of the ethnic minorities than hitherto. I endorse the proposals of the Home Affairs Committee for improving the extent of the information available

about ethnic minority needs, including the Committee's call for the inclusion of an ethnic question in the Census and for ethnic monitoring by local authorities of the services they provide (paragraph 6.30).

8.50 I suggest that there is a lack of a sufficiently well co-ordinated and directed programme for combating the problem of racial disadvantage. It is clear from the evidence of ethnic minority deprivation I have received that, if the balance of racial disadvantage is to be redressed, positive action is required (paragraphs 6.31-6.32).

8.51 I endorse the Home Affairs Committee's view that reform of Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 must not be long delayed (paragraphs 6.33-6.34).

DISCRIMINATION.

8.52 I call for a clear determination to enforce the existing law on racial discrimination, and a positive effort by all in responsible positions to give a lead on the matter (paragraph 6.35).

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCILS, AND THE COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY.

8.53 I note the criticism of Community Relations Councils made in evidence to the Inquiry and suggest that the time is right for a review of the role of CRCs (paragraph 6.36).

8.54 I commend for consideration by the Commission for Racial Equality and by the Home Affairs Committee in its current inquiry into the CRE the suggestion made by Assistant Commissioner Gibson of the Metropolitan Police in evidence to the Inquiry that the CRE should be prepared to intervene more positively as mediator in local situations, like that which arose in Brixton, where a breakdown of relations between the police and the community has occurred (paragraph 6.37).

THE MEDIA.

8.55 I discuss questions about the role of the media raised by the disorders. I urge Editors and Producers to accept that they have a responsibility to assess the likely impact on events of their own reporting of them, to ensure balance in the covering of disorder, and at all times to bear in mind that rioters, and others, in their exhibition of violence respond alarmingly to what they see (wrongly, but understandably) as the encouraging presence of the TV camera and the Reporter. I suggest that the matters to which I

have referred deserve, if they have not already received, the fullest consideration by the Press Council, the Board of Governors of the BBC, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and newspaper editors (paragraphs 6.38-6.41).

CONCLUSION.

- 8.56 I conclude that the themes I have mentioned in this Part of the Report must be kept constantly in view if the social context in which the police operate is not to continue to breed the conditions of future disorder (paragraph 6.42).

PART VII - LAW REFORM.

- 8.57 In this Part of the Report, I discuss a number of proposals for the reform of the law made to me in the written and oral evidence presented to the Inquiry (paragraph 7.1).

STOP AND SEARCH.

- 8.58 I conclude that the power of stop and search is necessary to combat street crime. The state of the law is, however, a mess, as the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure has shown. I respectfully agree with the Commission's proposals for the rationalisation of the law and for certain additional safeguards (paragraphs 7.2-7.3).

THE "SUS" LAW, AND ITS REPEAL.

- 8.59 I recommend that a careful watch be kept on how the Criminal Attempts Act 1981 develops (paragraph 7.4-7.6).

LAY POLICE STATION VISITORS.

- 8.60 I recommend provision for random checks by persons other than police officers on the interrogation and detention of suspects in the police station (paragraphs 7.7-7.10).

REFORM OF THE POLICE COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE.

8.61 On the basis of the evidence I have received, I find that there is a lack of public confidence in the existing system for considering complaints against the police. I discuss a number of possible reforms of the system and conclude that if public confidence in the complaints procedure is to be secured, the early introduction of an independent element in the investigation of complaints and the establishment of a conciliation process are vital (paragraphs 7.11-7.29).

A NEW RIOT ACT?

62 I discuss the proposal that a new Riot Act is now needed. I conclude that the existing law is not inadequate and that there is therefore no need for the proposed reform (paragraphs 7.31-7.40).

"SELECTIVE" BAN ON PROCESSIONS - SECTION 3 OF THE PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 1936.

8.63 I recommend that the Public Order Act 1936 be amended:-

(1) to include a requirement of advance notice of a procession to the police;

(2) by deletion of "serious" from the public order test.

8.64 I suggest that it should be possible to ban "racist" marches or processions in racially sensitive areas by the use of the existing power to prohibit a specified class of procession. But if for practical reasons this proves difficult, I would also recommend an amendment to the Act to enable one specified march to be banned (paragraphs 7.41-7.49).

PART IX - CONCLUSION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A - CONCLUSION

- 9.1 The evidence which I have received, the effect of which I have outlined in Part II, leaves no doubt in my mind that racial disadvantage is a fact of current British life. It was, I am equally sure, a significant factor in the causation of the Brixton disorders. Urgent action is needed if it is not to become an endemic, ineradicable disease threatening the very survival of our society. It would be unfair to criticise Government for lack of effort. The real question is whether the effort, which is undoubted, has been properly directed. Funding (eg. grants pursuant to section 11, Local Government Act 1966, the Urban Programme and the Inner City Partnership schemes) has been made available on a substantial scale. The administrative effort of central and local government has been equally substantial: an illustration is to be found in Lambeth itself where the work done by the Borough Council and central government to relieve racial disadvantage deserves high praise. And, though the Race Relations Act 1976 and the CRE have their critics, they are clear evidence of the will and the commitment of Parliament and government to the cause of racial equality. "Institutional racism" does not exist in Britain: but racial disadvantage and its nasty associate racial discrimination, have not yet been eliminated. They poison minds and attitudes: they are, and so long as they remain, will continue to be, a potent factor of unrest.
- 9.2 The role of the police has to be considered against this background. As I have said in Part VI, the police do not create social deprivation or racial disadvantage: they are not responsible for the disadvantages of the ethnic minorities. Yet their role is critical. If their policing is such that it can be seen to be the application to our new society of the traditional principles of British policing, the risk of

unrest will diminish and the prospect of approval by all responsible elements in our ethnically diverse society will be the greater. If they neglect consultation and co-operation with the local community, unrest is certain and riot becomes probable.

- 9.3 A new approach is required. I am satisfied, as Mr Hazan QC submitted in his final speech on behalf of the Metropolitan Police, that it has already begun. But determination and persistence in the formulation and application of the necessary policies will be required. I would add that an equal persistence in striving to the same end is also required of all sections of the responsibly minded public.
- 9.4 On the social front, I find myself broadly in agreement with the House of Commons Select Committee. The attack on racial disadvantage must be more direct than it has been. It must be co-ordinated by central government, who with local authorities must ensure that the funds made available are directed to specific areas of racial disadvantage. I have in mind particularly education and employment. A policy of direct co-ordinated attack on racial disadvantage inevitably means that the ethnic minorities will enjoy for a time a positive discrimination in their favour. But it is a price worth paying if it accelerates the elimination of the unsettling factor of racial disadvantage from the social fabric of the United Kingdom. I believe this task to be even more urgent than the task of establishing on a permanent basis good relations between the ethnic minorities and the police. Good policing will be of no avail, unless we also tackle and eliminate basic flaws in our society. And, if we succeed in eliminating racial prejudice from our society, it will not be difficult to achieve good policing.
- 9.5 I end with the quotation from President Johnson's address to the nation, which appears at the very beginning of the US Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968):-

" The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack - mounted at every level - upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions - not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America"

These words are as true of Britain today as they have been proved by subsequent events to be true of America.

B - ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND THANKS

- 9.6 Finally, I wish to acknowledge, and in doing so to express my gratitude and great appreciation for all the help I have received in the conduct of the Inquiry and the preparation of the Report. My thanks include all those who submitted evidence to the Inquiry: I was greatly impressed by the quality of much of the evidence I received.
- 9.7 I have already expressed my appreciation of the assistance given me by those who were instructed on behalf of the represented parties. But I have not yet mentioned the impressive and immensely valuable role of Counsel to the Inquiry. Theirs was a very difficult task calling for adroit and skilful handling of witnesses, a mastery of the voluminous written evidence and the exercise of independent judgment both in advising me and in conducting, on my behalf, the proceedings of the Inquiry. I thank them most sincerely for their great help to me and for the successful discharge of their onerous duty.
- 9.8 I wish also to place on record my appreciation of the services of the Treasury Solicitor, and to pay a personal tribute to those in his office

who handled the business of the Inquiry. The office has acquired an expertise in the work of public inquiries, which is an asset of great value to the nation. This expertise, to which must be added energy, skill and a calm determination to overcome all difficulties almost before they arise, was put unreservedly at my disposal. My thanks are great, indeed.

9.9 I leave to the last the expression of my profound respect and gratitude for the services of Philip Mawer, Secretary to the Inquiry and Nicholas Montgomery Pott, the Assistant Secretary. I cannot adequately express my admiration, or the magnitude of the debt I personally owe them, for their great services. They faced many formidable challenges in the organisation of the hearings and of the visits which together constituted the proceedings of the Inquiry: they overcame them and the progress of the Inquiry is the best evidence of their skills and patience. In the preparation of the Report they have exhibited the ability to analyse and master complex and voluminous evidence and to present it lucidly for consideration, which is the mark of a fine civil servant. They were admirably supported by Mr Ted McCormick and Miss Melissa Grant of the Home Office. I offer my most sincere thanks to the whole team.

Scarmen

SCARMAN

P J C Mawer

P J C MAWER
(Secretary)

30 October 1981

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