

PREM 19/484

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PART I

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Civil DISORDER

HOME

AFFAIRS

PART I. APRIL 1950

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
29.10.51 PT 1 ends							
PREM 19/4/84							

PART 1 ends:-

Hansard Extract 29/10/18

PART 2 begins:-

Lord Scarman to Home Sec

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC (80) 17 th Conclusions, Minute 1 (extract)	24.4.80
CC (81) 27 th Conclusions, Minute 4	9.7.81
CC (81) 28 th Conclusions, Minute 5	16.7.81
CC (81) 30 th Conclusions, Minute 1	30.7.81

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed Wayland

Date 26 April 2011

PREM Records Team

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.

1. House of Commons Hansard, 3 April 1980, columns 659– 668 “Bristol (Disturbance)”
2. House of Commons Hansard, 28 April 1980, columns 971 – 981 “Bristol Disturbances”
3. House of Commons Hansard, 6 July 1981, columns 21 – 31 “Disturbances (Southall and Liverpool)”
4. House of Commons Hansard, 15 July 1981, columns 1177 – 1183 “Police (Equipment)”
5. House of Commons Hansard, 29 October 1981, columns 993 – 1000 “Police Searches (Brixton)”

Signed Wayland Date 26 April 2011

PREM Records Team

POLICE SEARCHES (BRIXTON)

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr. Speaker, with permission I should like to report to the House on the inquiry ordered by the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis into the conduct of the police operation which took place on 15 July in Railton Road, Brixton.

The House will recall that the raid took place at a time of serious public disorders in which petrol bombs had been used. Acting on information that petrol bombs had been stored somewhere on the premises, police officers entered a number of houses to execute search warrants. Offences under the Licensing Act were also suspected. Allegations were subsequently made that the police caused unnecessary damage to property and personal effects. The Commissioner immediately ordered a full inquiry.

The inquiry was carried out on the Commissioner's behalf by Deputy Assistant Commissioner Dear. I have now received a copy of his report which is both detailed and frank. I have placed in the Library a memorandum summarising his description of what took place and his main conclusions.

/He says

● He says that the information about petrol bombs came from a proven source and he concludes that the decision to mount a search operation was justified. He considers it significant that although no petrol bombs were found in the houses, a crate of bottles, with evidence of preparation for use as bombs, was subsequently found on waste ground beside one of the houses.

Mr. Dear criticises some aspects of the execution of the raid, including the choice of a rendezvous point too close to Railton Road and the slowness of the build up of the large force of officers involved, which undermined the secrecy of the operation. He also criticises some of the detailed arrangements for briefing the officers who took part.

Damage was shown to have been caused by the police in gaining entry to and searching the premises. Mr. Dear found that for the most part this damage was unavoidable. In relation to two properties, complaints were made which have been investigated under section 49 of the Police Act 1964. Reports of these investigations have been referred to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

/During the course

Shannon: Press reports of lack of words by SPG so cannot determine cause of death of Maiv Peach

WW: interview clear.

Adrian: - People always suspicious of reputation police by police
- Why should some resign because make to get community policing in place.

WW: CC of West Midlands has v good record.
Complaints. much time or small. little satis on major.

Mr Shephard: Disciplining Action?

WW: Complaints have been made
Some referred to BPP

Douglas Mann: Criticism of police Bill shared by most backbenchers
- Indep element

WW: used after Third Reading.

RAH: read report - Debate in Govt time.

WW: L of H. Subsume in Summer.

During the course of the inquiry there were a number of claims for compensation. A good many of these have already been settled. Some, however, were in Mr. Dear's view grossly exaggerated, and in two cases prosecutions for criminal deception have been started.

It is important to appreciate the difficulties which the police had to face in Brixton, particularly at the time of this operation. During a period when riots were taking place it would have been wrong not to follow up information about petrol bombs; and we must recognise that if bombs had been found at the time reaction to the raid would have been different. In these circumstances I do not question the judgment of the police that a search should be made. Nevertheless, important lessons have been learned from the execution of the operation and the Commissioner has assured me that these will be taken fully into account in the future.

RH: not always fears, most officers responsible & legal. But anxiety over certain aspects. Some are ~~able~~ damage. Mr Davis ~~concerning~~ not in library.

(a) 2 cases for criminal deception. But how many applications paid?

(b) no apology, but lessons learnt? How about

- indep police complaints
- separate police authority for London
- Royal Commission - ~~pro~~ procedure before new laws Criminal

WV: - most claims settled for half amount claimed. £ 8500 where not poss, claimants advised to court.

- refers to some lessons in statement. (ii) Lord Bellenden evening committee's report.

(n) HS right authority - Lehan said so for long. Few would support Leader of GLC say would not be accountable. (iii) Hope to have a chance to discuss. L of H.

JF Fisher: Some thoroughly unscrupulous. Substantial damage. If use of premises. My constituents want security. Cooper with police unhampered by this.

- undisciplined weapon
- need independent element in inquiry
- must be no repetition.

WV: Easy to be hindsight to judge. Agree need for cooperation. Two way. HS & C will do all can. But public does not always cooperate. Accountability of HS allow MPs to question P.A. London through

Joe Stone: Best police in world. WV: No one can give uncritical support but high praise. Many will take civil action.

John Tiley: Anger and disappointment in area. WV: How can you give uncritical support but high praise? LBI have liaison arrangements? London? Police action wholly justified? LBI have liaison arrangements? London?

Tom Wheeler: Proven source. Close links with LBI. WV: Accepted with consider

Call in outside policeman as matter of course. WV: Report would carry more credibility. (Met pol). Report would carry more

WV: Particular circumstances. | LBI: indep element in complaints procedure.

FR.

REPORT OF ENQUIRY BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER DEAR INTO
POLICE OPERATIONS IN RAILTON ROAD, BRIXTON ON WEDNESDAY 15 JULY 1981:
SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND MAIN CONCLUSIONS

The build-up to the operation

1. On 3 July 1981, following police observation, warrants were obtained under section 187 of the Licensing Act 1964 to search premises at numbers 35, 37, 52 and 54 Railton Road which were suspected of being used for unlawful drinking. It was originally intended to execute the warrants on 10 July. Execution was, however, deferred on the decision of the Area Deputy Assistant Commissioner, in the light of the serious disturbances which were occurring in and around Brixton at that time.
2. On 10 July a detective inspector operating from Kennington Police Station received information from a proven source to the effect that a quantity of petrol bombs had been manufactured and stored in houses in Railton Road for use against the police in the event of any further disturbance. The information was passed to the senior CID officer (a Commander) in charge of the No. 4 Area of which L District is a part and was discussed with senior officers in L District. It was agreed that because of the heavy demand on manpower occasioned by the outbreaks of disorder at that time an immediate raid was impracticable.
3. On 13 July when the main disturbances were over the Acting Commander of L District was advised of the information about the petrol bombs. On 14 July warrants were obtained under section 6 of the Criminal Damage Act 1971 in respect of numbers 50, 56, 58, 62 and 64 Railton Road. Two further warrants under the Licensing Act were also obtained in respect of numbers 47 and 60. On the same day the possible existence of the bombs and the fact that warrants had been obtained was made known to the Acting Assistant Commissioner (Crime), Deputy Assistant Commissioner (Operations) and the Deputy Assistant Commissioner of No 4 Area. All three officers were informed of the Acting Commander's plan to carry out a co-ordinated raid on the properties named in the various warrants in the early morning of 15 July and approved this proposed course of action.
4. Plans were accordingly made for the operation to take place from 12 midnight on 14 July on the basis that the execution of the Criminal Damage Act warrants would be carried out by CID officers and of the Licensing Act warrants by uniformed men, under the command of the Detective Chief Supt. head of CID in L District and the Chief Supt in charge of Brixton Sub-Division respectively. Officers were assembled

.../at Brixton

at Brixton police station which is situated within half a mile of Railton Road but not all were available by midnight, some having been delayed by the threat of serious disorder elsewhere in London. Because of the large number of people normally present in Railton Road around midnight, arrangements were made for the Brixton police to be assisted by officers from outside the Sub-Division. In the end, a total of 176 CID and uniformed officers were employed actually to enter the premises and a further 391 officers were either held in reserve or employed in cordoning off the area.

5. When the required manpower had been assembled, the two groups of officers who were to lead the raids on the 11 properties were addressed by the District Commander and then briefed separately. Both groups were told that they were looking specifically for petrol bombs and bomb-making equipment, as well as, in the case of the uniformed officers, for evidence of unlicensed drinking. All officers were advised to look also for stolen property. Members of the teams deputed to carry out the operations on individual properties were briefed by the senior officer responsible for the execution of each warrant. The District Community Liaison Officer was instructed to contact community leaders as soon as the search parties had left Brixton police station to inform them of the reasons for the operation.

The Operation

6. Shortly after 2.00 am the police travelled by road to Railton Road arriving from several directions. The surrounding area was immediately cordoned off and the 11 premises concerned entered more or less simultaneously. Since speedy entry was important, sledge hammers and crow bars had been issued during the briefing and forcible entry was made to external doors or windows, and in some cases to the inner doors as well. No evidence was found during the operation of the manufacture of petrol bombs or of premises being used for illegal drinking that evening. Seven people were arrested, all for minor offences. No direct complaints were made against the police at the time of the operation which concluded at about 5.00 am.

Aftermath of the operation

7. Following the operation a number of claims were made by occupants relating to damage or loss of property allegedly attributable to police action. The position for each of the properties is set out below.

.../35 Railton Road

Railton Road

8. The premises were entered under the authority of a search warrant under Section 187 of the Licensing Act 1964 issued on 3 July. A team of officers under the supervision of a Chief Supt arrived at the premises at about 2.00 am. Entry was effected by breaking down the street door with a sledge hammer. The premises were unoccupied and derelict. No claims have been received in respect of the property which is owned by Lambeth Borough Council and due for demolition shortly.

37 Railton Road

9. The premises were entered under the authority of a warrant issued under the Licensing Act on 3 July. Officers under the supervision of a Supt arrived at the premises about 1.55 am. Entry was effected by forcing the two front doors. No one was found on the premises although in the part used as a cafe on the ground floor there were indications that the premises had only recently been vacated. In the course of their search a rear door was forced, boarding from a window pulled down, the fireplace panelling in the front of the fireplace pulled away, some damage was caused to two bedroom doors and a kitchen door. Claims for compensation were submitted both by the cafe proprietor and the occupier of the premises and have been settled. The premises are subject to a compulsory purchase order and are due for demolition shortly.

47 Railton Road

10. The premises were the subject of a warrant issued under the Licensing Act 1964 issued on 14 July. Officers under the supervision of a Chief Inspector arrived at about 2.05 am. Entry was effected by forcing the front door. The premises were unoccupied and in a derelict condition, although there were signs that they had been used for illegal drinking. In the course of the search a new record player and a small quantity of drugs were found and taken to Brixton police station, the former as being suspected stolen property. Damage was caused to the front door and two floorboards. No claims were received and the property has now been demolished, as previously planned.

50 Railton Road

11. The premises were entered on the authority of a search warrant under Section 6 of the Criminal Damage Act 1971 issued on 14 July. A team under the supervision of a Detective Inspector arrived at the premises at about 2.00 am. The inspector

.../knocked

5R.

knocked at the door and shouted at the occupants to open it. On receiving no response the police forced their way in using a sledge hammer. Six persons were found to be present; one in the ground floor front room, where he lived, and five in the upstairs front room, three of whom the police have since been unable to trace. The only damage which the police were aware of causing at the time was to the front door and to a rear door which was forced to gain access to a rear yard. No electricity supply is connected to the house, however, and it is accepted that some accidental damage could have been caused to personal property in the darkness. Claims for compensation were received from three persons. In one case the claim has been settled; the others are not accepted by the police.

12. During the inquiry, some days later, a crate was found on waste ground beside No 50. Subsequent forensic examination of the crate and the bottles it contained, including wicks and traces of petrol, established that the material recovered was sufficient to make 44 petrol bombs.

52 Railton Road

13. The premises were entered under the authority of a Licensing Act warrant issued on 3 July. Officers under the supervision of a Supt. arrived at about 2.00 am. Entry, which was resisted by three men, was effected by bodily pressure on the front door. As the police gained entry the three men ran out to the rear garden, and one, the alleged occupant, was arrested on suspicion of possessing drugs. The only other person present was a woman who left after having her hand-bag searched. The Supt. personally inspected all rooms before leaving the premises. He described the house as semi-derelict with no signs of habitation. The only damage for which the police accept responsibility is to the front door, a cupboard under the stairs, a larder door and a back door. A claim for a considerable amount of structural damage and personal property including a TV set, fridge freezer and settee is not accepted and the claimant has since been charged with attempting to obtain dishonestly a sum of money and with the possession of dangerous drugs.

54 Railton Road

14. The premises were the subject of a Licensing Act warrant issued on 3 July. Officers under the supervision of a Chief Inspector arrived at 2.05 am. The front door was opened on arrival. There were some 25 to 30 people on the premises, none

.../of whom

BR.

of whom admitted to being either the owner or tennant. No evidence was found of offences against the Licensing Act, but drugs were found discarded. The only damage caused by the police in the course of the search was to some floorboards which were pulled up, to the banisters, and to a board which was removed from a fireplace.

15. The premises are normally occupied by two squatters, both of whom submitted claims for compensation in respect of damage or missing personal property. Neither was present at the time of the search. The police admit liability to the extent that they were unable to secure the premises on leaving as the lock on the back door was broken (not as a result of police action) and both claims have been settled.

56 Railton Road

16. The premises were entered under the authority of a search warrant under the Criminal Damage Act 1971 issued on 14 July. The officers under the supervision of a Detective Inspector arrived at the premises at about 2.10 am. Entry was gained by applying pressure to the door, thereby springing the catch. Some damage to doors etc. was caused during the search and the necessary repairs are to be carried out by the police. No claims for damages were made either by the occupants or by the owner.

58 Railton Road

17. The premises which were the subject of a Criminal Damage Act warrant issued on 14 July were entered by officers under the supervision of a Detective Inspector about 2.00 am. A number of people were on the premises and accounts of what actually

.../happened

NR.

happened are conflicting. A file concerning the address has been forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions after an investigation under Section 49 of the Police Act 1964. Compensation has been paid to the company owning a space invader machine and pool table which were damaged.

60 RAILTON ROAD

18. The premises, an off-licence with residential accommodation behind and above, were the subject of a Licensing Act warrant issued on 14 July. The search team under the supervision of a Chief Supt. arrived at about 2.00 am. A number of doors, external and internal, were forced to gain entry. The only person present was the occupier of the top floor flat. On completing the search the police were unable to secure the off-licence premises and the Chief Supt. in charge accordingly stayed behind with a number of officers until the owner returned at about 3.30 am. On arrival, the owner refused further offers of assistance from the police to secure the premises and ordered them to leave, which they did. The address is now the subject of a formal complaint against the police and the conduct of the search has been investigated under section 49 of the Police Act 1964 and a file forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions. The owner has claimed substantial compensation in respect both to damage of personal property and theft of stock after the police had left the premises. Structural repairs have already been carried out by contractors on behalf of the Metropolitan Police but the claim for damage to personal property and for loss of stock is not accepted. A separate claim by the occupier of the upstairs flat in respect of property damage has been settled.

62 RAILTON ROAD

19. The premises were the subject of a Criminal Damage Act warrant issued on 14 July. Officers under the supervision of a Detective Inspector arrived at the premises at about 2.00 am. No response was received to their ringing the bell and knocking on the door and an unsuccessful attempt was then made to force the lock with a jemmy. The door was eventually opened by applying bodily pressure. In the course of the search a number of locked interior doors were forced, a metal cabinet was forced open, and three wall panels pulled away. On leaving, the police secured the premises fully with the assistance of a shop keeper from next door. The ground floor of these premises was used as a quasi-masonic temple and at the time of the raid two ceremonial swords were laid out on the floor and other items of regalia stored in a cabinet, none of which were moved by the police. The owner has submitted a

.../claim

claim for a substantial sum of money in respect of alleged structural damage and property damaged or stolen, including a quantity of drinks stored beneath the bar (which the police do not recollect seeing) and various items of regalia. The police do not accept that the claim is valid. Two of the missing items - the swords - were subsequently recovered by the police from youths arrested in connection with other matters.

64 RAILTON ROAD

20. These premises were the subject of a Criminal Damage Act warrant issued on 14 July. A team of officers under the supervision of a Detective Inspector arrived at the premises at about 2.00 am. The door to the shop on the ground floor was open. On entry, the police showed the warrant to the shop keeper who was present together with members of his family and friends, and searched the room at the rear of the shop. The basement and upper floors are reached separately. In order to gain access the ground floor door to a private flat and the basement door were forced. A small window on the first floor was also broken. Three internal doors were forced, causing damage to the locks and frames. Both the shop keeper and the occupant of the flat said that no damage was caused by the police to their premises or property. The occupant of the basement who was not present at the time claimed that damage had been caused to a pool table; enquiries have shown, however, that this was caused by looters on 10 July and had been noted by the police prior to the operation.

CONCLUSIONS

21. The information on which the police acted was from a proven source and, in view of the discovery during the subsequent inquiry of a number of discarded petrol bombs, was probably correct. Careful consideration of the arguments for and against shows that, in the light of this information, the decision to mount the operation was justified. However, a number of defects in the execution of the operation were exposed by the inquiry. The rendezvous point was too close to the site of the operation. This together with the delay in assembling the large number of officers taking part, caused by other public order commitments, almost certainly undermined the element of secrecy, and allowed time for evidence to be removed. The briefing of the officers taking part was variable in quality, resulting in some confusion in the conduct of the operation. Damage was caused by the police in gaining entry to and searching the premises. For the most part this damage was unavoidable, but in relation to two properties complaints were made which have been investigated under Section 49 of the Police Act 1964 and reports of these investigations have been referred to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

010
Home Affairs
C. M. ...

13/11
18/11

cs - can you fix a time to



Prime Minister
Home Affairs

Agree that we should find
1/2 hour for you to talk to
Tim Raison?

Yes - one hour
with House
30/11

PRIME MINISTER

As you know, Tim Raison recently paid a visit to the USA to look at race relations issues with particular reference to inner cities. On his return, he produced a most interesting report summarising his impressions and conclusions. Having discussed these with him, I thought that you ought to see his report, and I therefore enclose a copy.

Tim would very much welcome the opportunity to discuss with you his findings, and I should be extremely grateful if you could see your way to sparing the time for a brief discussion. The fact that a number of important issues in the race relations field will be coming up shortly for decision would make such a discussion particularly timely.

I would welcome your reaction after a talk with Tim before we raise these issues with other colleagues.

hollw-

2 arranged for
Thursday 19th NOV
at 24.30 at 26 October 1981
Hlc.
et. 2/11

VISIT TO U.S.A.

1. I paid an official visit to the U.S.A. between 20th September and 2nd October in order to look at race relations. The main themes in which I was interested were the use of the law as an instrument in countering discrimination, police-community relations and measures to reinvigorate decaying areas of the inner cities. I visited four cities: Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Below I set out my principal conclusions.

2. American experience since their 1968 riots seems to confirm that the overall climate of race relations is important. There has to be a feeling that things are getting better and that Government is broadly sympathetic to the minorities. Gestures and attitudes are very important, even when resources are limited.

3. A great deal of progress has been made in the U.S.A. since the mid-1960's, but much of it has been on issues which have never arisen in the United Kingdom (i.e. voting rights, school or housing desegregation). Much of this has been made possible through economic growth, but the downturn in the American economy and the policies of the new administration are causing many to question these achievements.

4. The law and especially court decisions are used to an extent which would be inconceivable in this country in securing changes. I do not think we need new law. However, I feel we should try to respond as positively as we can to the Select Committee report on racial disadvantage. We should also make clear our commitment to the anti-discrimination provisions of the Race Relations Act and, since the CRE is likely to remain in existence, we should encourage it to concentrate more of its efforts on law enforcement and investigations rather than on promotion. (The forthcoming Select Committee report on the CRE may be helpful on this).

5. I do not believe we should go down the road of affirmative action or job 'quotas'. There is growing concern in America about the way in which such programmes have affected employment prospects for whites, and a belief that it is more important to look to more basic issues (e.g. the quality of education) rather than to the purely civil rights aspects.

/6. The area where

6. The area where the Americans have been most successful is, I think, in getting blacks and other minorities on to the economic ladder. This is partly a factor of the size of the minority population (20% compared to our 4%); it may also be true that the West Indians who went to the U.S.A. were more enterprising than those recruited for public service jobs in this country. While there are special schemes in the U.S.A. for training, advising and financing small businesses (including the reservation of 10% of federal contracts for minority firms), the most impressive projects we saw operated on a purely commercial basis and obtained capital from the banks on ordinary market terms. This is an area which I hope we might pursue with the Department of Industry and the Department of Employment. The Department of Education and Science too, may have a role in encouraging some young blacks to consider a business career and to follow appropriate subjects. Black businessmen in America accept that they will face problems but they seem more prepared to try to overcome them with their own efforts rather than expect government to provide the solutions.

7. America has also got many more blacks in positions of distinction and responsibility - what they call 'role models'. They consequently have more responsible black leaders. Obviously, their numbers are very different, but we should do what we can here. We should also take care to support the respectable and law-abiding, and avoid the impression that the trouble-makers are the true representatives of the minority community. I was struck by the way that American blacks do not want lower standards of law enforcement, behaviour etc. applied to themselves.

8. Americans seem to have made (anyway in some areas) considerable efforts in the field of police-community relations, though starting from a worse tradition than ours, including guns. They have (not surprisingly) far more minority police than we do. They have also worked on schemes for community policing, riot anticipation and resolution, checking rumours etc. in ways which reflect their sometimes more systematic approach. Whether the results are often better than ours, I cannot judge. But there may be something to learn.

9. The idea seems more readily accepted by some in the States that minority community organisations should be seen as legitimate representatives of their people, entitled to bargain with elected authority and Government. I have

/strong reservations

strong reservations in principle about this; but we may find it spreading here if we do not find ways of getting blacks and browns into the ordinary political and Government process.

10. I think we should look very carefully at effectiveness in this field and not accept that a generalised benevolence is enough. We have a CRE: we should insist on its being effectively led and run; and CRCs should be helped to work. In some respects, we should be tougher to, and more demanding of, the minorities, and speak to them more frankly. Obviously there are limits to what we can, or should, do in telling the black communities how they should organise themselves, (it was repeatedly put to us that black-led initiatives were far more likely to flourish than white-led) but there may be some moves we can make to facilitate organisations. It was also argued widely that the existence of a sense of hopelessness or powerlessness within a community is likely to find alternative, less acceptable outlets.

11. Interestingly, immigration (because of the huge influx of Hispanics and illegals) is now moving into American politics in the way it has done here, and they are faced with strong demands for tight control.

12. Finally, in terms of our own Home Office position, while we should not try to run all aspects of race relations or trample on other departments, we are ultimately seen to be in the lead and responsible for much that happens. This points towards our being in a position to inject a race relations dimension into the policies of government departments and to promote a sufficient degree of sensitivity towards the problems faced by the ethnic minorities.

T. Raison

TIMOTHY RAISON

26th October 1981

cc Mr. Hoskyns
Mr. Rickett
Press Office

MR. DUGUID

Community Policing

I know that the Policy Unit has not hitherto involved itself much in law and order issues; but in view of your interest in inner city problems, and the emphasis that the Scarman report is bound to bring to bear on police methods, it may be worth my recording some impressions of the discussion that took place this morning when a book about community policing was launched. Incidentally, Willie Rickett has a copy of a useful Home Office note about what Lord Scarman is likely to recommend, which you may want to have a look at.

The book, 'Community Versus Crime', is by Colin Moore, who is the Chief Superintendent in charge of the Crime Prevention Support Unit in Devon and Cornwall, and John Brown, Director of Social Policy at Cranfield Institute of Technology. Its theme is that the community's own structures are the key to crime prevention; and that the aim of community policing should be to mobilise the capacity in the community for self-help. It is not directed at such simple issues as increasing the number of policemen on the beat, which Colin Moore regards as useless, but at the more complicated area of institutional co-operation about how to deal with the physical and social environment in high crime areas.

The weakness of the book is twofold: applicability and effectiveness. Colin Moore was totally unconvincing this morning about the likely applicability of the Devon and Cornwall approach to areas which were harder to police. He genuinely seems to think that a few discos in Plymouth, and the influx of large numbers of holiday-makers during August, present similar policing problems to those which would be found in the inner cities. And effectiveness is measured by the acceptability of the approach to the various groups involved - the community, the voluntary and statutory organisations, and the police themselves - rather than in terms of crimes prevented.

/I did not

I did not, of course, make these points publicly during the discussion, since they might have been given undue weight; but I did talk afterwards both to Colin Moore and to Sir Kenneth Newman (HM Inspector of Constabulary, who chaired the discussion). Moore defended effectiveness on the grounds that acceptability of community policing was a necessary precondition to crime prevention. Newman, privately, was a lot more sceptical: he said that his own impression, from evidence of researchers at Bramshill and in New Jersey, was that community policing was useful for re-establishing public confidence in the police force, and a lower perception of crime, but did not in fact lead to fewer crimes. He volunteered the opinion that community policing was a useful ingredient to be used in support of all the other approaches to policing, but that its reputation was being harmed by the activities of for instance, Colin Moore and John Alderson in suggesting that its value was higher than it really was. Alderson has, of course, offered his own evidence to the Scarman report.

There were a lot of reporters present at the launch of this book, and judging from their questions I would say that it is likely to reopen the controversy over "hard" versus "soft" policing, although that is not really what the book is about.

JV

22 October 1981

J.A. W. 2/10

REPORT OF LORD SCARMAN'S INQUIRY INTO THE BRIXTON DISORDERS

Line to take

I am sure we all look forward to Lord Scarman's report. In Phase II of his inquiry he has, of course, taken account of the civil disturbances elsewhere in July. It would be wrong to anticipate his report, but I am sure that it will make an invaluable contribution to policies for overcoming problems ^{of} in policing inner city areas and police/community relations and the promotion of conditions in which violence cannot flourish.

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

Accuracy of press reports of the contents of the report

Since I understand that Lord Scarman has yet to complete his report, I see no reason to comment on speculation as to what it might or might not contain. The time for comment will be when the report is published.

When will the report be available?

I understand that Lord Scarman hopes to present his report to my rt hon Friend the Home Secretary soon. My rt hon Friend would not wish to anticipate consideration of the report by giving a precise date for publication at this stage, but hopes that it will be possible to make it available quickly.

Will there be a Ministerial announcement? Yes.

I ^{am} sure that my rt hon Friend will give the Government's response to the report to ~~the~~ the House in an appropriate and timely manner.

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND NOTE

Lord Scarman's Inquiry

The Home Secretary appointed Lord Scarman to conduct an inquiry under section 32 of the Police Act 1964 following the disorders in Brixton in April. He has conducted the inquiry in two phases (i) an examination of the events of 10-12 April in Brixton and their immediate causes and (ii) consideration of the underlying causes, with special reference to the problem of policing areas where the community is multi-racial. Lord Scarman has not conducted a forensic examination of the disorders in many cities in July, but as part of Phase II he has taken account of them, and visited a number of the areas affected. His recommendations are likely to be generally applicable.

Timing of presentation and publication

Lord Scarman hopes to present his report in the last week of October. As yet, he has given no precise date. The report is likely to be published, as a command paper, in mid-November. It would be desirable not to be committed publicly to a precise timetable at this stage.

Ministerial announcement

The Home Secretary proposes to report to the House the day the report is published. He is likely to make an Oral statement, and would hope to be able to respond positively, where possible saying that recommendations have been accepted, if only in principle, rather than remitting them for consideration. It would, however, seem desirable at this stage not to be committed publicly to this, as it might be taken to indicate prior knowledge of the report.

Contents of the report

Lord Scarman has yet to finalise the text of his report, and no copy has been seen in the Home Office. He has, however, discussed a number of issues with officials, most comprehensively at a private dinner with the Permanent Under Secretary of State. [Attached is a record of their discussion which should, of course, be treated in the utmost confidence. It should also be appreciated that on some issues Lord Scarman's thinking may have moved on since the discussion.]

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Press reports of the contents of the report

No 10 have asked whether the report in "The Sunday Times" on 18 October of the contents of the report, (copy within) are accurate. The report should be treated as speculative: we have confirmed with the Inquiry Secretariat that they were not responsible for it and, indeed, that on some aspects - for example, the handling of complaints against the police - the relevant sections of the report have yet to be completed. Subject to that, the press article may prove to have been generally in the right direction, but not entirely accurate. Lord Scarman is, for example, likely to make recommendations about the complaints procedure, but he may incline more towards improving the current arrangements than starting afresh. Similarly, whilst he may recommend statutory liaison between the Metropolitan Police and the London boroughs, he is understood to want this to be compatible with the Home Secretary's role as police authority, which he endorses. The press articles comments on the local background to the Brixton disorders and on police training may prove to be near the mark. At present, it would of course be wrong either to confirm or deny the accuracy of the article.

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Mr Andrew
Mr Hyde
Mr Heaton
Mr Bantock
Mr Peach
Mr Hayzelden

1. Sir Brian Cubbon

2. Mr Halliday

LORD SCARMAN'S REPORT

This note reports the discussion you had with Lord Scarman on the evening of Monday 5 October. Mr Mawer and I were present.

THE DISORDERS

The events and immediate causes of the disorders

2. Lord Scarman will preface his findings of fact on the disorders themselves with physical and social description of Brixton. This identifies common inner-city problems of environment, housing, education and unemployment, and finds that the black community suffers them with particular intensity. The social, economic and political insecurity of minority groups are not 'causes' of disorder, but create a predisposition to violent protest.

3. The report will in no way excuse the disorders: they were a riot. They arose from a complex political, social and economic situation, not peculiar to Brixton. The immediate occasion for disorder stemmed from police action, and the common purpose on Friday and Saturday was to attack the police. But it would be unreasonable to blame the young constables involved in the incidents of Friday and Saturday for stimulating a riot by their actions. The disorders were not pre-planned, but the spontaneous welling-up of the feelings of angry young men, most of whom were black, against what they saw as a hostile police force (although on Saturday, outsiders - some of whom were white - did participate, and intensified the disorders by making and distributing petrol bombs). The disturbances on Sunday were sporadic and spontaneous, the result of elation at the defiance of the police the previous night.

The Police

4. Lord Scarman is satisfied that there were crime problems, particularly of street crime, in Brixton, and essentially rejects the argument that the police misinterpreted their own statistics. But senior officers failed to balance a necessary anti-crime response with prudent, and equally necessary handling of police/community relations.

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This is, in part, attributable to unimaginative and inflexible policing (both Commander Adams and Commander Fairbairn failed to consult about police 'saturation' operations), but also in part to the community leaders, who were wrong to withdraw from the local liaison committee. It was an error of judgement to continue with Operation Swamp 81 on the Saturday.

5. As to the handling of the disorders, overall the police come out well. There were instances of over-reaction, but on the whole the police acted with restraint, and failures of judgement and imagination in command were partial and arose in difficult circumstances. The disorders did, however, reveal weaknesses in the capacity of the police to respond effectively to spontaneous public disorder.

POLICING A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY

6. The report will identify a number of underlying issues of policing, highlighted by the disorders, and the relationship (or, rather, lack of it) which led to them. The areas of recommendation will include:

Recruitment

7. Lord Scarman is likely to press for ways of improving ethnic minority recruitment to the police, for example by the provision of special additional training for would-be entrants (but he is likely to reject a quota system or a lowering of standards).

8. Lord Scarman was impressed by the Met's study of better means of avoiding the recruitment of racially prejudiced officers, and is likely to recommend that the outcome be reflected in all force selection and promotion procedures.

Training

9. The report is likely to pay particular attention to training, and make significant (and possibly difficult) recommendations. Lord Scarman acknowledges that improvements of training in the Met are already well in hand, and was very impressed with Mr Dear's imaginative and constructive approach. But in his view, both the length of formal training and the use of the probationary period are inadequate to fit police for the problems they will face in multi-racial inner-city areas. The most significant recommendations are likely to be an increase in the minimum period of recruit training to six months (including more training in handling stops in the street and public disorder) and that the Home Office, through the Police Training Council, and the Inspectorate, should lay down minimum standards and requirements for compulsory in-service courses in community relations and courses in the handling of public disorder. The emphasis in training throughout the probationary period should be on the job, rather than at the desk, and community representatives, especially from the ethnic minorities, should be fully involved in the design and execution of training programmes.

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Supervision and monitoring

10. Lord Scarman attaches considerable importance to the supervisory role of inspectors and sergeants (not only to counter the inexperience of young officers, but also to adjust some of the attitudes of senior officers), and recommends training in this role, together with monitoring of the pattern of complaints against officers.

Complaints

11. Lord Scarman has yet to reach conclusions (although it is likely that he will stop short of recommending a fully independent system). He sees the main difficulty with the current system as being that it has not succeeded in gaining general public confidence; it is over-elaborate and therefore expensive; and it operates in a way which does not help to reduce conflict between the police and the complainant. When pressed on what he thought he might recommend he said that setting aside cases in which the Director of Public Prosecutions had decided to take action, and wholly trivial complaints (which he hoped could be better resolved by some process of conciliation), it might be desirable to conceive of local panels of people who would be appointed to look into complaints, and whose reports could be published. But he acknowledged that problems of appointment, of legal representation etc would make this very difficult. This was one area in which, like us, he recognised the need for change and also the difficulties of finding a satisfactory way of meeting that need. He accepted that to some extent the concentration of criticism of the complaints system was, in part, due to failures by the police, in other ways, to sustain public confidence. Thus changes in training, styles of policing, and public/community contact could help to undercut pressure for radical change in the complaints system in the longer-term, if some changes could be implemented in the meantime.

Methods of policing and relations with the community

12. Lord Scarman may wish to explore in some detail the concept of community policing, but emphasised that it is naive, and unrealistic, to see this as an issue between "hard" and "soft" policing. He sees

- a. a need to integrate Community Relations Branches and Home Beat Officers more fully into the work of other officers; and
- b. a need for a means of enabling the community to influence the development of policing policy.

Much of this can be achieved by a re-examination by chief officers in consultation

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with their police authorities and appropriate local groups, their approach to policing, especially in inner-city areas.

13. Although Lord Scarman is likely to conclude that, in the provinces, no formal change in police authority powers is necessary (although there should be consultative councils at local, i.e. Divisional, level), as to London he is likely to find that current ad hoc arrangements for local communication and consultation are insufficient and may recommend that there should be a statutory consultative machinery at Borough level. Lord Scarman firmly believes that the Home Secretary should remain the police authority and, in discussion we stressed to him that such a call for statutory provision would raise difficult questions about what the powers of such bodies might be. I had the impression that he would reflect again about such a recommendation.

Police handling of Disorder

14. Lord Scarman will make it clear that, if disorder does occur, the police must be ready to respond firmly and effectively and draw from the experience of Brixton lessons which, as he acknowledges, are already being learned. His recommendations for improved training and tactics, better communications and systems of reinforcement and better protective equipment and more protected vehicles - should merely endorse current activity. He is very wary of offensive equipment (water cannon, CS and baton rounds) but his reservations are likely to be met by the safeguards incorporated in the guidance on which the Home Secretary will have reported to the House before the report is published.

THE LAW

15. Lord Scarman is himself drafting passages on the law. He is not attracted by a new 'Riot Act'; not only would such a power be pretty limited in practical effect, possibly very difficult to use. He does not see a 'public' warning as a trigger to offences being committed being very desirable in the hurly burly of battle. He may try, however, to suggest a means of dealing with the evidential difficulties of security convictions of rioters, by means of a new offence. He has looked at the problem of incitement to racial hatred, not only Section 5A of the Public Order Act 1936, but also the problem of racialist marches. He is particularly seized of the difficulty for the police, of appearing to be identified with extreme right-wing organisations whose marches they have to police, but judges that the existing law is adequate to cope with the problem of racialist marches in ethnic minority areas. This means that chief officers are, in Lord Scarman's view, enabled by the existing law to take account of the likelihood of incitement to racial hatred in their judgement of the prospect of serious disorder.

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THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

16. The concluding sections of the report will discuss the social context of policing. But we did not have time to discuss this in detail. No doubt Lord Scarman will take into account the statement on Merseyside (Lord Scarman is to meet Mr Heseltine, at the latter's request, on 20 October). Lord Scarman is apparently impressed by the Select Committee's report on Racial Disadvantage, and may say that it calls for a positive response from Government.

CONCLUSION

17. Lord Scarman clearly was, and feels he was, on firmer ground in the forensic process of Phase I of his Inquiry, rather than in the process of Phase II. Not only did the procedure itself of Phase II deny to participants the discipline of rebuttal of their arguments, but it was in the nature of the material that much of it was 'opinion evidence' rather than evidence as such. Although, therefore, he will draw connections between the social and economic context and policing it will be on the latter that he concentrates. The flavour of his overall assessment incorporated the judgement that chief and senior officers, in London and elsewhere, took too partial a view of the police role. The investigation of crime tended to be erected into a position of priority to the detriment of other essential policing objectives. The result was that what they said they did (taking an overall, balanced approach) was in conflict with the reality (an unimaginative and self-protective withdrawal into operational independence). His analysis and recommendations were designed to assist both the Home Office and chief officers to try and bridge that gap.

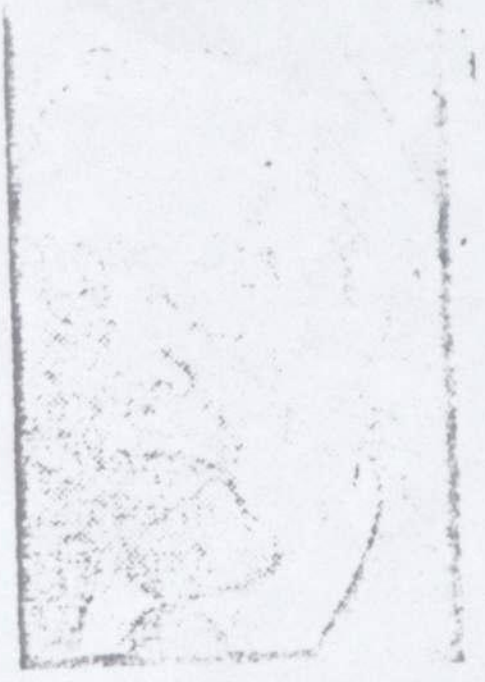
G H PHILLIPS
7 October 1981

F4 Division

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Scarman: Put police under public scrutiny

by Elizabeth Grice and John Shirley



Scarman: "Restore confidence"

CONTROVERSIAL changes in the system for investigating complaints against the police are expected to be recommended to the government this week by Lord Scarman in his report on last April's Brixton riots. The report will be published in full next month and will clearly present a major challenge to the home secretary, William Whitelaw.

Scarman is understood to have come down firmly in favour of an independent—or civilian—element in the machinery for investigating complaints. He wants a system that will finally scotch the criticism, made repeatedly during his six-month enquiry, that the public has little confidence in the present procedure because "it is the police who are investigating the police."

In addition, he believes the Metropolitan Police should be accountable to local authorities on policy matters, and even some operational decisions—such as the use of the Special Patrol Group and the initiation of Swamp 81, the week-long saturation policing exercise in central Brixton, said by some witnesses at his investigation to be the immediate cause of the Brixton riots.

He also favours some form of legally enforceable liaison between police and community leaders in all London boroughs to avoid the sort of rift that occurred in Brixton before the disturbances.

The driving force behind Scar-

man's recommendations is his central philosophy that public—and especially black—confidence in the police must be re-established if rioting is to be averted in the future. His reforms, especially on the complaints procedure, are understood to go well beyond anything that has so far been proposed.

Last year, the Police Complaints Board—the civilian body that acts as a court of appeal for individuals unhappy with the way in which their allegations have been investigated by policemen—recommended that complaints of serious injury be investigated by a specialist team of officers answerable to the board.

In March, the idea was rejected by a 12-member Home Office working party, which conceded only that serious investigations might be supervised by non-policemen.

Scarman, however, is understood to favour an independent element in all complaints investigations, not just those relating to allegations of serious injury. Beyond that, he is sympathetic to the setting up of an entirely non-police investigative body—modelled on the Customs Investigation Branch or America's Federal Bureau of Investigation—which would look at complaints against police officers from outside the force.

Scarman's report will make hard reading for senior officers in the Metropolitan L Division, of which Brixton is a part. Although he praises the skill and

courage of individual policemen at the riots—most of them ill-prepared and under-equipped—he finds that insensitive policing of the area over a number of years contributed greatly to its racial explosiveness. The police, he feels, failed to find the right balance between effective crime-prevention and keeping the goodwill and support of the community. He is highly critical of Swamp 81.

Scarman will support changes in police training, including a much deeper study of the cultural differences of ethnic minorities, a longer training period and greater supervision of young officers in multi-racial areas.

In anticipation of these recommendations, some areas of the Metropolitan Police district—including Brixton—have already been selected for an experiment in the increased use of foot-patrolling local constables.

Although his terms of reference strictly limited him to police matters, Scarman's report emphasises that the deprivation of black youngsters must be seen in a wider social context. His comments are intended as a subtle criticism of government economic policy, a view he hinted at after a brief tour of Toxteth last Friday when he observed: "You cannot blame police for economic and social conditions which are the basis of the riot process. It is a national problem and it is parliament which has got to solve it."

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y's black Labrador, hurt, is being cared s.

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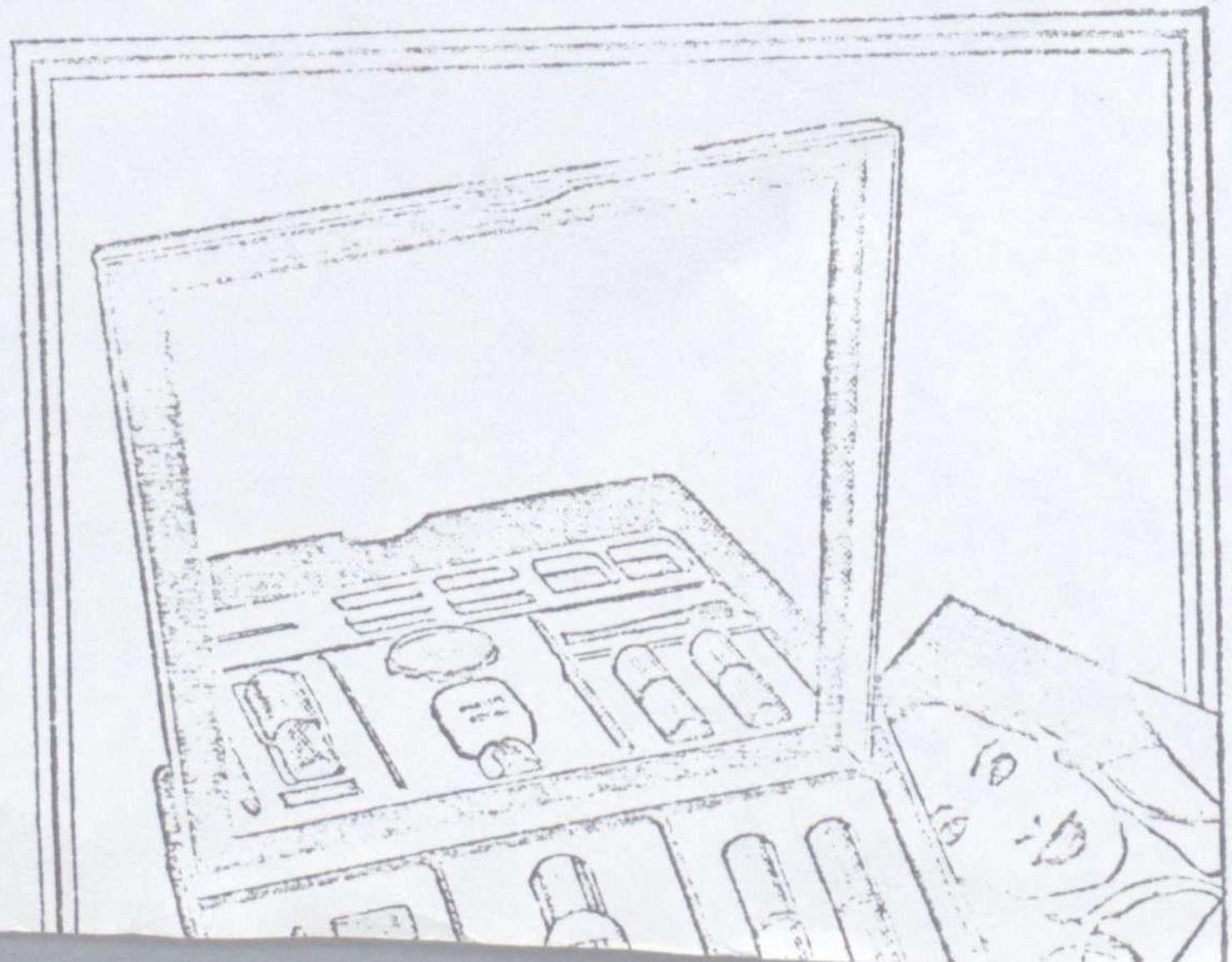
Bullion divers haul up bones

by Barrie Penrose

EXCLUSIVE

GOVERNMENT officials will tomorrow investigate why human remains were brought to the surface during the recovery of £40 million in gold bullion from the wartime wreck of the cruiser

THE SUNDAY TIMES 18-10-81 The Great Face Box





10 DOWNING STREET

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From the Private Secretary

10 August 1981

I am writing on the Prime Minister's behalf to thank you for your letter of 22 July, in which you wrote about the problems which might be caused for local authorities by the additional police costs arising from riots and from payments made under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886.

Lord Belstead made it clear at the Consultative Council on Local Government Finance on 4 August that the Government were prepared to help local authorities in these matters, and were considering how this might best be done. I am now writing to let you know what the Government have decided. And in view of the importance of the issue I am releasing the terms of this letter to the press.

If the Government were to limit its contribution to a proportion of the expenditure in excess of a penny rate product in the police force area concerned, only one or two authorities would benefit. We therefore propose the following scheme.

In an area in which the police authority has decided that claims under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886 may be accepted, the Government would calculate the total extra expenditure falling on the police authority and/or the local authority as a result of:

- a. Claims under the 1886 Act;
- b. Additional police expenditure (e.g. overtime, mutual aid);
- c. The costs of clearing streets (including the repair of street furniture).

If the total extra expenditure exceeded the product of a penny rate in the District in which the main rioting occurred (i.e. Liverpool City in Merseyside), the police authority would qualify for a specific grant (to be made on the authority of an Appropriation Act) from the Home Office Vote for those additional costs; and the District authority would qualify for a

/ similar

similar grant from a DOE Vote towards its own clearing up costs. In both cases the level of grant would be 60%, i.e. the rate at which central Government is supporting local authorities' expenditure through RSG in this financial year.

DOE will seek to ensure that local authorities will not suffer penalties on their block grant as a result of this expenditure.

The Government believes that a scheme of this sort is a sound basis for discussion with the local authorities.

It is necessary to stress the exceptional nature of these proposals, which should not be seen as a precedent for future assistance towards the costs of emergencies. The Government will also wish to limit the degree of retrospection permissible and ensure that only expenditure directly attributable to this year's riots is eligible for grant.

W. F. S. RICKETT

Councillor Jack Smart, C.B.E., J.P.



CP

file

Home
Affairs

BK

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

10 August 1981

Local Authority Expenditure arising
from civil disturbances

Thank you for copying to us your letter of 6 August to John Wiggins.

The Prime Minister has agreed the Home Secretary's scheme for providing special assistance to those local authorities who have suffered substantial costs from the riots. I have written as drafted to Councillor Smart of the AMA conveying this decision. You will have received a copy of my letter by now.

I am copying this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Terry Mathews (Chief Secretary's Office, HM Treasury) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

W. F. S. RICKETT

John Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office

↳

Teleprinted to PM in Cornwall
on 7/8 J.S.

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Press Office

LOCAL AUTHORITY EXPENDITURE ARISING FROM CIVIL DISTURBANCES

The Home Office have received very strong representations from the Local Authority Associations about the additional burden of expenditure falling on those Authorities where there have been riots. Lord Belstead made it clear at the Consultative Council on Local Government Finance on 4 August that the Government were willing to help.

The Home Secretary and the Chief Secretary have now agreed a scheme for Government assistance. DOE are recommending the scheme to Mr. Heseltine, and he is most likely to agree. The Home Office and Department of the Environment would like to announce it on Monday since a number of Local Authorities are threatening to raise supplementary rates on the grounds that HMG is unwilling to help. The Merseyside/^{County}Council is, for instance, meeting on 11 August to discuss a possible supplementary rate.

The scheme is set out in the attached letter for me to send to the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA) on your behalf, which takes the form of a reply to a letter the AMA wrote to you about this problem. You will see that the scheme is at this stage put forward as the basis for a discussion with the Local Authorities, but they are most likely to see it as a generous offer of help.

/ There is

There is one key difference between this new scheme and the existing scheme whereby the Local Authorities receive a grant towards costs exceeding the product of a penny rate in the police force area concerned. The new scheme operates where the additional costs exceed the product of a penny rate in the district in which the main rioting occurred, which will be much smaller than the police force area. More Local Authorities will therefore benefit. The extra costs of £45 m. caused by the riots and the need to pay compensation will have to be largely met from Local Authority or central Government expenditure in any case. The scheme proposed here would simply increase the amount falling to be met from the PSBR from £18 m. (under the existing scheme) to £27 m. (under the new scheme). In agreeing to this, the Chief Secretary has emphasised that he sees it as a one-off proposal, and not as a precedent.

Content that I should write to the AMA as agreed by Mr. Whitelaw, the Chief Secretary and most likely by Mr. Heseltine? And that the terms of the letter should be made public?

7 August 1981



cc. A. Duguid.
A. Walters.
D. Wilson.

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

J F Halliday Esq
Private Secretary to
The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP
Secretary of State
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT

7 August 1981

Dear John,

LOCAL AUTHORITY EXPENDITURE ARISING FROM CIVIL DISTURBANCES

The Chief Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of 6 August to John Wiggins.

The Chief Secretary accepts that special assistance should be given to the local authorities who have suffered substantial damage and riot costs. He is concerned, however, about the potential difficulties which arise out of the Home Secretary's proposed scheme.

These difficulties concern the decision in principle to adopt a scheme which is more generous than the conventional 75% Central Government grant on the excess of the product of 1p on the rates; and the cost of that choice. There is also the question of whether the preferred scheme casts doubt on Government's intention to reduce local spending. Those intentions could be made to look uncertain if such generous aid is provided.

However, he can see that there would be political problems if the 1p product convention rules out assistance to any authority other than Merseyside. (apart from the 50% specific police grant, which would not cover compensation costs). He would therefore be ready to go along with the basis of the scheme, paying a 60% grant, on the clear understanding that this is one-off and that that is made clear to the local authorities. It should also be understood that this decision sets no precedent for any future riot, or riot damage legislation.

For 1981-82 the additional public expenditure will be charged to the Contingency Reserve. The handling of any additional costs

in 1982-83 will need to be settled in the Ministerial discussion of public expenditure this autumn.

The Chief Secretary has also pointed out that the generosity of the proposed scheme for these few local authorities will have to be acknowledged in the consideration of any proposals for aid for disadvantaged or inner city areas.

There are some other minor points which officials will need to follow-up eg. the clearance of a statement in due course in Parliament announcing the Contingency Reserve decision, and the use of the Contingencies Fund for a new service.

I am copying this letter to Clive Whitmore, David Edmonds, and David Wright.

Yours ever

Terry Mathews

T F MATHEWS
Private Secretary



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

6 August 1981

LOCAL AUTHORITY EXPENDITURE ARISING FROM CIVIL DISTURBANCES

In the Home Secretary's letter of 22nd July he said that officials would be in touch with the Treasury and D.O.E. about support from central government for additional expenditure arising from riots and civil disturbances. This letter reports the outcome of these discussions and suggests a way forward in the light of the very strong representations from the local authority associations about this additional burden of expenditure falling on those authorities where there have been civil disturbances. In the meantime, as you will know, Lord Belstead announced at Tuesday's meeting of the Consultative Council that the Government would be prepared to help. The Government has now to settle the extent to which it will help, and how this help is to be channelled into the right areas. We are, I am afraid, short of time as there is a risk that some authorities - despite Lord Belstead's statement - will raise a supplementary rate to cover all their extra costs. Merseyside County Council is to meet on Tuesday 11th August for this purpose.

Officials have looked at a number of ways of achieving this end, bearing in mind the need to produce a simple and readily understandable scheme which will direct help to the areas where it is most needed and at the same time maintain the principle of local responsibility for the expenditure. Three possible approaches were identified:-

- a. assistance through the main Rate Support Grant machinery;
- b. specific grants under an Appropriation Act towards costs exceeding the product of a penny rate (the approach adopted by D.O.E. in the past in providing assistance for emergency expenditure on flood and storm damage);
- c. a specific grant under an Appropriation Act, based on a proportion of the additional expenditure incurred.

The use of the block grant mechanism is complex and its use would not guarantee getting the money to the right area. The penny rate product approach was implicit in the Prime Minister's statement of 14th July, but has the disadvantage that only Merseyside would be likely to qualify for assistance. In London, the product of a penny rate in the Metropolitan Police District is about £19m; our present estimate of the total value of claims under the Riot (Damages) Act is less than £10m, so no Exchequer assistance would be available. Officials of the Home Office and D.O.E. have therefore concluded that the balance of advantage lies in option c. as the simplest way of achieving Ministers' intentions and ensuring equitable treatment of all the authorities concerned. The Home Secretary is sure that the political arguments point strongly this way.

A scheme under this option would work like this. In an area in which the

/police

John Wiggins Esq.

police authority has decided that claims under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886 may be accepted, we would calculate the total extra expenditure falling on the police authority and/or the local authority as a result of:-

- a. Claims under the 1886 Act;
- b. Additional police expenditure (e.g. overtime, mutual aid);
- c. The costs of clearing streets (including the repair of street furniture).

...
50 7
If the total extra expenditure exceeded the product of a penny rate in the District in which the main rioting occurred (i.e. Liverpool City in Merseyside) the police authority would qualify for a specific grant (to be made on the authority of an Appropriation Act) from the Home Office Vote for those additional costs; and the District authority would qualify for a similar grant from a D.O.E. Vote towards its own clearing up costs. In both cases the level of grant would be 60%, i.e. the rate at which central Government is supporting local authorities' expenditure through R.S.G. in this financial year. The attached table shows how this scheme would affect central government and local government costs compared with (a) no assistance beyond the 60% specific police grant and (b) a scheme based on the "penny rate" principle.

D.O.E. officials are looking for ways to ensure that local authorities will not suffer penalties on their block grant as a result of this expenditure. The Home Secretary realises that this scheme may have some untidiness at the edges, but believes it is a sound basis for discussion with the local authorities, who will no doubt have their own views about how we might help them. On the question of costs, our latest estimates suggest that compensation under the Riot (Damages) Act might total some £20m. and additional police expenditure might be upwards of £24m. Clearing up costs are not expected to be more than £1m. This would mean a P.E.S. bid of about £45m. on the contingency reserve for the current year; no increase in cash limits would be necessary.

...
If the Prime Minister and the Chancellor and Secretary of State for the Environment agree that this is a sensible way forward, the Home Secretary suggests that it should be included in a reply from No. 10 to Councillor Smart's letter of 22nd July (a draft is attached). It should appeal to local authority associations as a generous offer of central government support, since as the law stands they should bear all their additional expenses (other than 50% specific grant on extra police expenditure) themselves. In putting these proposals to the local authority associations we would stress their exceptional nature, which should not be seen as a precedent for future assistance towards the costs of emergencies. We would also need to limit the degree of retrospection permissible and ensure that only expenditure directly attributable to this year's riots is eligible for grant.

I am copying this letter to Clive Whitmore at No. 10, David Edmonds at Environment and David Wright at Cabinet Office.

J.F. HALLIDAY

COMPARISON OF FINANCING OF LATEST ESTIMATE OF RIOT COSTS

	£m		
<u>LA Contribution</u>	<u>No Scheme</u>	<u>1p/75%</u>	<u>60%/40%</u>
Compensation	20.0	16.5 ⁺	8.0
Additional police expenditure	12.0 [*]	9.6 ^{**}	9.6
Street Clearing	1.0	1.0	0.4
	<u>33.0</u>	<u>27.1</u>	<u>18.0</u>

Central Government Contribution

- equals the maximum PSBR effect, 12.0
 if LAs levy supplementary rate
 to fund their share

17.9

27.0

Total Cost

(equal to public expenditure cost) 45.0

45.0

45.0

* assumes police grant at 50%

** assuming scheme includes topping up specific police grant to 60% in line with normal RSG support

+ only Merseyside would benefit

LETTER

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE

TO	ENCLOSURES	COPIES TO BE SENT TO
<p>Councillor Jack Smart CBE JP Association of Metropolitan Authorities 36 Old Queen Street London SW1</p> <p>(FULL POSTAL ADDRESS)</p>		<p><i>PS</i></p> <p>PS Home Secretary PS Chancellor of the Exchequer PS S of S for the Environment Sir Robert Armstrong</p> <p>(FULL ADDRESSES, IF NECESSARY)</p>

LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY *PS to the* PRIME MINISTER
 (NAME OF SIGNATORY)

I am writing on the Prime Minister's behalf to thank you for your letter of 22 July, in which you wrote about the problems which might be caused for local authorities by the additional police costs arising from riots and from payments made under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886.

Lord Belstead made it clear at the ^{*Consultative*} ~~Central~~ Council on Local Government Finance on 4 August that the Government were prepared to help local authorities in these matters, and were considering how this might best be done. I am now writing to let you know what the Government have decided. And in view of the importance of the issue I am releasing the terms of this letter to the press.

If the Government were to limit its contribution to a proportion of the expenditure in excess of a penny rate product in the police force area concerned, only one or two authorities would benefit. We therefore propose *the following scheme.*

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- c. The costs of clearing streets (including the repair of street furniture).

If the total extra expenditure exceeded the product of a penny rate in the District in which the main rioting occurred (ie Liverpool City in Merseyside), the police authority would qualify for a specific grant (to be made on the authority of an Appropriation Act) from the Home Office Vote for those additional costs; and the District authority would qualify for a similar grant from a DOE Vote towards its own clearing up costs. In both cases the level of grant would be 60%, ie the rate at which central Government is supporting local authorities' expenditure through RSG in this financial year.

DOE will seek to ensure that local authorities will not suffer penalties on their block grant as a result of this expenditure.

The Government believes that a scheme of this sort is a sound basis for discussion with the local authorities.

It is necessary to stress the exceptional nature of these proposals, which should not be seen as a precedent for future assistance towards the costs of emergencies. The Government will also wish to limit the degree of retrospection permissible and ensure that only expenditure directly attributable to this year's riots is eligible for grant.

CONFIDENTIAL



QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

August 1981

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Prime Minister 2

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Dear John

ANTI-RIOT EQUIPMENT

Thank you for your letter of 30 July about baton rounds and riot guns. I am grateful to you for your offer - when these are in short supply - to make a limited number available for use by the police. I do realise that this will not make it any easier for you to help the RUC replace their present equipment, if that is judged to be necessary; and that to the extent you help us there is that much less to meet other potential requirements. In the light of recent events however and of the undertakings I have given in the House, it is, I think, imperative that police forces in Great Britain should have some of this equipment available to them. I would like therefore to take up your offer of 50 guns and 4,000 rounds and I have asked my officials to get in touch with yours to make the necessary arrangements.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister, to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Yes the
letter*

The Rt Hon John Nott MP

CONFIDENTIAL

Home Affairs

DRAFT

STATEMENT MADE BY THE RT HON MICHAEL HESELTINE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT, IN MERSEYSIDE,

5 AUGUST 1981

May I first express my gratitude to the leaders of the Merseyside County Council and the five District Councils for coming to this press conference, and for their help over the last weeks? I also give warm thanks to the hundreds of people who have talked so generously and frankly to me during my stay. This number includes many members of the public who have spoken or written to me, as well as scores of official or representative bodies.

Timothy Raison - to whom I owe much personal gratitude - and I have conducted wide-ranging talks with local government authorities, the business community, trade union leaders, Government officials, the Police Authority, the Police Federation and police officers, church leaders, university spokesmen, community groups, voluntary bodies, tenants associations and a range of people who do not necessarily identify with any group. But there are far more people I have not been able to see simply through lack of time. The telephone has not stopped, we had sometimes to make a slightly arbitrary selection in an extremely crowded period.

Could I remind you of the context of my visit? After the disturbances in several major cities, the Prime Minister visited Liverpool. She discussed her reactions with colleagues. As a result, she asked me to come to Merseyside to consider on a wider basis the impact of Government policies, and the coordination in the area of the work of the various Government Departments. This is the first time that an exercise on this scale has happened. It is the first time that a Cabinet Minister has spent so long listening with people who live in a great urban area.

Why was Merseyside chosen? Several other cities could have been chosen. But the problems of Merseyside are as acute as any in England; and I am Chairman of the Liverpool Inner City Partnership Committee. For these reasons, it was felt that Merseyside was the appropriate decision. I should emphasise that this decision does not ignore or diminish the problems of our

other critics. We are seeking general lessons.

In leaving Merseyside today I felt it right to record my thanks and my impressions, and to put forward some specific suggestions. That presents me with a problem. I have been sent here on behalf of the Government. My conclusions and recommendations have first to be discussed with my colleagues collectively as part of the normal process of Cabinet government. This may mean that my response to some questions will have to be that I shall report to colleagues, and decisions will be taken and announced in due course. This applies especially to matters which are the direct responsibility of Cabinet colleagues. I hope that you will understand and bear with me.

I start with the strengths of this area - strengths too often overlooked, but which must in the last resort provide the foundation for the restoration of its economic base. First, despite the more serious recession since the war, the vast majority of the workforce - eight out of ten - are employed in profitable private companies or in important public services. Small factories, for example, are readily let to people anxious to start or expand businesses. Industrial relations for most people are as good as anywhere. I do not undertake the problems; but I reiterate the innate strength of this trading community, and the vitality of those who live here. The headlines which too often characterise its activities should be set in proper context.

But in concentrating on the strengths, I am not blind to the problems. None of us can avoid our share of responsibility. Recent events were not unforeseen. The industrial decline was not sudden; the drift of population has gone on for decades; the effects of the managerial and institutional revolution are well documented; and the remoteness from the people of central and local government is no new phenomenon. The phrase "restrictive practice" was not invented in 1981.

In the simplest words, we have all watched the present situation develop and, for whatever reason, we have failed to find adequate solutions. One thing to emerge from every section of the community to whom I have talked, is a willingness to re-examine individual roles in the gathering crisis, and to ask, with a

considerable humility, if they could have done things better. Central Government has to ask that question as firmly as everybody else.

Even the sensitive and emotive issues surrounding the riots in Toxteth have to be seen in a longer term context. It is not for me to take the main role in policing matters, but I have kept in close touch with the Home Secretary.

I emphasise again the Government's commitment to the maintenance of law and order: violence and rioting cannot be condoned. We must support the Police in their essential duty.

I have listened carefully to what has been said about the manner of policing in some parts of Liverpool; about the wish for more community policing; and to the concern from all sections of society (black and white) that a peaceful society is maintained, and crime dealt with. The Chief Constable made an important statement last week in which he affirmed his duty to maintain law and order. He said his officers had met with great provocation. Nonetheless, he had made it clear that they were not to use abusive language towards any member of the public and he asked for the same courtesy from the public. He explained that while the situation required that his officers dispersed groups of people who might be a potential source of disturbance, he had instructed them not to indulge in stop/search procedures without good and clear justification. I support what he said. I greatly regret the physical attack made on him this week. What we need now is constructive support for the work that has been set in train on Police-Community relations. I would now ask for a period in which tempers are lowered, and in which everyone concerned seeks a positive solution to the recent difficult circumstances.

As I have explained, I cannot today announce conclusions about the broad thrust of central Government work. I have frequently stated that I shall not make hasty judgements on difficult issues. I should like, however, to put public spending on Merseyside into an overall context. In total, public spending on Merseyside amounts to £2 billion per annum. This vast sum includes, of course, pensions and other payments where there is little scope for change. Nor is it a gift: taxes and rates

are paid on Merseyside, like everywhere else. But this illustrates that against so massive a scale, any adjustments I propose have to be on the margin, and have to be flexible.

As talks have gone on, we have looked to see where there is flexibility at the margin, and at a range of ideas put to us, many of which make virtually no difference to the scale of public expenditure but which could have a valuable impact. They are experimental in their nature. They do not add up to a solution of the economic problems of Merseyside: those can only be seen in the context of national economic policy. Ministers will, of course, consider these issues in the general debate on Government policy. The Government itself must decide how far anything that emerges from my report plays a part.

I have tried to examine existing spending programmes to see if it is possible either to obtain better value for money from existing programmes or to secure a greater additional commitment from the private sector.

I have listened carefully to the many people who have said that there could be a greater response from local communities or industrialists if they were to be more involved in the process of government itself. And I have been immensely impressed by the much repeated request by people on Government employment schemes that the jobs they do should be real jobs, leading to tangible and permanent benefit.

What I am now about to say should be seen against this background.

COMMUNITY REHABILITATION SCHEME

First, I am inviting each of the district authorities to choose a discrete area in their housing estates of, say, three to five hundred dwellings. All local tenants will then be given the chance to become involved in the refurbishing and future management of their areas. I would look for a number of other features. I expect to see the use of Manpower Services Commission labour, as a means of taking craftsmen off the unemployment register and I would expect those craftsmen to train young people in construction work as jointly they rehabilitate the

the estate on which they live. In applying for one of these experimental schemes, the local authority would agree that the work will be carried out with their own Direct Labour Department or with a private building company. But it will be a condition of the scheme that either the DLO or the private company should have a site office actually on the estate itself. I shall be looking also particularly for offers from the community in connection with the future maintenance and management of the area of housing after the rehabilitation work has been carried out. I would hope there will be at least one experiment in each of the district authorities.

TWILIGHT AND HOUSING MULTI-TENURE SCHEME

This scheme provides additional private sector housing for sale, shared ownership and rent in inner city areas, to be undertaken in conjunction with housing associations and local authorities. Local authorities will provide the sites and the builders will be expected to use a larger amount of apprentice labour than normal, with an intended ratio of 3 or 4 apprentices per craftsman. Occupation preference will be given to local people, to people on waiting lists, and to existing tenants.

COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE WORKSHOPS

The next initiative is the establishment of community enterprise workshops. The idea is designed to give the maximum chance to people on MSC schemes of ending up with a permanent job in a new company. The local authorities will provide an empty building, probably a school, the central hall of which will be used for training facilities along lines well-established by the MSC. The classrooms will be available to people wishing to start their own business. They will be able to use the services of MSC craftsmen and trainees. Anyone wishing to operate on this basis will have a year under the MSC programmes in which to establish a business. At the end of that time, the MSC funding will come to an end and either he will have succeeded in establishing a viable proposition - in which case he will move to premises of his own choice elsewhere or we will ask that he makes way for someone else wishing to develop opportunities.

A refinement of the community enterprise project has been agreed on the Kirkby Industrial Estate with Norcross Limited. The concept is simple. The company has a large, empty factory with no immediate prospects. They have agreed to make available a senior manager of their company who will, in conjunction with the MSC, divide parts of that factory into small factory units. The next stage will be the recruitment of people either from the Community Enterprise Programme or the Youth Opportunities Programme. They will be trained and operate from within those small viable company units in order to provide goods needed by the Norcross Group, particularly with a view to import substitution.

SERVICE INDUSTRY TRAINING SCHEME

I propose to invite the local authorities to join me in funding the establishment of two training centres, specifically designed for employment in service industries. One of these will be in or close to Liverpool 8, where there is a high concentration of young unskilled people, and the other elsewhere on Merseyside. I hope that as far as possible these will be managed by the private sector.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY CENTRES

Additional information technology centres for unemployed young people - beyond the two in prospect under the scheme announced by the Prime Minister last week - will be set up on Merseyside.

MANAGEMENT SECONDMENT: YOP SCHEMES

I have met representatives of some 30 leading Merseyside firms to discuss the problems of offering a proper future for young people currently trained for limited periods on MSC schemes. About twenty of these have now agreed to second to the local community a manager, answerable only to the Chairman of the company. The manager will be available for at least a year to help with the management of the schemes that I have announced. He will also take on a new responsibility for up to one hundred new training vacancies now to be filled, in each of those companies. Young people recruited in this way will receive a proper training. The company will do all it can thereafter to find lasting job opportunities. There can be no guarantee of permanent jobs,

but the initiative shows a high degree of commitment.

REFURBISHMENT OF INDUSTRIAL ESTATES

A number of industrial estates in the conurbation have not received the same environmental commitment that would for example, characterise a New Town estate. I have agreed a major initiative with M&C in conjunction with the employers on estates, and the local authorities that own them, in order to enhance as dramatically as possible their environment. The enhancement itself will create worthwhile employment for those on M&C schemes.

In addition, I welcome the discussion now in train between Liverpool and Knowsley District Councils, about the Merseyside County Council which I hope will lead to the easy transfer of ownership of the Kirkby Industrial Estate to the Knowsley authority, in whose area it lies.

SPORTING FACILITIES

I have been particularly aware that in times of high unemployment the availability of sporting and leisure facilities is important. With the support of the Sports Council, I have therefore said to the local sporting interests that if they are prepared to raise a million pounds from their own resources for facilities, I am prepared to match it.

A powerful common theme of these proposals is drawing together the commitment of the private and public sectors, in seeking to use existing public sector commitments in ways to give a longer term prospect of success. In present circumstances I believe that experiments and initiatives are justified. They will help us to judge whether we can harness resources and programmes in more effective ways.

In a number of other areas we have taken decisions or floated proposals - which may also contribute to a higher level of economic activity.

LARD REGISTERS

First, the City of Liverpool is one of the Land Register authorities. When we came here two weeks ago, there were sites of over 1 acre in size, amounting to [Y] acres on the register of publicly owned land that was either unused or underused. We have worked intensively at this register. The up to date situation is that of the original total, of [X] acres, 550 acres, amounting to some 60% of the land is either sold, in the process of being sold or is now identified as having a purpose which will bring it into effective use.

ALBERT DOCK

I announced my decision on the outstanding listed building application for the Albert Dock. The fact of my decision - which was taken on the application before me - does not, of course, commit the applicant to proceed on the lines he had proposed. But the way was cleared to resolve the future of the building. I now look to see rapid progress towards restoration and redevelopment on the adjacent site. The County Council have pioneered the development of the Maritime Museum, which is a major tourist attraction. It now appears from talks with all parties that it should be possible for that Maritime Museum to be extended to include part of the Albert Dock, and thus enhance the value of this tourist facility to the city.

Furthermore, the Tate Gallery have expressed interest in establishing a major home in the North of England for part of their collection. In conjunction with the County Council, who run the Walker Art Gallery, and with the Director of the Tate Gallery, there is now an opportunity to house this collection in Liverpool. The challenge is to find an appropriate building. The Albert Dock building could, in certain circumstances, provide such a home. The issue is then of funding. There is here a magnificent opportunity for private benefaction. I would be grateful to receive any offers, at the earliest possible opportunity.

ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL FRAGMENT

A major site surrounds the magnificent Anglican Cathedral. It is a city site of world importance. I have discussed with the City and County Councils who own the site, the way in which it may be developed, in keeping with its magnificent location. I have agreed with the leader of the County, and with the leaders of the two parties that control the City, that the following procedure will be recommended to their Councils.

First, a planning brief will be drawn up which will suggest the use of the site for public open space, housing to rent, housing for sale and a primary school. The land will be acquired either by a local housing association on which will be represented those two authorities together with outside members appointed by myself, or it will be acquired by the Housing Corporation. Once the planning brief has been approved, an international competition will be established, the results of which will be widely displayed. They will be subject to proper public scrutiny and consultation with all parties, including, of course, the local communities. In the light of this, the housing association or the corporation would submit a planning application in the normal way.

UFEX

Next, the pioneering Urban Fringe Experiment, whereby decaying and derelict land on the fringe of St Helens to be reclaimed to environmentally acceptable standards, is to proceed in conjunction with the Countryside Commission.

CONCLUSIONS

One of my aims over the last weeks has also been to help immediately where this has been possible. One small example is the announcement yesterday by the insurance companies to allay the fears of traders in the area which has suffered from rioting. Insurance cover will be made available for existing and new business. But I must conclude by repeating that the announcements today cannot match the severe long-term economic difficulties of this conurbation. My task is to report to colleagues on these matters and for them to consider their response. The announcements today are essentially experimental. I am aware they apply only to Merseyside. But I hope that people in other parts of the country, seeing the flexibility that has proved possible, will

explore the initiatives of this sort. If we are to fight our way out of our difficulties, there is a need for urgent co-operation amongst all sections of the community. Our ideas will provide an indication of what may be achieved.

CONFIDENTIAL



1 Mr Whitmore
2 Prime Minister
You will probably want to await comments from Mr Athias and the Home Secretary's response before deciding whether or not to comment yourself.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

TELEPHONE 01-218 9000
DIRECT DIALING 01-218 2111/3

MO 19/1

30th July 1981

Dear Willie

ASSISTANCE TO THE CIVIL POLICE:
RIOT GUNS AND BATON ROUNDS

Your officials recently passed to mine a request for up to 50 riot guns and 5,000 baton rounds to equip civil police forces in Great Britain. I thought that I should write to you about this request in view of its significance. As you know I have considerable reservations about whether we should, particularly on that scale, be issuing Army weapons to police forces in Great Britain.

There is an added complication of which you should be aware. Tests by our Research and Development Establishment at Porton on the commercially available riot gun/baton round systems have shown that these are all less safe than the system being used by the Army. The report by the Establishment which should be available in the next few days may point therefore to a need to replace the commercial systems in the hands of the RUC. This has already been discussed by officials of my Ministry and the Northern Ireland Office, and at worst could give rise to a requirement for of the order of 260 riot guns and 30,000 rounds.

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP

CONFIDENTIAL



Our resources for meeting these demands are strictly limited. Our stock position (ignoring those items already in the hands of units) is:

	Northern Ireland	Great Britain
Riot Guns	<u>413</u>	<u>256</u>
Baton Rounds	10,600	6,000

These figures must be seen against the knowledge of an average Army use in Northern Ireland in recent months of 3,000 rounds a month and the fact that production of additional rounds cannot start until September, when the output will be only 2,000 rounds per month.

Against this background the most which I feel I could make available for sale to the police in this country would be 50 riot guns and 4,000 rounds, although even this would inevitably reduce our ability to aid the RUC should they need to seek our assistance in replacing their own weapons. These baton rounds would be drawn from the packs of equipment which we hold in this country against the possibility of troops being called upon for internal security duties at home or in a dependancy overseas - and we would have to accept the risk that if troops (other than the Spearhead Battalion for which stocks will be kept) are needed before these rounds can be replaced then their response to higher level disorder would necessarily be limited to the use of CS gas or firearms. How would you like to proceed?

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

John Nott
John
 John Nott

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Home
Affairs

Brief for a Debate on Recent Outbreaks of Civil Disorder
In Great Britain

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Introduction

Recent events in many of Britain's major cities have shocked the nation. As the Prime Minister has said nothing "either condones or excuses violence on the scale we have recently seen. It is totally inexcusable and unjustifiable." (Hansard, 9th July, 1981, col.576). Mr Michael Foot, speaking for the Labour Party, though perhaps not with the fullest conviction that the extreme fringe of his Party is entirely united behind him, has placed it on record that the Opposition "condemn looting and violence in the way in which it has occurred, and (we) do so in the strongest possible terms." (Hansard, 9th July 1981, col.575).

The debate on Thursday will clearly range over a good deal of ground. Many views have been expressed on the causes of the outbreaks of civil disorder, many explanations and some excuses. All Members will have their personal views about what may have been contributory factors; many will have had insights into events through incidents in their own constituencies. This brief does not therefore seek to speculate on the factors underlying any outbreak. It starts from the presumption that the first duty and purpose of the Government is to maintain the authority of the law in the face of criminal violence and hooliganism. The first section accordingly summarises the steps taken by the Government in response to events at the time the brief was written; further announcements may be anticipated on Thursday. Later sections of the brief deal with the role of extremists in the disturbances, and with the two areas of policy in which the Opposition can be expected to concentrate in its search for explanations, the decay of inner cities and the impact of youth unemployment.

Police Equipment

The earliest riots showed up clear inadequacies in police equipment. The Home Secretary acted swiftly to repair these deficiencies.

- a) Helmets. The traditional helmet afforded insufficient protection against flying missiles and a very large number of head and neck injuries were received by the police in the first disorders. Helmets and visors which afforded proper protection were speedily requisitioned. By 9th July almost 1800 of these were available to police. Their use in the major disturbance in Moss Side on 8th July greatly reduced police injuries. They have since been widely used and the Home Secretary is pursuing his efforts to acquire more.
- b) Shields. After the Brixton disturbance in April 1981 there were reports that the police riot shields were inflammable. This is untrue. The effectiveness of the shields has, however, been under examination.
- c) Fire-resistant clothing is being circulated to forces involved in dealing with riots, to replace the traditional uniform.
- d) CS gas has been used once on the mainland-in Toxteth. Supplies were available before the outbreak of the disturbances. More would be offered to Chief Constables as requested.

- e) Water Cannons have been widely recommended. These are of two types - a heavy water cannon once used by the RUC but now no longer favoured by them, and a smaller, more manoeuvrable vehicle whose water jets are less powerful. Water cannons could be used to fire a dye which would mark those involved in the riots. Not all Chief Constables support the idea of deploying water cannon, but the Government is to make them available for use on request.
- f) Armoured vehicles, painted blue rather than in Army grey, could be made available also. The Home Secretary has asked for further consultations with Chief Constables on the possible use of these vehicles.
- g) Rubber or plastic bullets are also available to police forces. Experience in Northern Ireland has shown that there are potential dangers associated with the use of these devices. Further thought would be given to their use.

Police Tactics

The first days of rioting also revealed certain tactical problems in police deployment, although the very nature of an area like Liverpool Toxteth, with its maze of streets and housing complexes, made for difficulties in the control of riots. The deficiencies in police equipment may also have made it difficult for police to go onto the offensive without risking further casualties. As matters have developed more Chief Constables have gone over to a more aggressive posture. Lessons are being learnt from experience, and from the experience of the RUC in Northern Ireland.

- a) Mobile forces (SPG). The mobility and effectiveness of the Special Patrol Group, and tactical action groups in provincial forces, have proved invaluable in the disturbances. These groups have always been recognised as valuable by Conservatives. Labour's official Draft Manifesto 1980 however, adopted as Party Policy by the 1980 Labour Conferences promised (page 28: para.58) that a future Labour Government "will disband the Special Patrol Group". Even since the latest disturbances Mr Hattersley has expressed his reservations about the police force becoming "an aggressive organisation of the kind we see in Continental countries" (ITN, News at Ten, 13 July 1981).
- b) National Co-ordination. The Home Secretary has established a national reporting centre in Scotland Yard. From this incident centre it is possible to co-ordinate police activity nationally and to organised mutual aid between different police forces.
- c) Arrests. The police are naturally now seeking to arrest as many hooligans as possible. Efforts will be made to identify ringleaders. Courts are being encouraged to sit promptly to bring offenders to a speedy trial so that any punishment for the guilty will be closely associated with the offence. The prison population is presently over 44,600, greatly overcrowded. The Home Secretary has indicated that in the event of prison capacity being overstretched he will be prepared to open army camps to receive prisoners.

EXTREMISTS AND THE DISORDERS

There is considerable evidence of activity by extremist organisations in areas that have been hit by some of the worst of the recent violence.

Trotskyist and neo-Nazi groups alike are drawn to inner cities where they look for recruits among sections of society with a sense of grievance. Both the extreme Left and the extreme Right direct their propaganda to the young and unemployed. Organisations like the British Movement and the National Front have a following among skinheads in places such as the East End of London or Coventry, while the Socialist Workers' Party and others on the Marxist Left embrace alienated younger members of the ethnic minorities as well as white youths. The Left particularly tries to exploit anti-authority and anti police sentiments. Left-wing extremists were active in Brixton, Liverpool and Southall long before recent disorders. Since the outbreak of violence they have stepped up their agitation.

What is more problematical is the extent to which they have been directly involved in the violence itself. It seems unlikely that in any major case extremists have actually instigated the violence, or have been able to plan it. This is even less likely in the lesser outbreaks of imitative hooliganism. Intervention by extremists once an incident has started, to encourage and support disruption, is however highly probable, but the identities of "masked motor-cyclists" and others believed to have been directing riots have yet to be established.

Much attention has focussed on the involvement in the disorders by the Militant Tendency, the Trotskyist organisation that is active in the Labour Party. Liverpool has for some years been a stronghold of the Militant Tendency. This year two of its supporters have been adopted as prospective Labour Party parliamentary candidates - Terry Harrison in the Edgehill seat presently held by David Alton for the Liberals, and Tony Mulhearn in Toxteth itself, now held by Richard Crawshaw for the SDP.

The leaflet issued by the Labour Party Young Socialists in Liverpool bears the hallmarks of Militant Tendency: the call for a one day general strike to bring down the Government is presently featuring in Militant newspaper.

In Brixton Militant supporters organised a mass meeting, on the Wednesday following the April riots, in the name of the Labour Party Young Socialists, which adopted a declaration demanding: an end to police harassment/withdrawal of the 'massive police presence'; immediate release of all and those arrested and the dropping of all charges, disbandment of the SPG; a People's Enquiry by the labour movement and more government funds for the area.

This was followed by the formation of the Labour Committee for the Defence of Brixton to pursue the aims of the declaration. Militant newspapers and the LCBD have also campaigned for a boycott of the Scarman Enquiry. The LCDB operates from an address in Railton Road and does not have the official recognition of Labour Party HQ.

Militant has been able to draw on supporters in the area for these initiatives. And it is equally clear that many other left-wing groups were active in Brixton before the riots for example:

- (a) the Workers' Revolutionary Party has a bookshop in Atlantic Road, and a Youth Training Centre in Stockwell. In the first three months of this year the WRP held a series of meetings in Brixton; it has supported the policies of Ted Knight.

- (b) the Trotskyist Group, the Revolutionary Communist Group has its headquarters in Railton Road. It is anti-police and pro IRA.
- (c) Another Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Communist Party set up a Lambeth Unemployed Workers' Group shortly before the Riots, and has since formed a South London Workers Against Racism group, similar to the East London Workers Against Racism which attracted some notoriety for organising vigilante patrols.
- (d) the Race Today Collective has offices in Brixton. The editor of its magazine is Darcus Howe, who has been associated with campaigning in support of the H-block hunger strikes, the New Cross Massacre Action Committee (concerned with the fire in which 13 young blacks died) and has spoken at a meeting of the Revolutionary Communist Group.

After the riot the Socialist Workers' Party circulated a leaflet in Brixton in which it said "It was a magnificent way for Brixton to fight back. For three days the black and white youth of Brixton took its revenge for all those years of police brutality. They took their revenge for the lost jobs and lousy housing ... The solution is to burn down the system the same way we burned down the Winsor Castle (pub)". The SWP, working through the Anti Nazi League has been very active in Southall since 1979. It also has a branch in Central Liverpool and a NALGO/CPSA branch in Liverpool.

The SWP also circulated leaflets in Liverpool last week inviting people to go to a meeting to discuss how to progress from a riot to a revolution. The Workers' Revolutionary Party has also been active on Merseyside, where it has another of its Youth Training Centres.

In Southall members of the local Labour Party Young Socialists have admitted being on the street during the recent disturbances there (Militant 11th July 1981). The Militant Tendency, working through the LPYS, has held meetings there, as in Liverpool and Brixton. The Asian dominated Southall Youth Movement appears however to have distanced itself from the approaches of white Trotskyist groups.

The Labour Party and Law-breaking

As detailed earlier, Mr. Foot has condemned the recent violence. So, too, has Mr. Hattersley. Neither Labour leader has, however, been able to resist the temptation to refer to the high levels of unemployment as a possible cause of the violence. Mr. Foot's record in the past has been equivocal. He gave firm backing to those who defied the Industrial Relations Act, and made, under the last Labour Government, some notorious attacks on the judiciary. These included a reference to "judges who stretch the law... to suit reactionary attitudes" (ITV, People and Politics, 9th May 1974) and the remark that "if the freedom of the people of this country - had been left to the good sense and fairmindedness of the judges, we would have few freedoms in this country at all". (Daily Telegraph, 16th May 1977).

The Labour GLC. Following the riots in Brixton in April 1981 the "Special Victory Issue" of London Labour Briefing (June 1981), which is backed by Mr Ken Livingstone, the leader of the GLC, said in an Editorial Note that the street fighting in Brixton "was excellent, but could have been (and hopefully in future will be) better organised. Some of us feel that there are occasions when... insurrectionary methods become necessary.... The task, surely, is to break the Metropolitan Police

Force as at present constituted and disband the SPG". Disbanding the Special Patrol Group was a policy objective not only in Labour's official Draft Manifesto 1980, but also in Labour's GLC Election Manifesto. The Labour GLC has also proclaimed its intention to seek political control of the Metropolitan Police. Back in April, Mr Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth Council had criticised the Metropolitan Police as "almost an army of occupation" (Times, 14th April 1981). During the second wave of riots in Brixton, on July 10th 1981, Mr Ken Livingstone himself addressed a meeting of the South-West London Anti-Nazi League in Lambeth Town Hall. The Chairman of the meeting told those attending that it was "important for everyone to be out there.... on the streets" (Times, 13th July 1981). The following day, Mr Livingstone, chose to issue a major attack on the Metropolitan Police Commissioner during an interview for LBC:

"I think that McNee's whole record since he came to London is one of someone totally out of sympathy with minority communities. He has views which I frankly consider to be racist which I think set the scene for a worsening of police-black relations.... The police have gone right over the line in large parts of Central London... and have taken away people's democratic and free rights to move around their city" (Times, loc. cit.)

Mr Livingstone said that Sir David McNee should resign and commented that "people are going to be wondering why there aren't tanks on the streets."

to the activities of young socialists
The Young Socialists. Reference has been made/in the section of this brief on extremist disorders. The Labour Party National Executive Committee is supposed to be investigating the leaflet issue by Young Socialists in Liverpool defending those involved in the Toxteth riots. However, Mr Andy Bevan, an NEC member and Labour's national youth organiser, has said of the riots:

"what we've seen is blind anger. The Young Socialists are giving these people political direction... The patience of youth has passed breaking point... There has been no condemnation of the action from ordinary working people in the areas of strife.... This shows there is a very wide layer of working-class people who want to bring down the Government". (News of the World, 12th July 1981).

The Place of a Riot Act

The Riot Act 1714 was abolished under the Criminal Law Act 1967, introduced by Mr Roy Jenkins when he was Home Secretary. Many police officers are convinced that existing laws give them adequate powers to deal with disorders. Other people have, however, argued for the restoration of an act, under which people were required to leave the streets within an hour of the Riot Act being read by a magistrate and a riot thus having been declared. The Act also indemnified constables who were required to use force to resist those remaining on the streets and attempting to prevent the police arresting suspected offenders. The Home Secretary has been giving consideration to the need for such an Act in consultation with the Law Officers.

Youth Unemployment

Labelling the present disorders 'unemployment riots' has become another of the Labour Party's glib generalisations about joblessness. They have been supported by the TUC, which has unveiled 'a blue print for "Regenerating our Inner Cities"' this week, as 'a basis for action to combat racial disadvantage and the dereliction which blights many of our inner city areas.' It bears a close relation to the TUC's reflationary economic 'alternative' and so it does not address itself to the deep-seated problems of inner cities, many of which are now locked into a spiral of decline, reinforced by the high rates levied by Labour Councils, the pools of unskilled labour and the reputation for poor industrial relations, which only enhance the reluctance of business to invest in them. Sadly, the riots can only have damaged further the prospect of expanding job opportunities in the inner cities.

Youth unemployment has been rising steadily not only in Britain but all over the European Community since the mid-1970s - (see table). Even in times of relatively full employment, the burden of joblessness has fallen in a disproportionately harsh way upon the young. This reflects a number of special factors.

- The number of young people reaching school leaving age has been steadily rising at a rate of around 3 per cent a year as a result of the 1960's 'baby boom'. The number of school leavers coming onto the labour market peaks this year at 715,000.

- The large number of women who came onto the labour market during the 1970's - an extra million - which has distorted job opportunities for young people.

- The rising relative cost of employing young people, as a result of trade union demands that young people be paid high and unrealistic wages. Arguably, Wages Councils have had the same effect in non-unionised sectors, where the squeeze on differentials has diminished job opportunities for the young.

- The comparative lack of skills, and work experience among young people when older people with skills are also without work.

The tables on the next page show that unemployment affects large numbers of young people but, in the vast majority of cases, for relatively short periods:

Youth Unemployment (UK) April 1981

MALE

(Source: Employment Gazette).

	Under 18 % of UP In that age Group	18-19 % of UP In that age Group	20-24 % of UP in that age Group
Under 1 month	16,922 (19.3)	18,273 (12.3)	38,605 (11.7)
1-2 months	13,388 (15.3)	16,429 (11.0)	33,512 (10.2)
2-6 months	33,302 (37.9)	55,816 (37.6)	115,773 (35.2)
6 months - 1 year	20,953 (23.9)	41,546 (27.9)	86,145 (26.2)
Over a year	3,188 (3.6)	16,388 (11.2)	54,685 (16.7)
Total (UK)	87,753	148,452	328,720

FEMALE

Under 1 month	13,139 (19.9)	13,350 (12.8)	21,866 (12.2)
1-2 months	10,061 (14.8)	11,880 (11.4)	19,329 (10.8)
2-6 months	25,975 (38.1)	39,968 (38.3)	65,051 (36.2)
6 months - 1 year	16,348 (23.9)	28,673 (27.5)	48,162 (26.8)
Over a year	2,595 (3.8)	10,503 (10.0)	25,336 (14.0)
Total (UK)	68,118	104,374	179,744

Young jobless registered at various employment offices are as follows:

	Aged under 18	Aged 18	Aged 19	Aged 20-24
Bristol	510	365	501	2,254
Liverpool	2,039	1,148	1,121	3,824
Manchester (2 Offices)	544	401	534	2,047
GLC Area	15,163	11,017	12,799	52,675

(Source: Department of Employment)

Ethnic Minority Unemployment

Unemployment among the ethnic minorities has always fluctuated much more sharply than total unemployment and has tended to be concentrated in certain areas. This reflects a number of factors.

- The generally younger age of ethnic minority workers; some 80 per cent of Britain's black population is under 30. All young people tend to move between jobs frequently, often experiencing short spells of unemployment.
- The concentration of ethnic minority employment in metal manufacture, metal goods, vehicles and textiles, which are most subject to cyclical fluctuations. 47 per cent of ethnic minority workers are in manufacturing; only 33 per cent of the total working population is.
- The poor educational performance, low skills, language difficulties (in the case of Asians) among the ethnic minorities.

As the table overleaf shows, five regions - the South East, the East and West Midlands, Yorkshire and Humberside and the North West - contain over 95 per cent of all ethnic minority unemployment. Within these regions the ethnic minorities tend to be concentrated in specific areas within the major towns and cities, which has given ethnic minority joblessness its particular character.

Unemployment (Ethnic Minorities) May 1979-May 1981

	May 1979	May 1981	% increase in UP 1979-81	% increase in UP all groups 1979-81
South East	18,909	43,372	129%	88%
East Anglia	380	641	69%	78%
South West	739	1,408	91%	64%
West Midlands	10,558	26,135	148%	102%
East Midlands	4,369	7,858*	80%	82%
Yorkshire/Humberside	3,763	9,224	145%	76%
North West	4,370	11,069*	153%	62%
North	503	441	-12%	8%
Wales	419	510	22%	53%
Scotland	455	641	41%	46%
Great Britain	<u>44,465</u>	<u>101,299*</u>	<u>128%</u>	<u>98%</u>

* Excluding figures for unemployed young people in Liverpool and three other ones.

Young ethnic minority unemployment in various cities is as follows (registered at employment offices).

	Aged 16-17	Aged 18	Aged 19-24
Bristol	97	47	171
Manchester (2 Offices)	43	59	134
GLC Area	635	1309	8793
Liverpool (except careers office statistics)	←	249	→

(February 1981- latest available figures).

Special Measures to Help the Unemployed

The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) continues to make special efforts to help those who are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, especially the young and the ethnic minorities.

The biggest of the Special Programmes to help the young unemployed is the Youth Opportunities Programmes (YOP). Under the new arrangements introduced by the Government last year the MSC has agreed to make an offer of a place on YOP to this year's unemployed school leavers by the following Christmas instead of Easter, as before. In 1980-81 YOP will provide for 1 in 4 school leavers, as opposed to only 1 in 8 in 1979-80. In addition, an offer will be made to any 16 or 17 year old who has been unemployed for three months instead of twelve months, as before. Some £320 million is being spent on the programme nationally this year and 450,000 places are being provided nationwide. The programme can easily be aimed at specific groups of disadvantaged young people. 55 per cent of entrants to the work experience elements of YOP in 1979-80 had no educational qualifications (the figure for all school leavers was 20 per cent). Fewer than 100 of the 1979 school leavers from the ethnic minorities registered unemployed at April 1980 had not had an offer of a YOP place.

Total entrants to YOP in the major cities are as follows:

	Liverpool inner (inc. Cheshire	Manchester area office	Bristol	London
<u>1979-80</u>	19,530	11,040	5,920	5,500
<u>1980-81</u>	21,700	20,100	11,000	10,600

Under the expanded YOP the emphasis is on good quality training for work by work experience and work preparation courses and through training workshops. Two thirds of this year's places will provide experience on employers' premises. This has meant that disadvantaged young people can acquire the skills and experience to get a job; despite the difficulties of the recession recent surveys indicate about 6 out of 10 of these leaving work experience schemes are in work a few months later. Ethnic minority representation on the courses is high (PSI study, February 1981).

In addition, the Government has doubled the number of places available under the old Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP). Under the expanded Community Enterprise Programme (CEP) 25,000 long-term unemployed will gain temporary work for around eight months apiece. One of the major client groups is 19 to 24 year olds who have been unemployed for over 6 months.

Young people with particular personal and social disadvantages (including the ethnic minorities) also benefit from the Community Industry (CI) Scheme, which is run by the National Association of Youth Clubs. CI expects 10,000 entrants in 1980-81; Government is providing nearly £20 million towards the programme this year.

Mr Prior has frequently emphasised the long term objective of aiming at a comprehensive system of vocational preparation for all 16 and 17 year olds, so that all young people will either be in work, higher education or training. A pilot programme of Unified Vocational Preparation, is already in operation, and will be helping 20,500 young people by 1983-84. These objectives are outlined in the New Training Initiative, and have obvious and enormously important implications for the future of all our young people.

Appendix I

International Comparisons, Under 25 Unemployment (May 1981)

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYED
France	253.4	384.5	637.9	39%
Italy	408.5	493.8	902.3	48.3%
Netherlands	81.0	65.3	146.3	43.5%
Belgium	56.7	91.3	148.0	34.5%
Luxembourg	0.230	0.378	0.608	48%
United Kingdom	584.6	360.1	944.7	37%
Ireland	21.5	10.8	32.3	26.2%
Denmark	31.0	31.0	62.0	30%
Germany (March 1981)	--	--	263.3	21%

(Source: Eurostat)

Government Initiatives to help Inner Cities

The Government is committed to maintain the initiatives taken by the previous Labour Government to assist inner city areas with acute problems. In addition fresh initiatives have been taken to regenerate economic activity in urban areas.

On 9th February 1981 Michael Heseltine announced the result of his review of inner city policy. The inner city partnerships programmes authority arrangements continue, although the Government is trying to simplify their procedures and ensure that new programmes are more efficiently handled. There have been no changes in the list of authorities with partnership (partnership authorities: Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Birmingham, Lambeth, London Dockland, Islington/Hackney and Newcastle/Gateshead), and programme authority status because the Government believes that time is needed to measure the impact of the action taken.

In addition the Government has taken powers in the Local Government Planning and Land Act to stimulate economic activity in older industrial towns and cities.

1. Two Urban Development Corporations (with powers similar to New Town Development Corporations) are being established in the London Docklands, (Tower Hamlets, Southwark and Newham) and on Merseyside (Liverpool, Bootle and Birkenhead docks).
2. Thirty three authorities have been instructed to open registers of vacant and waste land held in their area by public sector bodies (local authorities, nationalised industries etc.). The result of the first publication of registers shows 15 thousand acres of land available for development.
3. Eleven Enterprise Zones have been declared in Swansea, Clydeside, Hartlepool, Newcastle/Gateshead, Speke (Liverpool) Wakefield, Salford Docks/Trafford Park (G. Manchester) Isle of Dogs (London), Dudley, Corby and Belfast, where business activity can start without the constraints of planning controls and other regulations and where they will be exempt from the burden of rates for 10 years.

Mr Heseltine announced on 9th February a significant increase in expenditure on inner city regeneration. Total provision in 1981-82 (at 1980 survey prices) will be £224 million. £158 million will go to the urban programme, including partnership and programme authorities, and £66 million to the two UDCs.

In 1980-81 two partnership authorities Lambeth and Hackney/Islington lost urban programme money because of the refusal of the local authorities to co-operate in the broad programme of reducing local government expenditure. The negative attitude of Labour Local authorities has created more problems for people in stress areas. Many of these Labour councils are hostile to owner occupiers and to businesses in their areas. They refuse planning permission for new office development which would provide employment and rates revenue (e.g. Lambeth's opposition to Coin Street), they force up rates and introduce supplementary rates which lead to the closure of businesses, loss of jobs and emigration of middle income families who find the rates burden intolerable, they undermine those responsible for law and order by criticising the police. The effect of

these damaging policies and attitudes is the creation of ghettos of poor and disadvantaged people, heavily reliant on social services, without work because businesses have been forced out, and alienated from those who represent order. However much money Government contributes to the support of these areas it will be wasted until a climate is created where middle income families will be prepared to return to live there and businesses will be encouraged to reopen and create employment. That is unlikely while extreme marxist policies are practised or threatened by Labour councillors in inner London boroughs and other cities.

Appendix II

A partial catalogue of the recorded disorders in Britain over the last fortnight is appended:

- Fri. July 3rd - 5 police officers injured in violent incidents in Liverpool, Toxteth.
- Clashes between skinheads and Asian youths in Southall, London lead to violent confrontations with police. 105 police officers injured, 25 shops damaged. 7 vehicles burnt. 23 arrests.
- Sat. July 4th - 15 persons arrested after serious disorder in Liverpool, Toxteth lasting nine hours involving looting, burning of cars, and violent attacks on the police. Petrol bombs used. 75 police hurt.
- Further disturbances in Southall.
- Sun. July 5th - Fierce attacks on the police by 500 rioters in Liverpool, Toxteth. 175 police officers injured. Fire engine destroyed. Police use CS gas to disperse rioters after petrol bomb attacks. 64 people arrested. Occupants of an old people's home evacuated. Hospital looted.
- Mon. July 6th - Renewed rioting and looting by youths in Liverpool, Toxteth broken up by police.
- Tues. July 7th - 59 shops damaged or looted in London, Wood Green.
- 26 people including 8 schoolchildren, arrested in Liverpool, Toxteth after looting.
- 6 shops burned and looted in Manchester, Moss Side: others attacked.
- Wed. July 8th - Rioters try to storm Manchester, Moss Side police station. 132 shops, banks, pubs and garages damaged. 12 police injured. Events described by Chief Constable Mr James Anderton as "close to anarchy". Petrol bombs widely used. CB radios employed to co-ordinate attacks. Police use full riot gear. 46 people arrested.
- 43 persons arrested in Liverpool, Kirkby and Netherly after attacks on police.
- Thurs. July 9th - 200 blacks riot in Woolwich, London. Two cars destroyed. 15 shops damaged or looted. 27 people arrested.
- Rioting in Fulham and Balham. Crowds in Dalston broken up by police.
- Mobile police units break up groups of youths in Manchester, Moss Side.
- Fri. July 10th - Seven hours of rioting in Brixton, involving looting, stone throwing, petrol bombs and burning of cars. About 90 arrests.

- Looting and destruction of vehicles in Southall.
- Petrol bombs thrown in Dalston.
- Police station at Stoke Newington stoned: 29 arrests.
- Skinheads stoning cars in Hounslow: 11 arrests.
Rioting and looting reported in Battersea, Clapham,
Streatham, Hackney and Acton.
- Clashes between groups of youths in Hull.
- Fire station attacked in Birmingham.
- Windows smashed by youths in Ellesmere Port.
- 150 youths stone police at Cantril Farm, Liverpool.
- 380 arrests in all in London: 500 in provincial towns.
- Over the weekend serious disorder was reported in many centres, both London and provincial. Ferocious attacks were made on police in Leicester and Leeds. Serious violence was also recorded in Nottingham.

Sat. and Sun.
July 11th, 12th

Telephone
01 - 8001

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SW1P 3EB



*With the Compliments of the
Secretary of State for the Environment*



Home Affairs

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

23 July 1981

WM 24/7

Dear Sir

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 26 June to Willie Whitelaw about the Urban Programme, in which you say that the Urban Programme is the only means of channelling government resources into particularly worthwhile projects for ethnic minority children in areas of greatest need.

As you know we have now sent UP guidelines to partnership and programme authorities, and in them have acknowledged that, to complement the main priorities, some priority still needs to be given to social projects, and to the particular problems of ethnic minorities. Obviously what we can do will depend on the resource cover available, and I hope the DES PESC contribution to the Urban Programme will be sufficient to enable us to continue worthwhile projects of this sort.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister, Willie Whitelaw, Jim Prior and Patrick Jenkin.

Yours ever
MHE

MICHAEL HESELTINE

The Rt Hon Mark Carlisle MP



Home Affairs
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

22 JULY 1981

COMPENSATION FOR RIOT DAMAGE

At Cabinet last week we were asked, together with Michael Heseltine, to look further into the question of speeding up payment of compensation for riot damage. There are some serious practical difficulties in the way. Under present legislation, the cost of compensation falls entirely on the local police fund and does not attract grant of any kind. The only way at the moment, therefore, for Government to influence expenditure, is to exhort local authorities to speed up and offer such help as we can on assessing the financial consequences of the damage.

I am most concerned about this additional burden on local police expenditure. My officials attended a meeting on Monday of the county councils involved and it is clear that compensation will amount to at least £20 million. And I know from my own visits to Brixton and Liverpool that the damage is very serious. Without central assistance the local authorities are unlikely to offer compensation beyond the strict terms of the legislation.

We have already had a resolution from the Merseyside police authority about the absence of central assistance. I expect that pressure from the local authorities for financial assistance will increase rapidly. If we do nothing to respond other than by way of exhortation or advice, we may damage the Government's position severely. I therefore believe that we must act quickly to assure the local authorities that we are prepared to consider financial assistance.


I do not believe that local authorities who have the statutory responsibility for compensation will wish to relinquish this wholly to central government. But we should be willing to make a contribution. How precisely this might be done is something, I suggest, which might be discussed between officials. My present view is that some form of one-off specific grant under the Appropriation Act might be the best approach, but other alternatives will need to be explored.

The riots have, of course, had an impact on police and other Home Office local authority expenditure which goes well beyond the question of compensation for damage, and we are considering how best to deal with this.

My officials will be in touch with yours about the riot damage options, and with Michael Heseltine's in the next few days and I should like them to report back to us next week.

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

W. Whitelaw

 Association of Metropolitan Authorities
36 Old Queen Street Westminster London SW1H 9JE Telephone 01-222 8100

From the Chairman Councillor Jack Smart CBE JP

*Original filed on Regional Pol
July 79
VSD Corp.*

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

22 July 1981

Dear Prime Minister

In my letter to you of 7 July I wrote to ask you to receive a deputation from my Association about the plight of England's inner cities, especially in the light of recent events at Brixton, Liverpool and elsewhere. My Association looks forward to a positive response to the request I made on its behalf. While we note the Government's decision to send the Secretary of State for the Environment to Merseyside, the issues he is discussing there are ones which affect other metropolitan authorities. Indeed I think there is a risk that the concentration on one area, when the problems are widespread, could make the situation worse for the other areas. It is therefore vital that my Association, which represents all of them, should be fully involved in the discussions.

When I wrote on 7 July, I concentrated on the causes which underlie the problems of inner cities. I must now add that, unless the Government takes urgent action to deal with the financial situation, the cost of dealing with the symptoms will reduce still further the resources of local authorities to deal with the underlying causes. The Association fully accepts, as does the Government, the overall need to preserve law and order. Yet the extra cost of policing, especially the cost of overtime and of the protective equipment which we all agree our policemen must have, will only be partly met by the specific police grant. The remaining 50% is borne by police authorities and their expenditure is a precept upon district councils and London boroughs and has to be met by all the ratepayers in the area of each police authority. Moreover, this additional expenditure will inevitably increase the total of all expenditure by local authorities so that many of them will actually lose rate support grant as a penalty, it would mean that the priority given to law and order can only be at the expense of other equally if not more vital services.

It is this impossible situation which has put my Association's representatives on the Police Negotiating Board in a difficult position regarding police pay. My Association firmly adheres to the principle of keeping to all agreements made between employer and employee. Our representatives have therefore said that they are anxious to keep to the Edmund-Davies principle and pay to the police the 13.2% which is due to them in September. But they were willing

cont/

to do this only with adequate assurances on finance from the Government. While for his part the Home Secretary has made it clear that the pay increase will be reflected in that part of the settlement which is grant aided, he has given us no assurance that local authorities will not be penalised when they pay their share of the increase.

In the light of this background my Association is nevertheless reassured, at least on one aspect, by your own statement in the House of Commons on 14 July that compensation paid by local authorities above a penny rate is reimbursed by the Government. My Association wishes to pursue with you how this will operate and what compensation provisions you have in mind. In particular, my Association is seriously concerned by the cost of compensation which will have to be paid under the Riot (Damages) Act 1886. While accepting that this is properly a local matter to determine, the responsibility is a national as well as a local one. At the moment, it is not just that the cost will not attract the 50% specific police grant and therefore fall wholly on the ratepayers. The extra expenditure will mean the authorities losing grant. Already, under the Government's proposals Merseyside County are having a grant penalty of £8m imposed on them. Every pound they pay on police costs in compensation for riot damages or any other expenditure will mean this penalty being increased. Clearly this is an impossible burden for these ratepayers and exactly the same situation applies elsewhere.

Will you please take these points into account when responding to the request I made on 7 July. I can only repeat that my colleagues and I seek an urgent discussion with you on what should be done.

Yours sincerely

Jack Smart

*Copied to N. Ireland Sit
PL-9*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

17 July 1981

Dear Michael,

Violence in UK

At her briefing meeting yesterday before the Ottawa Summit, the Prime Minister asked for facts and figures about violence in other countries, which would enable her to put the disturbances in Northern Ireland and in English cities into a proper international perspective.

Northern Ireland

Since the beginning of 1970, 2113 deaths have been attributable to the security situation, an average of 184 per year. In 1980, the number of deaths was only 75. In New York City the number of murders in 1980 was 1,814, in Chicago 863 and in Los Angeles 908.

But proportionate figures related to population have more meaning. In Northern Ireland since 1970 the average annual number of deaths attributable to the security situation per 100,000 of the population has been 12. The figure for 1980 was 5. In New York City in 1980 there were 26 homicides per 100,000 of the population. For Chicago the figure was 29 and for Los Angeles it was 30.

It is important to note that comparisons of this kind are open to certain criticisms. Small cities and rural areas in America, which in many ways would be more comparable to Northern Ireland, have much lower murder rates than the big cities. And the figures given here for US cities are for murders caused mostly by domestic disputes, robberies and intra-criminal violence, whereas in Northern Ireland the deaths result from systematic terrorism.

Urban Disturbances

In England between 3 and 15 July 1981, city rioting caused no deaths but 800 police were injured and there were 3,000 arrests. The number of injured civilians is not yet known but will have been substantially lower than the number of police. The cost of the damage will not be known for some time but a guess, based on an extrapolation of the costs of the Brixton riots, would suggest a figure of about \$90 million.

In riots in Miami on 17-18 May 1980, 16 people were killed

/and

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and 400 injured, and the damage was estimated at over \$100 million. In Los Angeles (the Watts district) in 1965, 34 people were killed and 1032 injured and the damage was estimated at various figures up to \$200 million. In Paris in 1968, over 2,000 people were injured. (The injury figures for recent disturbances in Switzerland, The Netherlands, West Germany and France were much lower than those for the recent city riots in England.)

I am sending copies of this letter to Stephen Boys-Smith (Northern Ireland Office) and John Halliday (Home Office).

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



1 Mr Whitelaw 17/7
2 Prime Minister 2
PA for information.

WM
17/7

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

TELEPHONE 01-218 9000
DIRECT DIALING 01-218 2111/3

cc: David

MO 19/1

16th July 1981

Dear Willie

ms
ms

ASSISTANCE TO THE POLICE

in PM's box

Thank you for your letter of 14th July seeking assistance with the provision of temporary camps to accommodate the overflow from the prisons. Our officials have gone over your requirements in detail and on the basis of their discussion I can confirm that we can make available to you three camps: Rolleston Camp on Salisbury Plain, Beckingham Camp, North East of Nottingham and Nescliffe Camp near Shrewsbury. Your officials indicated that you would hope to bring Rolleston into use within the next few days and to start work on fencing Beckingham Camp next week: I can confirm that this is acceptable to us. Nescliffe would be kept in reserve but could be made available in about 7 days' notice. This of course is on the understanding, as set out in your letter, that there is no requirement for Servicemen to assist running these camps. Our officials are sorting out the financial details.

I am glad too that we have been able to help with the supply of protective equipment particularly riot helmets. We are certainly prepared to increase the number made available beyond the fifteen hundred already agreed and we will do our best to meet your request for a further two thousand.

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP



I understand that Army water dispensers have now been demonstrated to your Working Party and to representatives of Police forces. I am in principle prepared to release to Police forces the 14 smaller vehicles already in Great Britain, and if required I would expect to be able to make available a few of the 13 vehicles currently in Northern Ireland. I do not see any difficulty with the provision of dye and the assistance of training. There are, however, only 4 of the special water dispenser vehicles (which fire a slug of water capable of knocking over a rioter) and these are all in Northern Ireland where I think it would be prudent to assume they should remain.

We await a further approach on CS gas where if required we should be able to help. We do, however, have a shortage of baton rounds and their dischargers. A large number of baton rounds have been fired in Northern Ireland in recent weeks and until new production arrangements could be set up (unlikely to be before the autumn) our scope for help must be very limited.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, and to Geoffrey Howe, Christopher Soames and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever
John

John Nott

RECENT OUTBREAKS OF CIVIL DISORDER IN GREAT BRITAIN

P. 2.

928 9222
2470

Mr. Speaker, since Friday, 3 July, there have been major incidents of civil disorder in many of our great cities. The first occurred in South in London. Over the following week-end - from 4 to 6 July - there was serious rioting in Toxteth, Liverpool. By Tuesday, 7 July, and on the two days after that, the focus of disorder had shifted to Manchester, Moss Side, but there were still serious outbreaks in various parts of London. From Friday, 10 July, there was repeated street violence and looting in a number of cities. From 3 July to date over 3,000 people have been arrested for offences committed during the disturbances. Large numbers of police officers have been injured. Some are still in hospital. Damage to property, and theft of property, has been widespread.

Mr. Speaker, if the House and the country are to use this debate to plan our future action, we must recognise that we are not dealing with a single, simple phenomenon. The reasons for the eruption of violence, the course it took, and the necessary responses to it, varied from place to place.

In Southall, skinheads from other parts of London moved into a predominantly Asian area. Their behaviour was provocative. The violence that followed was undoubtedly an expression of racial tension. But the main victims were the police, trapped between warring functions.

/In Toxteth

In Toxteth, in Liverpool, there was concerted violence of a wholly new ferocity and intensity directed first, and specifically, against the police. The weight of numbers, the fury of the violence, and appallingly high police injuries and property damage, compelled the Chief Constable as a last resort to use CS gas. A compact triangle of the city was devastated. Liverpool 8 has long suffered a range of social, economic and high crime problems. The three days of violence reflect the complexity of the situation. The first night consisted largely of black youths, children of many generations of Liverpool people, erupting against the police. The second saw a concerted attack on the police by white and black youngsters. The third witnessed a predominantly white crowd of looters exploiting the earlier disturbances, while local black leaders played a major part in keeping their young people off the streets.

In Manchester the violence was spread over a number of areas for three nights. Some of it appeared well co-ordinated. It did not in the main focus on a set-piece battle with the police, but on window smashing and theft. The events there seemed to set a pattern of criminal hooliganism and imitation, which was repeated around the country.

I should like now briefly to report to the House on yesterday's events in Brixton. At 2 a.m. yesterday morning, police officers entered eleven premises in Railton Road in execution of search warrants. Five people were detained on the grounds that they

/were alleged

were alleged to have in their possession small quantities of cannabis resin. They have all since been released pending analysis of the substances. A further person was detained and charged with obstructing police in the execution of their duty, and one other was detained on suspicion of being in possession of equipment for manufacturing petrol bombs. However, subsequent analysis of the substance in question allowed the man to be released.

Last night crowds of local youths gathered in the area. Cars were burned and barricades set up. In the process of clearing the streets, ten policemen were injured and five arrests were made.

It is alleged that in the course of the morning operation serious damage was caused to property and personal effects. It would not be appropriate for me to comment in detail on these questions beyond saying that I understand a number of complaints have been made to the Commissioner and are being urgently investigated under the procedure laid down by Parliament which included scrutiny by the independent Police Complaints Board. The Commissioner has also assured me that he intends to hold a full inquiry into the conduct of the operation as a whole and that he will report to me his conclusions.

Last night in this House both I and my hon. friend the Member for Aylesbury were approached by the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, the Member for Deptford, and the Hon. Gentlemen the Members for Lambeth (Central), Lambeth (Norwood) and for Vauxhall, all of

/whom reported

whom reported their concern about the situation. I readily agreed to a visit being paid to the scene of the raid by my officials this morning. As a result two senior officials went to Railton Road where they met the Leader of the Lambeth Council and local residents. Also present was a representative of the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police responsible for dealing with claims for damage compensation. The officials entered property at the invitation of the owners and saw over the scene of events at first hand. They subsequently reported what they saw to me. For the reasons I have already explained, it would not be appropriate for me to comment further.

However, I can tell the House that the Receiver's representative will this afternoon be having a meeting with the Chief Executive of the Lambeth Council to settle how repairs and damage claims should be dealt with.

I was very glad that yesterday evening Lord Scarman, on a visit to a community centre in the area, was able to inspect the situation himself, and talk to community leaders. I know that he will take this matter into consideration, along with a wide range of others, in Phase II of his inquiry.

/It is clear

● It is clear that a variety of factors have contributed to the propensity for violence which we have seen break out in the streets of our cities. Of course, there will be - and have been - some criticisms of detail about the way in which the police may have handled particular situations. But I want to underline to the House my strongest possible support for the way in which the police service has handled the operation of dealing with the riots themselves. Nor is this my view alone. The local authority leaders of all parties, and the police authorities themselves, firmly expressed that opinion and support to me. Whatever suggestions, therefore, are made about police action or criticisms which may have arisen over a much longer period than that of the recent disturbances themselves, I am sure the House will be united in assuring the country that they expect from the police a firm and effective response. I know also that we would all wish to applaud the efforts of the policemen, many of them young, who through long hours of duty, showed great courage in the interests of protecting us all.

It must, therefore, be my first duty as Home Secretary, to reassure the public that the police will have the full support of the Government, and the necessary resources, to tackle street violence. Whatever else the disorders we have suffered represent, they were first and foremost criminal acts which have to be dealt with by the police on the spot in containing them, in arresting the offenders and bringing them before the courts. No reason, no explanation, for recent troubles justifies what has occurred.

/The police

The police are the bulwark on which we all depend for our protection. To do this effectively in the face of new levels of recent violence they, too, need extra protection. The decisions I have therefore made, I announced to the House yesterday. I want to emphasise again, however, that better protection has helped chief officers in adopting positive tactics to break up violent groups. The chief officers who have been most closely involved in the recent events are firmly of the view that their most effective approach lies in training their officers and developing their tactics for mobile and positive public order policing.

The events of recent days, and the police reaction to them, have demonstrated the value of the National Reporting Centre at New Scotland Yard in organising the rapid deployment of assistance between police forces. Discussions with some chief officers of police who have been most concerned, have ranged over all the arrangements for organisation, training (for senior and junior officers) and tactics. Intensive work will take place in this field coupled with a determination on the part of chief officers to obtain as much advance information as possible about the potential for widespread criminal violence.

This basic strategy sets in perspective the decisions to make available equipment such as water cannon, CS gas and plastic bullets. Each of these may have a part to play as a means of last resort, depending on the circumstances which a chief officer faces. Neither chief officers, nor I, wish to see, or encourage

/their use.....

their use. Equally, it would be wrong not to have such facilities available against the possibility that the police are faced with a type of violence that cannot otherwise be contained.

The Rt. Hon. Gentleman, the Member for Sparkbrook, asked me certain questions yesterday, particularly about CS gas. Chief officers of police and I are fully aware of the dangers attendant on the use of CS gas or plastic bullets. As I reported to the House yesterday, a review has been undertaken of the stocks of CS available to the police. Although the gas itself is of the same type, there are wide varieties of CS gas equipment. The stocks held by police forces were essentially for use against armed besieged criminals. Some of these are appropriate for riot control; but not all forces hold the latter because until the riot in Toxteth it had not been envisaged that they should be used for that purpose. In Merseyside use was made of a type of cannister which had to be fired so as to detonate against walls or other hard surfaces. The Chief Constable is conducting a full inquiry into the way in which the injuries reported have occurred, and he will present his report to me. As a result of the review of stocks I have asked my Department to ensure urgently that every police force has available to it a type suitable for the two main circumstances for which they are designed.

The basic principle for the use of either equipment, as a means of last resort, is that they should be used only in circumstances where other conventional methods have been tried and failed, and where in the judgment of the chief officers such

/action is

action is necessary to prevent serious risk to life, or widespread destruction of property. Such equipment should be authorised for use only by specially trained personnel. In the light of this basic principle, careful and urgent attention is being given to further detailed guidance on the use of such equipment and on the training needed. All these points will be followed up and developed in continuing discussions between my Department and the police.

I was asked yesterday whether I would consider reserving to myself a decision to use CS gas or plastic bullets to restore order in riotous circumstances. I have reflected carefully on this, but believe this would, on balance, be mistaken. Despite the fact that any Home Secretary must always be available to be consulted urgently, the responsibility for operations is that of the chief officer alone. He is on the ground; only he can be in full possession and appreciation of the facts in what, by definition, will usually be very rapidly changing circumstances. I therefore believe that the proper responsibility of the Home Secretary is best discharged in authorising the guidelines and circumstances. I have set out the principles on which these will be based, and will inform the House in due course when the details have been decided.

Many criminal charges arising from the riots are now being dealt with in the magistrates' courts. The more serious will be going to the Crown Court for trial. We must be grateful to the magistrates and their staff on whom this extra burden, involving additional sittings, has fallen. The final

/responsibility

responsibility for deciding what priority should be given to any case or class of case in the Crown Court rests on the judiciary and, in particular, on the presiding judges of the courts. I have no doubt that they will do whatever circumstances allow to bring these cases to trial without delay.

Some of the charges will result in custodial sentences. It must fall to me to ensure that I provide for necessary facilities so that the sentences can be properly fulfilled. As the House will be aware, the prison population had been increasing even before the recent disturbances began. It now stands at the figure of 45,500. The prison system is under great pressure and I warmly appreciate the Prison Service's response in dealing with the additional numbers who have been committed to their custody and the inevitable strains which the present level of population places on it. We are discussing with the staff the measures which are now required. Within the system arrangements are in hand to provide extra detention centre places at Lowdham Grange in Nottinghamshire and at Erlestoke House in Wiltshire and these will be ready next week. I have also made arrangements with my Rt. Hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Defence to use military camps to provide additional prison accommodation. The first of these will be at Rolleston on Salisbury Plain and others will be brought into use if they are required. They will accommodate suitable inmates drawn from the prison population as a whole and they will be staffed by members of the Prison Service.

/I have a duty

I have a duty to ensure that the law which the police and courts have to enforce not only sets the appropriate limits on what is tolerable, but also provides a sufficient means to combat violence and effectively supports the police in their task. I should, therefore, comment on the recent calls to "reintroduce the Riot Act". In fact, the Riot Act 1714 had as its object not the creation of a new criminal offence, but the conversion of what was already a misdemeanour into a felony. Under its provisions people ordered to disperse were made guilty of felony if they did not do so but instead continued to riot. Many people have something different in mind: that it should be a criminal offence simply not to disperse when ordered to do so. I have considered carefully whether such a provision would have helped quell recent disorders.

We must remind ourselves of what was the nature of these disorders. They were least often, but most dangerously, a large group of violent people confronting the police. They were most often scattered groups of looters causing damage to property. "Riot Act" provisions are mainly designed for the first category. There are in this field wide-ranging existing powers - in common law offences of riot, rout and unlawful assembly; powers to arrest for actual or threatened breach of the peace; there is also section 5 of the Public Order Act 1936 and the offence of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty. But despite the range of powers and penalties currently available, I am persuaded that it is indeed often difficult for the police to isolate and identify particular wrongdoers in such violent circumstances. But I am equally

/sure that

sure that it would be wrong in any event to hurry forward in this difficult field. I therefore intend to examine in consultation with my Rt. Hon. Friend the Lord Chancellor, my Rt. Hon. Friend the Attorney General, and my Rt. Hon. Friend the Lord Advocate, the value of such proposals in the overall perspective of what new powers generally should be available to the police to maintain order and to deal with disorder.

So far, Mr. Speaker, I have spoken about my duty to take the measures necessary to enable the police and the courts to deal with street violence effectively when it has occurred. It is the duty of every Government to underline, and act on, its fundamental responsibility to uphold the rule of law. But I also have the other and wider responsibilities, both as Home Secretary and as a member of the Government. These are simple to state, but complex to carry out and achieve. Put briefly, they are to promote the conditions in which violence does not flourish but is rejected, so that a peaceful and harmonious society is a reality and seen to be a reality for all people.

Many of the young people committing criminal violence on the streets in recent weeks live in inner city areas which suffer relatively from a range of disadvantages, including serious unemployment over a number of years. Youthful violence and youthful frustration have been evident in outbreaks of football hooliganism and other acts of violence, quite apart from the much more serious outbreaks that have occurred in the past two weeks. The complexity of the issue has to be recognised rather

/than reduced

than reduced to a matter of simple slogans. We must, therefore, be prepared to acknowledge some measure of failure in our society, particularly as regards young people. We have to work to minimise the sense of frustration that is evident, and try to prevent it turning into violence.

The problems of urban decay and deprivation are intractable and deepseated, particularly in Merseyside, despite decades of efforts to remedy them and the expenditure of very considerable sums of public money.

My Rt. Hon. Friend the Prime Minister has asked my Rt. Hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Environment, who is, of course, the Chairman of the Partnership Committee for Merseyside, to go up to Merseyside to discuss with the local authorities there, with the Urban Development Corporation, and with representatives of industry, commerce, the unions and the various communities, the problems of the area, the urgent issues raised by recent events, and the opportunities that exist. He will not only be concerned with those areas of policy for which he has Departmental responsibility. He will be looking generally at Government policies, into the way in which they interact with the responsibilities of the local authorities, and into the ways in which ideas, resources and energies can be brought to bear from a wide social and industrial background. He will be based on, and will spend much of his time in, Merseyside. He will be accompanied and supported by my hon. Friend the Minister of State, Home Office (the Members for Aylesbury). They will be supported by a small team of officials from the two Departments and will be able to call upon the

W. A. A. M. J.

/advice and

advice and support of other Government Departments, including the Regional Directors of the various Departments in Merseyside.

My Rt. Hon. and Hon. Friends will start by convening a meeting of the Partnership Committee. My Rt. Hon. Friend will report the outcome of his consultations to his colleagues in the Government, and we shall then consider both how we should proceed in relation to Merseyside and the extent to which the procedures adopted and the measures envisaged in respect of Merseyside are capable of being, and ought to be, generalised and extended to other areas with similar problems, with the intention of reporting to the House again when we resume in October.

I should like now to set before the House the steps we have been taking from the Home Office point of view.

First, I know that the police themselves, and their police authorities, want to continue all their efforts to mobilise the maximum community support. They are not, nor do they want to be seen as, the agents of Government. They are the agents of the societies and communities they serve. They need the community's support in sharing in the task of establishing a peaceful and orderly society. Perhaps in this context, I might say that during my visit last week to Greater Manchester, for example, I found that there had been the closest consultation and understanding between the Chief Constable and the police authority. Nothing I have said, therefore, about firm police measures to put down violence when it occurs implies any departure from the necessary policy of continuing to

/develop

● develop closer and increasingly sensitive relations between the police and the local community. Much of the training of officers, junior and senior, is directed towards this. Fortunately, as the numbers of our police have recently increased, it has become more and more possible to reintroduce constables on the beat, working day by day with their local community. This is a policy to which I know Chief Constables attach great importance.

I believe that chief officers need to be more involved, and more systematically involved, in the way in which local authorities plan their spending programmes and execute them in the high crime areas of inner cities. Already a great deal of good work is done, for example by police officers being invited into schools. We cannot continue to allow a situation in which we point, often persuasively, to a wide range of environmental and economic factors as contributing to disorders such as these, and then sit back and expect the police to pick up the pieces. I am therefore pursuing urgently with chief police officers, and my colleagues with local authority responsibilities, the way this systematic involvement can be achieved. I am sure also that the probation and after-care service, with its extensive knowledge of local problems, and of local patterns of delinquency, has a uniquely valuable contribution to make.

Next there is the crucial strand of race relations. There is an underlying thread of racial difficulties which runs through many of the incidents which either have triggered, or are

/thought to

thought to have triggered, wider demonstrations against the authorities and the police in particular. I think it is right, therefore, in the context of this debate to repeat two assurances to the ethnic minority communities in Britain.

The first is the complete commitment of the Government to a society in which none is a second class citizen. We want a society in which people are treated according to their merits and as fellow citizens.

The second is my determination as Home Secretary to support the wish of the vast majority of citizens, black and white, to see the evils of extremist racialist activity isolated and eliminated. It was for that reason that I set up the inquiry into racial attacks. I will report the conclusions of this important work to the House. I can, however, say at this stage that it will certainly show that inner city communities, their leaders, the police, local authorities and the Government itself, together with the Commission for Racial Equality and Community Relations Councils, must work to prevent tensions between these communities and authority being exploited by the extremists of right and left.

All that I have said this afternoon matches the purpose and extent of Phase II of Lord Scarman's inquiry into the disorders in Brixton in April of this year. The inquiry he is undertaking fits exactly, and in the most timely way, into the interlocking policies I have outlined for trying to promote the conditions in which violence cannot flourish.

/Mr. Speaker

● Mr. Speaker, I wish to emphasise in conclusion that the immediate task for the Government, backed I am certain by the whole House, is to remove the scourge of criminal violence from our streets. To this end we must give our fullest support to the police and the law enforcement agencies and provide them with all the equipment necessary to carry out their task. But at the same time we must develop policies designed to promote the mutual tolerance and understanding upon which the whole future of a free democratic society depends.



Home
Affairs

16 July 1981

Home Secretary

Robert Armstrong sent to me yesterday evening a draft passage for your speech. I have rather shortened it and I hope it is of help to you.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe and Robert Armstrong.

MH

(Minto drafted by the
Secy of State and
signed in his absence)

Have you told the Home Secretary
that this is all right?

The problems of urban decay and deprivation are not peculiar to Merseyside. They are, however, particularly intractable and deep-seated there, despite decades of efforts to remedy them and the expenditure of very considerable sums of public money.

2. We can none of us in political life, in central and local Government, be complacent, that despite all that has been done and attempted, the problems remain as serious as they do. The recent events on Merseyside are thus a challenge to us to reappraise our approach to the problems, to see whether what is already being done can be done better, whether the resources available are being deployed to the best possible effect, and what more can be done, if resources can be made available. We must also consider whether the action required for Merseyside need be matched by action elsewhere

3. It is not a matter for Government alone.

4. The Prime Minister has asked my Rt Hon Friend the Secretary of State for the Environment, who is of course the chairman of the Partnership Committee for Merseyside, to go up to Merseyside to discuss with the local authorities there, with the Urban Development Corporation, and with representatives of industry, commerce, the unions and the various communities, the problems of the area, the urgent issues raised by recent events, and the opportunities that exist. He will not only be concerned with those areas of policy for which he has Departmental responsibility. He will be looking generally at Government policies, into the way in which they interact with the responsibilities of the local authorities, and into the ways in which ideas, resources and energies can be brought to bear from a wide social and industrial background.

5. He will be accompanied and supported by my hon Friend the Minister of State, Home Office (the Member for Aylesbury), who will bring to bear on these matters his experience in the field of community relations.

6. He will also be supported by a very small team of officials from his Department; and he will be able to call upon the advice and support of the Regional Directors of the various Departments in Merseyside.

7. My Rt Hon and Hon Friends will start by convening a meeting of the Partnership Committee of which my Rt Hon Friend is the Chairman.

8. He will report the outcome of his consultations to his colleagues in the Government, and we shall then consider both how we should proceed in relation to Merseyside and the extent to which the

procedures adopted and the measures envisaged in respect of Merseyside are capable of being, and ought to be, generalised and extended to other areas with similar problems, with the intention of reporting to the House again when we resume in October.

PRIME MINISTER

ms

I attach a brief statement which Mr. Whitelaw gave this afternoon.

The Home Secretary felt that, in the event, it had been right to say something today.

Mr. Hattersley had a number of specific questions, but said that he would be quite content to await detailed answers in the Home Secretary's opening speech tomorrow. He wanted to know what type of CS gas would be used, what rules would apply for its use, and what risks were involved; whether the other proposals "associated with the Home Secretary" following his meeting with the Backbench Committee on Monday night had been abandoned; and how the new arrangements in respect of CS gas and plastic bullets differed from the arrangements in force at the time of the Toxteth riots. He also sought confirmation from the Home Secretary that there would be no pressure to employ the new measures on those Chief Constables who were known to be opposed to the use of CS gas and plastic bullets. In closing, Mr. Hattersley said that the Opposition certainly wished to see the police properly equipped for their role, but were fundamentally opposed to a change in the character of British policing arrangements. The Home Secretary emphasised that responsibility for operations rested, as it always had done, firmly with Chief Constables. He stood firmly behind the traditional role of the police but he emphasised that conditions had to be restored where the traditional role could be exercised.

For the Liberals, Alan Beith stressed that some rioters were trying to destroy the relationship between the police and the public. For this reason, the Home Secretary should be very cautious in escalating police reaction. Mr. Whitelaw said that he was well aware that many Chief Constables took the same view. Sam Silkin wanted the Home Secretary to consider reserving the extreme weapons to his own authority.

/Mr. Whitelaw

Mr. Whitelaw undertook to consider this, but pointed out that, however available the Home Secretary might be, there could be circumstances where the best decision could only be taken on the spot by the Chief Constable. Arthur Lewis wanted a commendation for the bravery of unarmed ambulancemen, whilst Norman Atkinson claimed that the Home Secretary had abdicated his responsibility to Chief Constables and wanted to know what guarantee there was that these new weapons would not be used against pickets, peaceful demonstrators, and the like.

On the Government side, Michael Hamilton welcomed the news that the Rollestone Camp would be re-opened and pointed out that, when it was last used, the prisoners lived better than their guards. Mr. Whitelaw said that the camp would be necessary even without the extra flow of prisoners caused by the troubles. Prison officers would staff it this time. Eldon Griffiths emphasised that most policing would remain traditional, and that the police did not themselves seek the new equipment. John Biggs-Davison asked what protest there had been from the Labour benches when plastic bullets were introduced in Northern Ireland. Toby Jessel asked the Home Secretary to confirm that responsibility for the police would remain with him and the Chief Constables, and that the new GLC Police Committee had no status.

One or two speakers started to broaden the argument away from the policing issue. Eric Heffer, whilst pointing out that policing was important, argued that the Government were not looking at the recent causes of the riots. Neville Sandelson said that the Government would ignore the social factors at its peril. Robert Kilroy-Silk argued that some of the recent rioters sincerely believed that they were the victims of discrimination. These comments may point the way to the future direction of the Opposition's attack. There was also a closing comment from Alex Lyon in relation to exchanges at Question Time yesterday: you had asked whether Mr. Foot

/supported

supported water cannon and CS gas, yet the Home Secretary's statement had shown that neither he nor the Chief Constables actually wished to use these weapons except as a last resort.

MAP

c. Mr. Whitmore
Mr. Gow

15 July 1981

STATEMENT BY THE HOME SECRETARY: 15 JULY 1981

EQUIPMENT FOR THE POLICE

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr. Speaker, with permission, I shall make the short statement which was requested yesterday in advance of tomorrow's debate by the Leader of the Opposition and the Rt. Hon. Gentleman the Member for Sparkbrook on the equipment available to the police. Naturally the whole House wants to see the police provided with sufficient means of protecting themselves and also of taking positive and effective action to deal with riotous behaviour.

To protect police officers special helmets are being provided in increasing numbers; fire resistant overalls have been ordered; and so have more standard shields and new lighter shields. Better protection has assisted chief officers in adopting positive tactics to break up violent groups. It is firmly the view of the chief officers who have been most closely involved that their most effective approach lies in training their officers and developing their tactics for mobile and positive public order policing.

But there may be extreme circumstances in which further equipment might be required in dealing with riots. I have, therefore, decided to make available to chief officers, who

/alone ...

alone are responsible for the conduct of operations, a range of alternatives.

Different types of water cannon are being looked at by police forces to see which might suit their needs. Additional protection is being provided for normal police vehicles, and the need for specially protected vehicles will be urgently examined.

This brings me to CS gas and plastic bullets. Neither I nor chief officers wish to see these used except in the very last resort and under strict control, but they should be available. Stocks of CS gas have therefore been reviewed, and appropriate groups of officers will be trained in the proper use of plastic bullets. They will be used only on the authority of the chief officer himself. I shall be talking to chief officers about the circumstances in which such authorisation might be given.

Mr. Speaker, in opening tomorrow's debate I shall be speaking on other aspects of these matters and about the implications for the penal system.



Ref. A05265

PRIME MINISTER

Cabinet: Civil Unrest

This brief deals largely with handling. Members of the Cabinet will be well aware of the general background and will have had copies of your Private Secretary's letters of 13 July reporting on your talks with the Metropolitan Police and your visit to Brixton and the Home Secretary's visits to Manchester and Liverpool.

2. You might first invite the Home Secretary to report on such (relatively minor) disturbances as have occurred since the weekend, and to give the Cabinet his assessment, and that of Chief Constables, of the success of the police in maintaining law and order. He will no doubt refer to police equipment (on which he made a statement to the House today) and to the strains on the prison system. It may suffice for the Cabinet to take note of the Home Secretary's report.

3. You will want to tell the Cabinet of the undertaking which you have entrusted to the Secretary of State for the Environment. The wording proposed for the Home Secretary's speech (which I have sent you separately) will provide a speaking note for that; but you may like to invite the Secretary of State for the Environment to tell the Cabinet how he proposes to set about his task.

4. It will be very important for you to say that he will be accompanied by only a very few officials from his own department, that he will need and be looking for the advice and support of the Regional Directors of Government departments in Merseyside, that he will have the full authority and backing of the Government, and that Regional Directors of other departments will be expected to accept his requests and instructions and give him advice and support as if he were their own Secretary of State. We can then write this into the Cabinet minutes, and it can be used as a basis for instructions to the staff concerned.

5. You will then wish to turn to the issues specifically identified at last week's Cabinet as requiring urgent consideration.



Changes in the Criminal Law. A New Riot Act? ✓

6. You will want the Home Secretary to introduce the discussion on the basis of his minute to you of 14 July. One question is the effect of any change in the law on what might happen on the streets and on the chances of securing convictions of rioters. The Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General can comment on the law and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on experience of riots in the Province. The second question is the symbolic effect of urgent legislation on public, parliamentary and party opinion. The Chancellor of the Duchy and the Chief Whip can comment on this, and on the time that would be needed to pass immediate legislation, to which presumably the Labour Party would be strongly opposed.

7. If the Cabinet is minded to pursue the option of immediate legislation, they will need to confirm the Home Secretary's view that a senior police officer (not a magistrate) should be able to give the order to disperse and that the offence should be a summary one. The Secretary of State for Scotland and the Lord Advocate can supply any Scottish comments.

8. If the Cabinet is minded to accept the Home Secretary's preference of "further consideration", you will wish to invite the Home Secretary to consult further with the other Ministers concerned and report back to the Cabinet in due course - presumably in September.

Avoidance of Court Delays ✓

9. The Lord Chancellor can report what action has been taken and how far proceedings against rioters will be able to jump the queue so far as the Crown Courts are concerned. (He is likely to point out that the initial responsibility of preparing cases for prosecution rests with the police).

Compensation ✓

10. The Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer can report on what can be done to grant speedy compensation under the Riot Damage Act. Is there likely to be a need to contemplate the amendment of that Act? The Secretary of State for the Environment may want to comment.



The Broadcasting Authorities

11. The Home Secretary can report on his recent approaches to them.

Conclusions

12. The Cabinet will need to take a clear decision on what the Home Secretary should say in the course of the debate about a modern version of the Riot Act. Beyond that, the Cabinet might take note of his report and invite him and the Secretary of State for the Environment to be guided by the points made in discussion in their speeches.

RIA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

15 July 1981



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 8319

From the Secretary of the Cabinet: Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO

Ref: A05264

15th July 1981

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

As requested at this morning's meeting I have prepared, and attach herewith, a draft of what the Home Secretary might say in his speech tomorrow about the mission you are to undertake to Merseyside.

2. It is mostly about what you are doing in Merseyside but I doubt whether it will carry conviction unless there can be some indication that, when you come to report the outcome of your mission, the Government will look at it not only in relation to Merseyside but in relation to other areas also.

3. I am sending copies of this minute and of the draft to the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

The problems of urban decay and deprivation are not peculiar to Merseyside. They are, however, particularly intractable and deep-seated there, despite decades of efforts to remedy them and the expenditure of very considerable sums of public money.

2. We can none of us in political life, in central and local Government, be complacent, that despite all that has been done and attempted, the problems remain as serious as they do. The recent events on Merseyside are thus a challenge to us to reappraise our approach to the problems, to see whether what is already being done can be done better, whether the resources available are being deployed to the best possible effect, and what more can be done, if resources can be made available.

3. The problems are not problems to which Government alone, or Government and local authorities alone, can contribute ideas, solutions and funds. Renewal should spring from the needs of the areas concerned, not be imposed on them, and should reflect the resources and skills available, and the industrial and commercial needs and opportunities of the future.

4. The Prime Minister has asked my Right Honourable Friend the Secretary of State for the Environment, who is of course the chairman of the Partnership Committee for Merseyside, to go up to Merseyside to discuss with the local authorities there, with the Urban Development Corporation, and with representatives of industry, commerce, the unions and the various communities, the problems of the area, the urgent issues raised by recent events, and the opportunities that exist. He will not only be concerned with those areas of policy for which he has Departmental responsibility. He will be looking into the totality of Government policies, into the way in which they interact with the responsibilities of the local authorities, and into the ways in which ideas, resources and energies can be brought to bear from every possible source - industry and commerce, financial interests, enterprise trusts, community organisations, the churches,

the schools, the universities - upon the solution of the problems and the improvements of the industrial and social environment on Merseyside.

5. He will be accompanied and supported by my hon. Friend the Minister of State, Home Office (the Member for Aylesbury), who will bring to bear on these matters his experience in the field of community relations.

6. He will also be supported by a very small team of officials from his Department; and he will be able to call upon the advice and support of the Regional Directors of the various Departments in Merseyside.

7. My Right Honourable and Honourable Friends will start by convening a meeting of the Partnership Committee of which my Rt. Hon. Friend is the Chairman. From there their consultations will broaden out to include all those who have an interest in the solution of the problems and a contribution to make to it.

8. He will report the outcome of his consultations to his colleagues in the Government, and we shall then consider both how we should proceed in relation to Merseyside and the extent to which the procedures adopted and the measures envisaged in respect of Merseyside are capable of being, and ought to be, generalised and extended to other areas with similar problems, with the intention of reporting to the House again when we resume in October.

Whitelaw
PRIME MINISTER

~~MR. WHITELAW~~

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I attach a brief statement which Mr. Whitelaw gave this afternoon.

The Home Secretary felt that, in the event, it had been right to say something today.

Mr. Hattersley had a number of specific questions, but said that he would be quite content to await detailed answers in the Home Secretary's opening speech tomorrow. He wanted to know what type of CS gas would be used, what rules would apply for its use, and what risks were involved; whether the other proposals "associated with the Home Secretary" following his meeting with the Backbench Committee on Monday night had been abandoned; and how the new arrangements in respect of CS gas and plastic bullets differed from the arrangements in force at the time of the Toxteth riots. He also sought confirmation from the Home Secretary that there would be no pressure to employ the new measures on those Chief Constables who were known to be opposed to the use of CS gas and plastic bullets. In closing, Mr. Hattersley said that the Opposition certainly wished to see the police properly equipped for their role, but were fundamentally opposed to a change in the character of British policing arrangements. The Home Secretary emphasised that responsibility for operations rested, as it always had done, firmly with Chief Constables. He stood firmly behind the traditional role of the police but he emphasised that conditions had to be restored where the traditional role could be exercised.

For the Liberals, Alan Beith stressed that some rioters were trying to destroy the relationship between the police and the public. For this reason, the Home Secretary should be very cautious in escalating police reaction. Mr. Whitelaw said that he was well aware that many Chief Constables took the same view. Sam Silkin wanted the Home Secretary to consider reserving the extreme weapons to his own authority.

/Mr. Whitelaw

Mr. Whitelaw undertook to consider this, but pointed out that, however available the Home Secretary might be, there could be circumstances where the best decision could only be taken on the spot by the Chief Constable. Arthur Lewis wanted a commendation for the bravery of unarmed ambulancemen, whilst Norman Atkinson claimed that the Home Secretary had abdicated his responsibility to Chief Constables and wanted to know what guarantee there was that these new weapons would not be used against pickets, peaceful demonstrators, and the like.

On the Government side, Michael Hamilton welcomed the news that the Rolleston Camp would be re-opened and pointed out that, when it was last used, the prisoners lived better than their guards. Mr. Whitelaw said that the camp would be necessary even without the extra flow of prisoners caused by the troubles. Prison officers would staff it this time. Eldon Griffiths emphasised that most policing would remain traditional, and that the police did not themselves seek the new equipment. John Biggs-Davison asked what protest there had been from the Labour benches when plastic bullets were introduced in Northern Ireland. Toby Jessel asked the Home Secretary to confirm that responsibility for the police would remain with him and the Chief Constables, and that the new GLC Police Committee had no status.

One or two speakers started to broaden the argument away from the policing issue. Eric Heffer, whilst pointing out that policing was important, argued that the Government were not looking at the recent causes of the riots. Neville Sandelson said that the Government would ignore the social factors at its peril. Robert Kilroy-Silk argued that some of the recent rioters sincerely believed that they were the victims of discrimination. These comments may point the way to the future direction of the Opposition's attack. There was also a closing comment from Alex Lyon in relation to exchanges at Question Time yesterday: you had asked whether Mr. Foot

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supported water cannon and CS gas, yet the Home Secretary's statement had shown that neither he nor the Chief Constables actually wished to use these weapons except as a last resort.

M. A. PATTISON

c. Mr. Whitmore
Mr. Gow

15 July 1981

STATEMENT BY THE HOME SECRETARY: 15 JULY 1981

EQUIPMENT FOR THE POLICE

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr. Speaker, with permission, I shall make the short statement which was requested yesterday in advance of tomorrow's debate by the Leader of the Opposition and the Rt. Hon. Gentleman the Member for Sparkbrook on the equipment available to the police. Naturally the whole House wants to see the police provided with sufficient means of protecting themselves and also of taking positive and effective action to deal with riotous behaviour.

To protect police officers special helmets are being provided in increasing numbers; fire resistant overalls have been ordered; and so have more standard shields and new lighter shields. Better protection has assisted chief officers in adopting positive tactics to break up violent groups. It is firmly the view of the chief officers who have been most closely involved that their most effective approach lies in training their officers and developing their tactics for mobile and positive public order policing.

But there may be extreme circumstances in which further equipment might be required in dealing with riots. I have, therefore, decided to make available to chief officers, who

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alone are responsible for the conduct of operations, a range of alternatives.

Different types of water cannon are being looked at by police forces to see which might suit their needs. Additional protection is being provided for normal police vehicles, and the need for specially protected vehicles will be urgently examined.

This brings me to CS gas and plastic bullets. Neither I nor chief officers wish to see these used except in the very last resort and under strict control, but they should be available. Stocks of CS gas have therefore been reviewed, and appropriate groups of officers will be trained in the proper use of plastic bullets. They will be used only on the authority of the chief officer himself. I shall be talking to chief officers about the circumstances in which such authorisation might be given.

Mr. Speaker, in opening tomorrow's debate I shall be speaking on other aspects of these matters and about the implications for the penal system.

cc to Lord Dufferin
Minister in Parliament: legislation.



Prime Minister
Will you like to discuss
this in Cabinet on Thursday?

John
14 vii

PRIME MINISTER

At Cabinet last week it was agreed that I should give urgent consideration to whether it was now necessary to introduce changes in the law like those which were contained in the Riot Act 1714. This I have done.

The likely value of such a provision, and the practical difficulties to which it could give rise on the ground, are set out in the attached note, together with a brief description of the objective of the Act of 1714, and the common law powers. We now need to decide whether to proceed with legislation, and in the light of this, what approach I should take to the issue in my speech in the debate on Thursday afternoon.

I had the opportunity to test the opinion of backbenchers on the issue at the well-attended meeting of the Home Affairs Group on Monday evening. A minority of those present were in favour of some emergency legislation; a majority said they had grave doubts about the value of any "Riot Act" provision at all. Others who were prepared to consider introducing such a provision were not eager to do so as an emergency measure.

Against that background, we could certainly move to introduce a provision immediately. (A note of what the provision might look like is also attached). Its practical value might be limited, and it would certainly give rise to some difficulties of enforcement. But to act quickly would be a symbolic gesture.

On Thursday afternoon I must, therefore, choose between announcing the introduction of a provision as an emergency; rejecting the introduction of a provision altogether; or indicating that there may be some value in such a provision, but that it should be set in the context of other changes to assist the police in maintaining public order, and dealing with riots, (in which case I consider that it would nevertheless be prudent to draft the provisions of a Bill on a contingency basis).

I would prefer the third course. The introduction of legislation immediately would be portrayed as a sign of panic, at a time when the police, better equipped, are getting things under control. We shall certainly run into demands that the legislation should be temporary. If we can set it in a broader context, we shall be better able to put the new provisions in perspective.

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

John

14 July 1981

THE RIOT ACT 1714 AND COMMON LAW OFFENCES

The essential provisions of the Riot Act 1714 were that, if twelve or more people who were "unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace" continued to be so assembled more than an hour after a justice had by a proclamation in The Queen's name commanded them to disperse, their offence was translated from the lesser offence of misdemeanour into the graver offence of felony; that they might then be "seized and apprehended by any justice or person assisting him"; and that those who thus enforced the law were fully indemnified if, by reason of the rioters resisting their efforts, in dispersing or seizing the rioters they "killed maimed or hurt them". Some recent newspaper descriptions of the effect of the Riot Act 1714 are misleading in that, contrary to what they suggest, mere presence at the scene, as opposed to active participation in the riot, was not an offence.

The Riot Act did not create the offence of riot. Like those of affray, rout and unlawful assembly, riot is an offence at common law, which existed long before the Act of 1714 and likewise survived its repeal. The Act did not remove the common law powers of the civil authority to disperse an assembly if it seemed likely to cause a breach of the peace or was breaching the peace. Those powers co-existed with the Act and remain. Indeed, if anything the Act placed some limitation on, or at least clarified, the exercise of the powers, by implying that it would be extremely imprudent to use an armed force against a mob until the proclamation had been made and an hour had elapsed. The Act was, of course, passed in a different historical context, when there was no effective police force and the response came either from the justice and such few constables and assistants as he could muster or from troops with muskets and sabres.

The abolition of the distinction between misdemeanour and felony by the Criminal Law Act 1967, which consequentially repealed the Act of 1714, did not diminish the gravity of the offence of riot. That is an indictable offence, for which considerable penalties are available to the Crown Court. There may, of course, be evidential difficulties with trial on indictment, which the Law Commission will no doubt look at in its longer term consideration of the possible codification of the common law public order offences.

DISPERSAL OF RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES:

THE VALUE AND DIFFICULTIES OF A NEW PROVISION

The police already have wide-ranging powers to take action against rioters in statute and common law. These cover criminal damage, theft, assault on the person, threatening or offensive conduct, and obstruction. At common law they already have power to disperse an assembly where an obstruction is being caused, or they reasonably apprehend a breach of the peace, or the assembly itself is judged to be unlawful. A new statutory power to disperse assemblies would make it simply an offence for people merely to be present in riotous circumstances. It would be directed towards assisting the police to deal with a large crowd of rioters opposing them, rather than the most common theme of recent disorders, namely running gangs of looters. Some senior police officers believe that such a change would be valuable because they argue there is a degree of uncertainty about their common law powers which make the police reluctant to use them, and those who riot reluctant to accept their use. It is also evident that bringing charges for common law indictable offences is not always quick nor necessarily successful.

Apart from the limitations of the measure under consideration, certain practical difficulties would have to be resolved. The first is how many people should constitute an assembly. The minimum of three reflects the definition of an assembly or a riot at common law. But it is not a number which in commonsense terms constitute a riot. The smaller the number chosen, the more likely the criticism will be that the police had failed to deal with small groups of offenders under any such new provision, when in fact it was not appropriate.

Secondly, it would be necessary to try to distinguish in the provisions those assemblies or groups who may not themselves be causing trouble, but who may be opposed by others who wish to cause trouble. If the provisions were limited to use against those who had already caused trouble, which would be one way round the difficulty, this would then prevent the police from using a new law to disperse assemblies where they had hard intelligence that major trouble was likely.

Thirdly, it will be necessary to try to draft the provisions in such a way as to avoid catching innocent bystanders or passers-by. Representatives of the media will, no doubt, express concern that journalists might be arrested; and there is the problem of picketing.

Parliamentary discussion of any provisions will focus on some of these practical problems, but provision for the following purposes might prove acceptable (the drafting, of course, being a matter for Parliamentary Counsel).

PROVISION FOR THE DISPERSAL OF RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES

Where any police officer not below the rank of Assistant Chief Constable, or Commander in the Metropolitan Police, is of the opinion that an assembly of three or more persons is causing or has the purpose of causing serious disorder, he may order the persons constituting the assembly to be required to disperse forthwith. (How and by whom this should be done need perhaps not appear on the face of the Bill, but would have to be announced to the House).

Where such an order is given with respect to an assembly, any person who knowing the order to be given thereafter joined or remained in the assembly or otherwise failed to comply with the order, would be liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding £1,000, or both.

A constable would, without warrant, be empowered to arrest any person reasonably suspected by him to be committing an offence under these provisions.

file
SSG
Home Affairs



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

14 July, 1981.

Dear John,

Prime Minister's Visit to Liverpool:
Monday, 13 July, 1981

I enclose copies of the records of the meetings which the Prime Minister had in Liverpool yesterday with the Chief Constable and his senior staff, representatives of the local authorities, the community leaders, and church leaders.

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I should be grateful if you could consider what further action needs to be taken on those points which relate directly to the police, and especially to their equipment. Similarly, I should be glad if Michael Collon (Lord Chancellor's Office), to whom I am sending a copy of this letter, could pursue the points about speeding up action in the courts to deal with those taking part in violence on the streets, and about the possible appointment of more stipendiary magistrates in Liverpool.

I am sending copies of this letter, and of the enclosures, to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Richard Dykes (Department of Employment), and Peter Shaw (Department of Education and Science).

Yours sincerely,

Home Secretary

John Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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J. Nursaw
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

14 July 1981

W Rickett Esq
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street
LONDON S W 1

Dear Willie,

You sent me a copy of your correspondence of 13 July with Colin Walters and I have shown it to the Solicitor General. He has asked me to pass on two tiny comments on your account of his report to the Prime Minister. While he did praise the high quality of the Toxteth housing estates, his comment about this was - "Indeed it was so good that in the past there had been resentment that the coloured residents had been given such quality housing but it was not suggested that that resentment was relevant here." He points out that it is more accurate to refer to "coloured residents" than "immigrant communities" because so many have been there a long time.

I am copying this to those who received the earlier correspondence.

*Yours sincerely,
Jim Nursaw*

CONFIDENTIAL

W. Clive - I was going to
give him to the
PM before she saw
the Home Sec.

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Mr. Ingham
Mr. Pattison

DL
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STATEMENT BY THE HOME SECRETARY

The Home Secretary has decided to make a short Statement tomorrow afternoon in response to pressure from Mr. Hattersley following the revelations of what he told Conservative Back-benchers last night. Mr. Hattersley indicated that he was trying to be helpful, and that the Debate on Thursday would be much more difficult unless the Home Secretary first clarified what he had already said to Conservative MPs. Whether Mr. Hattersley is really trying to be helpful must remain doubtful. But Mr. Foot has also threatened to put down a PNQ tomorrow which - in the absence of a Statement - might very well be accepted.

The Home Secretary has consulted the Chief Whip, who agrees that a Statement is necessary. We will get a draft of it tomorrow morning.

DL
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14 July 1981

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RESTRICTED

Prime Minister

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I sent the Home Secretary's office
a record of your talks with Sir David McNee
early this morning, after speaking to his
Private Secretary yesterday.

QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

13 July 1981

Private Secretary yesterday.

LM
13/7

Dear John

RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT

As a result of the violent public disorders of the past ten days we have had to re-think our position on protective clothing and equipment for the police. In my statement to Parliament last Monday I announced that better protective headgear was to be made available; and as a first step arrangements were made for 1,500 helmets of the NATO pattern to be issued from army stocks to the police. These have been very successful and I am most grateful to you and your staff, both in the Ministry of Defence and at the Bicester depot, for the speed with which you responded to our request. Because of the widespread nature of the continuing violence we should very much like to purchase up to a further 2,000 helmets from your stocks. If this is acceptable in principle, the details of collection and distribution can be settled by our officials.

There is another area in which I should be grateful for your help. We have been considering urgently the possible use of more offensive types of equipment, such as water cannon; and with the co-operation of your people a demonstration has been arranged tomorrow at MVEE at Chobham. I understand that in addition to the large water cannon which will be demonstrated there, you have in a depot at Hilton in Derbyshire 14 smaller vehicles designed for squirting dye at short distances. I should be most grateful if we could borrow these for some of our Chief Constables to assess their value in dealing with riots. I am anxious to move very quickly on this and I hope that it may be possible for the vehicles to be made available for collection by the police today. We should also need your help in providing the dye, and some assistance in training in the handling of the vehicles, which I think would have to be painted blue if used by the police.

As you will know, at the height of the trouble on Merseyside the Chief Constable had to make use of CS gas to disperse rioters. We are looking into the implications of the further use of CS gas and the possible use, as a last resort, of plastic baton rounds. It may be that we shall need to come to you in the next few days for help on supplies of CS gas, baton rounds and dischargers and for training assistance. I hope that if necessary you will again be able to help us here.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister.

John Nott

RESTRICTED

The Rt. Hon. John Nott, M.P.

SUBJECT cc Major Set

Meeting with the Church Leaders held in the Liverpool Town Hall
on Monday, 13 July, 1981, at 1300 hours

Present:

The Archbishop of Liverpool, the Most Reverend Dereck Worlock

The Bishop of Warrington, the Rt. Reverend Michael Henshall

The Prime Minister said that she had just spent an hour with the community leaders and she had been amazed at their hatred for the police.

Archbishop Worlock said that although there was a profound mistrust of the police on the part of the local community, this was not the cause of the outbreak of violence. The present situation, which had been developing for a long time, was due to many things. There was a certain amount of racial tension. There was no racial discrimination as such, but there was a silent colour bar. There were, for example, no coloured Councillors in Liverpool, and there was no coloured barrister at the Liverpool Bar. There were only 8 coloured policemen in the Merseyside force; and one did not find coloured assistants in the shops in the way one did in London. The community felt itself to be socially deprived. They were alienated from the rest of society in a very real way. The police were simply a part of an establishment which they were not prepared to accept. If Mr. Wally Brown were to be identified with any establishment figure, he would be disowned by his community.

Archbishop Worlock continued that the main point he wished to make to the Prime Minister was that the local community had to be consulted about the way in which it was to be rebuilt. But if we were to consult them in our way of consulting, we should get no reaction. He saw no alternative but to sit down in groups with the community and talk to them about how the community was to be rebuilt. Many of their ideas would be ill-formed, and consultation would be a protracted and painful process. But this was the only way forward.

Bishop Henshall said that he agreed with what Archbishop Worlock had said. At the moment the community was so alienated that it offered no response to society as a whole; and this was true not only of the black people of the area, but of the whole community. His

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clergy were saying very strongly that reconciliation and not denunciation was the key to the future. In the short term, the hand of the police had to be strengthened. But in the longer term, there had to be reconciliation. Part of this process would undoubtedly be to get the police to be more acceptable to the community. We must get back to a policing system that was community-based, with more local stations and policemen on the beat. It was also important to get the police to visit the schools regularly. It could take a lot of heat out of the present situation if the Government adopted a compassionate stance that showed that it understood the problems. If such a compassionate note could be struck, many of those who wanted the Government's policies to succeed, including its policy of upholding law and order, would be greatly helped.

Archbishop Worlock asked whether it would be possible for a Minister to be made responsible for taking a direct interest in Merseyside. If he could visit the city, say, every fortnight; if he could get to know the inner city problems; and if he could guide and encourage the local authorities, this would give hope and confidence to those local authorities and to the community at large. In this way it might be possible to draw alienated Toxteth into the life of the city, and the alienated city into the life of the country.

Bishop Henshall said that a factor in the general feeling of alienation was certainly unemployment. Another was that, as a result of cuts in public expenditure, people were now seeing reductions in the services available to them. Archbishop Worlock added that the Manpower Services Commission should try to involve the local people in rebuilding their own future. The MSC often seemed to be hamstrung by existing rules, and these would have to be changed if necessary.

The Prime Minister thanked Archbishop Worlock and Bishop Henshall for meeting her. Many of today's problems had been identified 15 years ago. We had thought then that if people were given good homes and good schooling, this would give them the basis they needed for a satisfactory life. But it seemed that this approach

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had not been wholly right. We should have to think again.

The meeting concluded at 1400.

AWH.

14 July, 1981.

R. SUBJECT cc Master Set

Meeting with Liverpool Community Leaders in the Liverpool Town Hall
on Monday, 13 July, 1981, at 1205 hours

Present:

Mr. Wally Brown
Mr. Paul Sommerfeld
Mr. Delroy Burris
Mr. Peter Bassey
Mr. Dave Smith
Mr. Rashid Mufti
Mr. Roy Poland
Mr. Levere Hinds
Mr. Guideon Ben-Tovin

The Prime Minister said that she hoped that the community leaders would tell her frankly what they thought about the present situation in Liverpool. She had come to listen.

Mr. Brown said that he and his colleagues were a cross section of the people involved in and with Toxteth. Some represented groups within the community; while others were speaking only on behalf of themselves. He wanted to make it clear that the riot was not the work of outside agitators. Rather, it was the gut reaction of the local people to many things. He did not believe that an inquiry into the causes of the violence was necessary. The 2 main issues were clear. First and foremost, there was the question of policing. This had been the main trigger for the reaction from the community, and it had to be tackled urgently. Many people were hostile to Mr. Oxford's method of policing. Yet the fact that there had been no trouble since last Tuesday showed that policing at the community level could be effective and acceptable to the community. Policing had to be done with the cooperation of the community. The second major issue was unemployment and social conditions. These needed to be examined urgently. But it was essential that the community was not landed with schemes which it did not want. If the community was to be rebuilt, it had to be directly involved itself. There had to be consultations.

In discussion, the following points were made:

- (a) The recent trouble had not been due to racial tension, although the Chief Constable had suggested it was. The cause lay in Mr. Oxford's policing policy. There were different ways of keeping law and order. He believed in slapping people down and keeping them down. The police had attacked the very community leaders who were trying to bring the riot to an end. People were now beginning to complain again that the police were harrassing them once more. There was no doubt that trouble would start up again unless changes in policing were made. There was another way of keeping law and order. They wanted "community bobbies". It was significant that when police were brought in from outside Liverpool, they got on well with the local community. The Liverpool police, on the other hand, regarded anyone who was black as a criminal and acted accordingly.
- (b) It was often suggested that a lot of resources had already been put into Liverpool, but the reality was that the money so far had gone on a few advance factories, a few community centres, and some schemes to improve the environment. The totality was in fact small, and would not begin to solve the problem. More resources were needed for areas like Toxteth in order to provide more jobs, more education, and more leisure opportunities. A strong and imaginative response from central government was needed. Government must show a determination to get to grips with the problems. But any response must be made only after deep discussion with the local community. Every effort must be made to establish what they really wanted.
- (c) The community felt very strongly that Paddington School should not be closed.

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The Prime Minister said that although she disagreed with much that had been said, she recognised the genuineness of their views. Resources had been poured into areas like Liverpool. We had thought that we were tackling the problems of deprived areas in the right way by encouraging communities to create better conditions from within themselves. We had thought that if people were given good homes and good education, this would help them to lead satisfying lives. For example, out of 323 schools in Liverpool 190 of them had been classified as disadvantaged schools and given special allowances and special teachers, but she accepted that this approach had not been completely successful, and we now had to look at it again.

The Prime Minister continued that she was very concerned at what the community leaders had said about the police. This contrasted sharply with what the Southall community leaders had told her the previous Friday: they had not complained at all about the police but, on the contrary, had said that they regarded them as their friends. She was not concerned about the colour of people's skin, but she was concerned about crime. The police were there to prevent crime, and when it was committed, to hand the offenders over to the courts to be dealt with. She condemned anyone, whatever his colour, who attacked the police. She had not heard a word from Mr. Oxford against the local community. She begged them not to resort to violence nor to live in separate communities. It was essential that the community leaders went on doing all they could to prevent violence. Feelings, however strong, had to be expressed by talking, and problems had to be solved by a way other than that of violence.

The meeting concluded at 1300.

AMW.

14 July, 1981.

SUBJECT cc Mother Self

Meeting with local authority representatives in the Liverpool Town Hall on Monday, 13 July, 1981, at 1050 hours.

Present:

Liverpool City Council

Sir Trevor Jones - Liberal Group Leader

Councillor J.D. Hamilton -
Labour Group Leader

Councillor S. Airey -
Conservative Group Leader

Mr. A.J. Stocks - Chief Executive

Mr. W.I. Murray - City Solicitor

Mr. R.M. Kirkham -
City Solicitor's Department

Merseyside County Council

Councillor J. Stuart-Cole - Leader of the County Council

Councillor N.C. Goldrein - Leader of Conservative Group

Councillor F. Doran - Deputy Leader of Liberal Group

Councillor Mrs. Margaret B. Simey - Chairman of the Police Committee

Councillor G. Bundred - Deputy Chairman of the Police Committee

Councillor S.T. Moss - Conservative Spokesman on Police Committee

Councillor A.H. Thomas - Liberal Spokesman on Police Committee

Mr. R.F. O'Brien - Chief Executive

Mr. C.K. Wilson - County Solicitor and Secretary

Mr. W.N. Cannon - Personal Assistant to Chief Executive

Following a short courtesy call on Councillor Cyril Carr, Lord Mayor of Liverpool, the Prime Minister met the representatives of the Liverpool City Council and the Merseyside County Council listed above.

The Prime Minister said that a week had passed since the disturbances in Liverpool and she imagined that the local authorities had now made considered assessments of the situation. She wanted to

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make it clear that it was essential that everybody gave the police their support. Society could not carry on if law and order were not upheld. The police, the fire service and the ambulance service in Liverpool had responded magnificently to the disorders. The police should be given whatever equipment they needed to deal with outbreaks of violence of the kind seen recently. More generally, resources had been poured into areas like Liverpool: for example, she remembered from her own days as Secretary of State for Education how much had been done to try to improve school facilities. The aim had been to encourage constructive developments from within the community. We had thought that this was the right approach, but events now suggested that it had not been. She was very ready to hear from them what they thought had gone wrong and how they believed it should be put right.

In discussion the following points were made:-

- (a) There was heart-felt gratitude in both Councils for what the police, fire service and ambulance service had done, and the police in particular had their unequivocal support. But there was undoubtedly a very strong feeling against the police in the Toxteth community. What had happened a week ago could not have built up overnight. There must in future be more involvement by the police in the community if they were to overcome the present resentment caused by what the community saw as police harassment. A key factor in greater police involvement was for them to have a regular and continuous programme of school visits. It was also argued that one of the reasons for hostility to the police was that the relationship between the police authority and the police was not right. There was no clear definition of the role of the police authority, and this was something which, following the Home Secretary's visit the previous week, the County Council were hoping to pursue with the Home Office. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the previous police committee had not found any difficulty in carrying out its duties. The present move to make the Chief Constable accountable to a political body was wrong and should not be pursued.

/ (b)

- (b) Unemployment was a major factor in the present unrest in Liverpool. Out of 55,000 unemployed in the city, 18,000 were dealt with by the office which covered the Toxteth area. There were various MSC schemes in hand, but these were largely aimed at the short term. What was needed now was more permanent jobs in the longer term. For many years successive Governments had tried to make industry more efficient and not necessarily to create more jobs. The Government should now consider giving aid primarily to generate more jobs in the worst hit areas. This was such a massive problem that local authorities could only scratch its surface, and the need was for central government to have a long term strategy, embracing such initiatives as the creation of urban development corporations and enterprise zones, for the creation of permanent jobs. Unless this was done, the problems of Toxteth would not be solved. It was no good giving people good homes and splendid shopping centres if they had no jobs. This was not to excuse or condone violence, but if no work was available, especially for the young, it was understandable that a strong feeling against authority should develop. When they were unemployed and without hope of jobs in the foreseeable future, people felt that they were being written off by the rest of society. Their reaction was not against the police as such. They took their feelings out on the police because they were the nearest embodiment of authority. But even this tendency should not be exaggerated: most of the people of Toxteth were law-abiding. They wanted the police to protect them. In particular, they wanted to see more community policing: the local police stations which had been cut as economy measures should be opened up again, and there should be more policemen on the beat.
- (c) There were undoubtedly racial tensions in the city. There was friction occasionally between white and black; and there was tension between the old immigrants whose forebears

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had arrived two or three generations ago, and new immigrants. But this was not a major cause of the recent outbreaks of violence, for on the whole relations between the different races in Liverpool were satisfactory.

- (d) Nor was housing a primary factor. In the last 10-15 years many of Liverpool's slums had been cleared, and people had been rehoused in good terraced housing and maisonettes.
- (e) Central Government already had a number of schemes to help Merseyside, but they were fragmented. Whitehall Departments all too frequently worked in isolation from each other, and one did something which was contradicted by something else which another was pursuing. There was a crying need for someone to take all these discrete activities and to put them together in a single package which worked in a coherent way. Similarly, there was room to improve communications between Whitehall and the local authorities.
- (f) While better coordination in Whitehall would undoubtedly help, it was important that central government did not rush into new large-scale capital improvement schemes as a response to the present disturbances. One message which the community leaders were expressing very clearly to the local authorities on Merseyside was that they wanted to be consulted before any decisions about new programmes were taken. A lot of thought was now being given to the best way of undertaking this consultation. It was likely to be a fairly protracted and inchoate process, but it nonetheless had to be gone through. Otherwise we might well get the wrong answer again, just as we had 10 years ago.

In conclusion, the Prime Minister said that for the longer term the creation of the UDC and the enterprise zone held out the hope of more jobs. Most of the future growth in employment in Liverpool would probably come initially from small firms. There was no escaping the fact, however, that if we were to keep existing jobs

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and create new ones, we had to be efficient. Genuine jobs would only be created if firms produced things people would buy. In the shorter term she thought that the many derelict sites in Liverpool could be tackled and jobs created in the process.

The meeting finished at 1200.

AW.

14 July, 1981.

~~TOP SECRET~~

cc Member

CONFIDENTIAL

Meeting with the Chief Constable of Merseyside in Police Headquarters, Liverpool, on Monday, 13 July, 1981, at 0930 hours

The Prime Minister met Mr. Oxford, the Chief Constable, together with the Deputy Chief Constable and other senior officers of the force. In opening the discussion, the Prime Minister said that her support for the police in dealing with the present outbreak of civil disturbances was complete and that whatever equipment they required to deal with the situation should be given to them.

In discussion, the following were the main points which were made:-

- (a) The force now had 400 MOD-issue helmets, and these had given police officers much more confidence that they would not be injured. They needed a simple adaptation, however: at present there was a gap between the helmet itself and the vizor, and this needed to be closed in some way. It was also important that the MOD's holdings of helmets should be replenished quickly in case more were needed by the police.
- (b) In the new situation, water cannon were now a necessary part of the equipment of the police, though it was not yet clear how many would be needed. More generally, a lot of urgent thought needed to be given to the development of tactics in handling of disturbances.
- (c) It was understood that the Metropolitan Police were acquiring new personnel carriers. There was a similar need on Merseyside where probably something of the order of 24 vehicles would be required.
- (d) The decision to use CS gas in Toxteth had been a very difficult one. Rubber bullets were already available if they were needed, but this was a matter on which the Chief Constable wanted to move very carefully.

The Chief Constable argued strongly that it was essential that those charged with offences arising from the disturbances should be dealt with quickly by the courts. Short sharp sentences would have a considerable deterrent effect. If people were remanded on bail,

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there would be no discouragement to those who wanted to commit similar offences in the future. Those who broke the law had to be clear that they had something to lose. Cases would be dealt with more quickly if Liverpool had more than the one stipendiary magistrate it had at present. The Prime Minister said that these were points she would pursue with the Lord Chancellor.

The Chief Constable said that his men had behaved with outstanding discipline during the disturbances. They had stood and been attacked by the crowds for 2 days, and 300 of them had been injured. But they had not responded in kind, and there had been no reports of gratuitous violence by the police.

The meeting finished at 1030.

JWW.

14 July, 1981.

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B.R.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO LIVERPOOL

MONDAY, 13 JULY 1981

0600 Leave 10 Downing Street

0900 Rendez-vous with Chief Constable
Proceed to Liverpool. Drive through Toxteth.

0930 Arrive Police Headquarters

1030 Arrive Town Hall. Meet Lord Mayor
(Councillor Cyril Carr) and representatives
of the Liverpool City Council and Merseyside
County Council

1130 Meet community leaders (in Town Hall)

1200 Meet the Archbishop of Liverpool (Derek Worlock)
and the Bishop of Warrington (Michael Henshall)
(in Town Hall)

1230 Press Conference (in Town Hall)

1300 approx. Depart for London

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HL

cc: Robert Armstrong
MOD

file



cc: JOE
DES
HMS
LEO
LOD

SUBJECT

10 DOWNING STREET

13 July 1981

cc Under-Secret

From the Private Secretary

Dear Colin

As you know, the Prime Minister visited New Scotland Yard and Brixton police station between 1930 on Saturday 11 July and 0315 on Sunday 12 July. The visit was generally to brief the Prime Minister on how the Metropolitan Police were handling the civil unrest in London, and on their arrangements for co-ordinating the deployment of police forces throughout the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister did however have long discussions with Sir David McNee and his Deputy and Assistant Commissioners. The following were the main points that were made:

(a) It was taking 12-14 months to bring most offenders before the Crown Courts, even for violent robberies. In exceptional cases, this could be reduced to 4-5 months. This was not satisfactory in present circumstances. Sentences needed to be administered quickly if their impact was not to be lost. The magistrates sitting in special session were doing well, but some of those arrested in the recent riots, and especially the fire bombers, should be brought to early trial in the Crown Courts.

(b) The police also called for greater freedom to arrest those involved in the riots, and possibly special powers to deal with juvenile offenders. The Commissioner felt that powers of arrest such as those in the Riot Act could be appropriate: warning of a state of riot could be announced by loud hailer, and special arrangements could be made to ensure that a magistrate was always on call. At present it was extremely difficult to make arrests, given the speed with which the rioters dispersed.

(c) The Metropolitan Police would welcome early action on certain items of equipment. These are listed in the annex to this letter. The Prime Minister said that she would give her full support to the procurement of this equipment.

(d) The police stressed the need for co-operation from local government and local education authorities. Their schools programme, which involved the briefing of pupils by local police, had run up against opposition in some boroughs.

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(e) The reasons for the riots were many and varied. In the case of Brixton, the police felt that the motive was generally criminal, and that the riots usually took the form of looting. In Southall, the problem was different because of the large Asian community. The Prime Minister said that her meeting with community leaders in Southall had given her the impression that there was an Asian "ghetto" in Southall. One of the community leaders had referred to Mrs Gandhi as having made a telephone call to her "Indian subjects" in Southall. The police felt that in general the riots were not being orchestrated by subversive forces. The build-up of publicity had however contributed to the spread of the riots throughout the country and in some cases, precautionary measures, such as the boarding up of shop windows, had invited trouble, and built up hysteria. There was no hard evidence, even in Liverpool and Toxteth, that agitators had been at work. The police were producing a computerised breakdown of those arrested. At the Prime Minister's request, they agreed to include information on whether or not those arrested were employed in this breakdown.

(f) The Commissioner expressed his concern about security arrangements for the Royal Wedding, and especially for the firework display to be held in Hyde Park. The arrangements by which foreign dignitaries would be watching the fireworks from a stand without any cover were especially worrying. He had raised this with H.M. The Queen, but felt that there was a case for reviewing the situation in the light of recent events.

On Sunday morning, the Prime Minister telephoned the Home Secretary to report on her visits. She emphasised the need for early action on equipment for the police and the need to bring some of the rioters before the Crown Courts without delay. The Home Secretary outlined the action already in hand on equipment, and mentioned the possible danger that those brought before the Crown Courts might be acquitted as had happened following the St. Pauls riots in Bristol.

The Prime Minister concluded by saying that she hoped her visit had helped to get across to the police how impressed the Government were with their handling of the situation, and the Government's thanks for their dedication and hard work.

I am copying this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Peter Shaw (Department of Education and Science), John Wiggins (HM Treasury), Michael Collon (Lord Chancellor's Office) and Jim Nursaw (Law Officers' Department).

gms
Wilkie Rickett

Colin Walters, Esq.,
Home Office.

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ANNEX

Police Equipment

The Commissioner outlined the needs of the police as follows:

1. Riot shields: the police needed not only riot shields, but a greater variety to deal with different circumstances.
2. Protected vehicles: these would largely take the form of adapted long wheel base landrovers. The Metropolitan Police had sent two officers to Hong Kong, and one to Belfast, to study the protected vehicles used there.
3. Personal fire extinguishers: the distribution of fire extinguishers to the Metropolitan forces following the recent fire bombing had greatly improved morale.
4. Personnel carriers: the Commissioner reported that the Home Secretary had authorised the purchase of 24 diesel transit vans. He hoped that these would be delivered within the next fortnight.
5. CS gas: gas was indiscriminate in its effects, and the Commissioner felt that it should only be used as a last resort. But he agreed that it would be useful if the police could say that they had sufficient supplies available.
6. Truncheons: the Commissioner said that, in his view, the police needed longer truncheons than the standard issue.
7. Rubber bullets (baton round): the Commissioner said that his remarks on CS gas applied equally well to baton round. He agreed with the Prime Minister that it would be useful for the police to have sufficient stocks available.
8. Water cannon: the Commissioner reported that he would be attending a demonstration of water cannon at Cobham on Monday and Tuesday. After some discussion, the Prime Minister said that she felt a minimum of six water cannon should be made available to the police. If possible these should be purchased from British sources. The possibility of using tracked vehicles, which might be more difficult to overturn, should be explored.
9. Fire resistant clothing: the police said they were studying various different types of fire resistant clothing, as well as treatments for fire proofing standard issue clothing.
10. Protective head gear: the police were extremely grateful for the protective head gear that the Ministry of Defence had made available. One problem was that the visors on the helmets supplied provided little protection against incendiary liquids such as burning petrol.
11. Clearance vehicles: the police had been considering the procurement of vehicles specially equipped to remove barricades etc. They did not consider these to be a high priority.
12. Helicopter equipped with Television Surveillance Cameras ("Heli-Telly"): the Commissioner said that an additional "Heli-Telly" would be extremely useful, though he recognised the opposition this would provoke from civil liberties groups and others.

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Cabinet office
MOD

cc Master Set

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 July 1981

Dear Colin

As you know, the Home Secretary telephoned the Prime Minister twice on Saturday morning, 11 July. He reported on his visits to Manchester and Liverpool. He said that the riots on Moss Side had been quite different from those in Liverpool. They had taken the form of looting and hooliganism, rather than confrontation with the police. Relations between the local authority and the Chief Constable were now good, as were relations between the Moss Side community and the police. On the first night of troubles in Moss Side, the community leaders had told the police that they could handle the situation. The police had been asked to keep out of the area. This had been a complete failure, and the community leaders had admitted as much to the Chief Constable. The next night the police had saturated the area, and there had been relatively little trouble. This showed the need for decisiveness on the part of the police. The protective helmets provided by the Ministry of Defence had been a tremendous help, and had improved police morale.

The Home Secretary said that there was now widespread anxiety in London about civil unrest. Shops, and other properties, were being boarded up across the city. It was essential to get across the message that the police had the situation under control. The Commissioner was confident that the police could handle the situation. It was not confrontation with the police that was the problem, it was the effect on the retail and tourist trades of looting and hooliganism that were most serious. The police had received much help from ethnic community leaders, but there was little that these leaders could do to control the situation.

The Home Secretary and the Prime Minister agreed that some positive measures should be taken which could be announced in the debate on Thursday, if not before. The top priorities, which the Home Secretary undertook to discuss with the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney General and Sir David McNee, were:

- (a) to ensure that the police had sufficiently flexible powers of arrest, and that offenders were brought to early trial before the Crown Courts. Emergency legislation could not be ruled out. The use of army camps to hold offenders on remand should be considered, given the overcrowding of the prisons;
- (b) to ensure that the police had the necessary equipment available. The police should be enabled to threaten the use of water cannon, for instance, even if it was unlikely to be used in practice. The Home Secretary described the action already in hand on this.

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/The Police

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- 2 -

The police were being given a demonstration of water cannon this week. The Ministry of Defence had already made available protective helmets. The possibility of acquiring supplies of baton rounds for the police in the U.K. should be considered. The use of troops could not be contemplated: if necessary, the police should be properly equipped, and even armed, before such a step was taken. (You will by now have seen my record of the Prime Minister's discussions with Sir David McNee of the types of equipment that the police considered necessary.)

The Home Secretary said that in addition he would obtain a breakdown of those arrested, including information on whether or not they were employed. Some of those involved in the riots were young juveniles, and special powers might be needed to deal with these offenders. The Home Secretary and the Prime Minister did not rule out the possibility of including provisions on this in any emergency legislation that was introduced.

In his second call, the Home Secretary reported a conversation that he had had with Sir David McNee. Sir David confirmed that the riots had changed in character: they now took the form of looting and hooliganism, rather than confrontation with the police. The "hit and run" tactics of the rioters meant that arrests became more difficult. The Commissioner intended to saturate the Metropolitan area with police that night. Every Commander was under instructions to give full reports of every incident and their causes. Morale in the Metropolitan Force was good, and had been helped by the issue of protective helmets and fire extinguishers. Injuries to the police were now much lower than in the earlier riots, partly because of the change in tactics. This message should be got across to the press. The Commissioner would be going to Southall to investigate the incidents on Friday night. The Home Secretary said that he would be holding a press conference to put across the true facts since the media had been putting out a lot of inaccurate information. The Prime Minister then said that she would like to call in on New Scotland Yard, to see how operations were handled, and to go out and see the handling of the riots on the ground, perhaps in Brixton. The Home Secretary welcomed the idea of a visit to Scotland Yard, but advised against a tour of the riot area on security grounds. I have recorded the main points arising out of the Prime Minister's visit to New Scotland Yard and Brixton separately.

At 1800 hours on Saturday evening, the Solicitor General telephoned the Prime Minister to report on his visit to Toxteth. He had spent 12 hours with the local police, and had toured the Toxteth "triangle". He reported that there had been considerable damage to property. But the cause had not been inner city deprivation; the Toxteth housing estates were of high quality; resentment that the immigrant communities had been given such quality housing was perhaps partly to blame. Morale in the local police was high, and had been helped by the provision of new equipment. The Solicitor General had told the police that they had the full support of the Government, and had conveyed to them the Prime Minister's personal thanks. The Solicitor General confirmed that the main riot on Sunday night, 5 July, had been a confrontation with the police,

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whereas the riots on the following night had taken the form of looting. There has been no demonstrations against the police since then, and relations between the coloured community and the police were good. There was some evidence that political agitators had been present during the riots. The area was now relatively quiet, and the clearing up operation was making good progress.

The Solicitor General then reported that the Chief Constable favoured the introduction of powers of arrest on the lines of those in the Riot Act. These would be triggered by an announcement of a state of riot by the Chief Constable accompanied by a magistrate, or if necessary by the Chief Constable acting on his own. The area in question could then be cordoned off, which would ensure that those trying to enter the area after the declaration of the state of riot were not arrested. The Prime Minister said that if such powers were to be introduced, quick legislation would be needed: there was a strong case for action before the Royal Wedding.

I am copying this to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Jim Nursaw (Law Officers' Department), Michael Collon (Lord Chancellor's Office), & John Wiggins (HM Treasury).

yaws

Wilkie Rickett

C.J. Walters, Esq.,
Home Office.

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cc Master

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 July 1981

Dear Andrew

As you know, the Prime Minister held a meeting with community leaders from Southall at 1230 on Friday, 10 July in the Caernarvon Hotel, Ealing. A list of those present is attached.

Mr. Jones (Community Relations Council) opened by saying that, in the aftermath of the recent civil unrest, the Government had a duty to give a moral lead, and to mend public attitudes to ethnic communities. He hoped the Prime Minister would re-affirm the Government's commitment to a multi-racial society. He welcomed the Home Secretary's recent statements, and asked the Prime Minister to support Mr. Whitelaw's views in a statement to Parliament. The reports of the Prime Minister's remarks on immigration made in India still rankled with the Asian community in Southall. He wanted to impress on her that immigrant communities were not a threat to law and order. The activities of right wing groups such as the Tory Action Group, who advocated the repatriation of all immigrants, made the Asian community in Southall feel extremely insecure. Southall had particular problems. It was among the boroughs with the highest unemployment in the Greater London area, and he was convinced that there were many unemployed people in the borough who were not registered as such. Housing was also a problem, and the borough had two of the most over-crowded wards in the GLC. He did not feel the local authority's housing policies would do anything to alleviate this problem. He felt the community in Southall was stable and cohesive, but these problems were becoming increasingly serious. Relations between the local authority and the Community Relations Council were not good. The local authority had refused a grant of £22,000 to the Council for administrative services. This made it difficult for the CRC to administer the £300,000 grant it had available from the MSC. He felt that the Police in Southall were not above criticism, but overall the CRC had good relations with the Police.

Mr. Sharma said that he would welcome a statement from the Prime Minister condemning the activities of extremist groups, and in particular the activities of the fascists. There were pubs in Southall where Nazi songs were performed. This enraged the Asian community. The community genuinely felt that they were the victims of discrimination. The Arts Council, for instance, appeared extremely reluctant to promote artistic activities in ethnic communities. He felt that most Asians in Southall felt that they were citizens of the UK, and not immigrants. They had no homeland

/to which they

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to which they could be repatriated. He too expressed his support for the local Police. If there had been criticism of the Police in the aftermath to the recent riots, this had only been because the Asian community had suddenly felt unprotected. He recognised that this might have been because the Police had simply been out-numbered. He said that he had been asked to convey two particular messages. First, that to prosecute too vigorously the Asians who had defended themselves against the skinheads in the recent riot would play into the hands of left wing extremists, who were already trying to make political capital out of the riots. Second, he understood that the Prime Minister of India was not coming to the Royal Wedding. There were fears that this would be presented as a response to the recent riots, and that pressure would be put on the President of India to refuse his invitation as well. Indeed, he feared that the President was subject to such pressures already.

Mr. Toor said he welcomed the Prime Minister's initiative in calling a meeting of community leaders. He had lived in Southall for 25 years, and felt that the Asian community saw the UK as their homeland. He felt, however, that too little was done for community relations in the area. The busing of Asian children in Southall had only been stopped two years ago. There were insufficient recreational facilities for young people in the borough. The Community Relations Council, which had been among the first to be set up back in 1965, needed more funds. His Association had been trying to convert the "Dominion" cinema into a recreation centre with little success. A planning application was currently with the Department of the Environment and the Home Office. As for extremist groups, he felt that the Public Order Act should be amended to outlaw all expressions of racialism. As Mr. Jones explained, a document calling for such an amendment to the Act had been sent to Mr. Bidwell, M.P., and Mr. Toor hoped the Government would support this proposal. He also felt that more power should be given to the Commission for Racial Equality to investigate racialist activities. On the question of relations with the Police Mr. Toor said that he shared the views of Mr. Jones and Mr. Sharma. He felt that the Police should place recruiting advertisements in local community papers. Only in this way would they be able to recruit from ethnic communities. He said that he could not believe Mr. Sharma's statement that links were being made between the Southall riots and the attendance of the Indian Prime Minister and President at the Royal Wedding, though he did acknowledge that Mrs. Gandhi had spoken to Indian community leaders on the telephone, asking after "her subjects".

Mr. Juj repeated Mr. Toor's remarks about the lack of recreational facilities for young people in the borough. He said that he ran a youth club, which had been started in 1964. The local authority was now charging his club for the use of school halls, and this was putting the club's future in danger. He had also been having considerable difficulty in finding facilities to hold a "Sikh Temple Tournament" which would largely comprise football matches and Indian wrestling tournaments. He supported the others in condemning the activities of extremist groups, and said that the extreme left had started a vigorous recruitment campaign in the aftermath of the riots.

/Mr. Greenway said

Mr. Greenway said that unemployment in Acton had fallen in the last year. There were more manufacturing jobs in Ealing than in any other London borough. There were many cinemas in the borough, and over 400 soccer teams, many of them multi-racial. Sir George Young added that there were many schools which should be ready to make facilities available for youth recreation. The hospitals in the borough could also make their grounds available. He did not feel that the relations between the Ealing Community Relations Council and the local authority were as bad as Mr. Jones portrayed. The local authority had tried to tackle the housing problems Mr. Jones had mentioned, and had set up a housing action area.

The Prime Minister said that she was very grateful to the community leaders for expressing opinions so frankly. She proposed that the press should be told that the meeting had been very useful, and that she now understood what the community leaders felt to be the sensitive problems in Southall. She would go on to say that no criticism had been made of the Police at the meeting, and that, on the contrary, all the community leaders felt that they had good relations with the Police, who did their best to understand the community in which they worked. She would be happy to say to the press that the activities of extremist groups, and specifically those on the right wing, must be condemned. She would conclude by saying that the meeting had been specifically to discuss the problems of Ealing and Southall, and that problems in Liverpool were quite a different matter, and had not been touched upon. The community leaders all agreed that this was a fair and accurate representation of what had been said.

I am copying this letter to David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Miss Doran (Sir George Young's Office, Department of Health and Social Security) and to Chris Eagles (Department of Education and Science).

*Yours
Willie Rickett*

Andrew P. Jackson, Esq.,
Home Office.

LIST OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH
COMMUNITY LEADERS FROM SOUTHALL ON FRIDAY 10 JULY 1981

Peter Jones - Chairman, Ealing Community Relations Council

Mr. Toor - Secretary, Indian Workers Association

Mr. Kapil Juj - Southall Youth Movement

Mr. Madhab Sharma - National Association of Asian Youth

Sir George Young M.P.

Mr. Harry Greenway M.P.



Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Whitehall Place London SW1A 2HH

From the Minister's Private Office

Clive Whitmore Esq
Principal Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
London SW1

10 July 1981

Dear Clive,

You mentioned to me this morning that the Prime Minister planned to go to Liverpool and you sought advice on the possibility of a visit to a food firm there, Bibbys.

As I told you, Bibbys is known to us as a large agricultural supply company, involved in compound feed, as agricultural merchants, in seeds and in milling. Their wide interests include a large turkey company, Twydale Turkeys, whose Managing Director, Mr Twiddle, is Chairman of the British Turkey Federation. Whilst the question of cheap turkey imports from France is likely to be raised with the Prime Minister, we see no reason why a visit to Bibbys should not be included in the programme.

--- I enclose a brief note on the company and on the turkey import question.

Yours ever

Gereth H. Steel

G STEEL
Assistant Private Secretary

BIBBY (J) & SONS, LIMITED
J. Bibby & Sons, Limited

Office: Richmond House, 1 Rumford Pl, Liverpool L3 9QQ. Telephone: 051-227 125. Telex: 627411.

Registrars: see list at end of volume.

Directors: L.C.Young (Chairman), J.R.M.Rocke (Vice-Chairman), J.B.Bibby, N.G.Price, K.A.Allan, B.A.Jones, R.L.Frankel, G.Antigievich, C.L.Bibby. †A.G.Thompson, †J.P.Wood, T.Tait. Secretary: S.W.Bowman FCIS. (†Managing.) Joint auditors: Deloitte Haskins & Sells; Edward Denton & Son. Solicitors: Dodds, Ashcroft. Bankers: National Westminster Bank Ld; Grindlays Bank Ld; Midland Bank Ld; Société Générale.

Registered as private company 12 Aug 1914; converted into public company 8 Mar 1951. Now a management company; for list of UK subsidiaries see end of volume.

The group are producers of animal feeds and agricultural seeds, edible oils and fats, turkeys, and hospital laboratory disposables.

In Jan 1980 acquired outstanding 60% capital of Sterilin Ld not already held for shares & loan stock.

CAPITAL Authorised £15,750,000. Issued £14,791,369, viz £12,791,369 ordinary in shares of 50p and £2,000,000 6% cumulative preference in shares of £1, fully paid; 30% of ordinary owned by Tiger Oats & National Milling Co Ld; unissued capital is ordinary in shares of 50p.

Preference shares are entitled, on a winding-up or other return of assets, to whichever is the greater of (a) a sum equal to the average of the means of the daily quotations of the shares on the Stock Exchange, London during the preceding 6 months, after deducting from each daily mean an amount equal to arrears and accruals of dividend (less tax), or (b) the paid-up amount of the shares.

Ordinary and 6% preference shares are officially listed.

Recent capital history: In Apr 1966 the 500,000 unissued preference shares (of £) were converted into ordinary shares (of £). In 1968 the capital was increased from £6,500,000 to £10,000,000, in Apr 1969 to £12,500,000 and in Aug 1979 (1) the capital was increased to £15,750,000 (by ordinary) (2) the ordinary shares were subdivided from £1 to 50p.

Capitalisation of reserves: recent distribution on ordinary capital - during 1968, £4,047,123 ordinary (1 for 1) in Mar; 1979, £4,097,123 ordinary (1 ordinary of 50p for 1 ordinary of £1) in Aug, ranking for dividend for final for 1979.

Voting: 1 vote per share of either class, but preference shareholders vote only in certain circumstances.

LOAN CAPITAL Debenture stock 1966-81. Issued £2,700,000 (£1,250,000 at 4¾% and £1,450,000 at 5¾%). Outstanding at 29 Dec 1979 £596,000 (£257,000 at 4¾% and £339,000 at 5¾%). The 4¾% stock was issued in Mar 1951 at par and the 5¾% stock privately in Jun 1952 at 99%. Secured by trust deed of 1 Apr 1969 (which consolidated the deed of 17 Apr 1951 and 2 supplemental deeds) and 5 supplemental deeds (to Royal Exchange Assurance) as a first floating charge on the undertaking, property and assets of company and 30 subsidiaries.

Redeemable:

(1) at par on 31 Dec 1981

(2) earlier, all or part (by drawings) on 3 months' notice from company at any time after 30 Dec 1966 - at 102½% up to 31 Dec 1970, at 102% thereafter up to 31 Dec 1975 and at 101% thereafter or

(3) at 103% in event of voluntary liquidation before 31 Dec 1966, thereafter at prices mentioned above.

Annual cumulative sinking fund at 1¼% began in 1957.

Interest (at 4% and 5% up to 31 Mar 1969 and 4¾% and 5¼% thereafter to 21 Mar 1974) 30 Jun, 31 Dec. Both classes are officially listed.

10¼% debenture stock 1994-99. Issued £2,500,000. Outstanding at 29 Dec 1979 £2,086,000. Issued privately in Apr 1969 at par. Secured in same manner and ranks pari passu with the 4¾% and 5¾% stocks above.

Redeemable:

(1) at par (a) on 31 Dec 1999 or (b) earlier, all or part (by drawings or, at company's option, pro rata) at any time on or after 31 Dec 1994 on 3 months' notice from company or

(2) by purchase in the market or by tender at any price or by private treaty at or under 110%

£50,000 pa is applied in redemption of the stock at par (began in year ended 31 Dec 1974).

Interest (at 9¾% up to 21 Mar 1974) 30 Jun, 31 Dec. Officially listed.

ACCOUNTS AND DIVIDENDS Accounts to end Dec submitted in May; interim report issued in Aug; preference divided 30 Jun, 31 Dec. Recent ordinary dividends (% net from 1972 final) - for 1964 to 1966, 7¾; 1967, 9; 1968, 4.65½; 1969, 5¼; 1970, 1; 1971, 6; 1972, 1¾ interim & 3.185 final; 1973, 4.492; 1974, 4.986; 1975, 5.321; 1976, 5.9123; 1977, 6.5985; 1978, 9.732; 1979, 6 interim (in Oct 1979) & 8.5½ final (in May 1980); 1980 interim, 4.4 actual (in Oct 1980).

§ As to capitalisation of reserves see above.

Consolidated balance-sheet at 29 Dec 1979 (£000)

ASSETS: Fixed assets 28,886; other assets 2,555; premium on acquisitions 2,083; current assets 43,476.

LIABILITIES: Capital 14,291; reserves 32,370; minority interests 9; loans 4,682; investment grants 1,910; current liabilities 23,738.

TRANSFERS ETC Normal arrangements. Stock transferable in multiples of £1. Number of holders in any individual account limited to 4.

BRIEF FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

J BIBBY & SONS LTD

The Bibby Group of Companies is a multi-million pound public company manufacturing and distributing a diverse range of goods, including animal feeds and agricultural seeds, edible oils and fats, turkeys, hospital laboratory disposables and paper products. The Company also manufactures and packs soap and instant mashed potato products. The Group also includes Twydale Turkeys Ltd which breeds and rears turkeys in North Humberside.

The principal activities of J Bibby Edible Oils Ltd (Liverpool) which is a major company within the industrial group, are oilseed extraction and edible oil refining. As well as supplying food oil to refinery and oilseed meals to the Feed and Seeds Division, the Oilseed Extraction Section sells to other refiners and feed manufacturers.

The Refinery Section supplies a significant proportion of the UK market for refined edible oils which are sold in bulk to large food manufacturers as frying oils and as shortenings to bakers and caterers and packed for retail sale under distributors' own labels.

Registered as a private company in 1914 it converted into a public company in 1951 and in January 1980 acquired outstanding 60% capital of Sterilin Ltd. Authorised capital £15,750,000.

Bibby's main areas of concern include continental competition and unfair competition from developing countries. They are likely to be concerned about the possibility of a vegetable oil tax within the European Community, which they believe would worsen their situation by reducing demand. Such a proposal has not yet been formally put forward by the Commission although it has been floated in the context of enlargement. The UK Government would be strongly opposed to any such measure.

SECRET



copy to ADugwa
10 July 1981
*Top Copy on
Regional Policy July 79
Inner Cities Policy + Problems*

Prime Minister

MERSEYSIDE AND INNER CITY ISSUES

1. Following our meeting on Wednesday, and the discussion in Cabinet yesterday, I have been considering appropriate ways of responding to events in Liverpool and elsewhere. This minute sets out my proposals on steps that we could take now.
2. First, we are all conscious of the apparently conflicting priorities through which we have to steer. These include:
 - the need as a Government to show proper evidence of our real concern without raising expensive and largely unfulfillable expectations;
 - the need to back the maintenance of law and order, without giving the impression that this is the only issue involved;
 - the need to deal with the particularly acute problems of Merseyside without raising demands elsewhere - and particularly without giving the impression that local communities can secure for their areas expenditure with riots;
 - the translation of the desire of colleagues to see greater co-ordination of programmes and expenditure in a way which would avoid the conflicts arising from the vested interests of the existing spending priorities of Whitehall.
3. It happens that the coincidence of a number of events affecting Merseyside may offer us a way through. I am Chairmain of the Partnership Committee on which sit representatives of the District and City Councils. I have this week seen the Leaders of Merseyside and Liverpool. Both have asked for our help with the current difficulties. Already:
 - Parliament has in the last 2 days approved land vesting orders relating to the UDC. The Corporation can now start work: you had a note earlier today on the UDC's powers and present plans;
 - the Enterprise Zone in Speke is expected to be operative by the end of July;
 - the team of private and public sector advisers I appointed to

look at each of the 143 sites of unused or underused land in public ownership of over an acre in size in Liverpool have today provided me with their first appraisal, site-by-site. We estimate - on a broad brush basis - that £10 million may be required within the city to put each site into economic use, for commercial or housing development, or to convert it into a community asset - such as a playing field.

4. This combination of factors means that I would, in any event, be deeply involved in Merseyside. But I could now, and so propose, significantly increase the urgency with which Merseyside's problems are dealt with by convening an immediate meeting of the Partnership Committee in Liverpool. I would then propose to spend much of the immediate future operating with the local authorities and the UDC, but based in Liverpool, not London.

5. I would devote that time - say 2 weeks - overtly to dealing with the urgent issues that have been raised with us and the opportunities that exist. But in the process I would need to consult widely locally. This would enable me to provide for you a further report on the wider issues of a co-ordinated approach to our policies. This would be quite private to you and Ministerial colleagues and thus avoid the impression that a "great new initiative" was coming. Perhaps it will, but I feel that we must give no hint of this until we have thought through all the implications, and looked hard at co-ordinating means. Whilst in Annex A you will see the scale of central government support you will readily appreciate that the preparation of such a list - in itself I understand an unprecedented event! - is a long way from persuading any one colleague to surrender a part of his spending in favour of another.

6. My firm view is that a serious reappraisal of resources would be achieved - if desired - only by a collective decision arising from a committee chaired either by you or a very senior colleague, such as the Home Secretary or the Chancellor of the Duchy. Any other co-ordination, in real terms, could simply be an endless squabble. But all of this would, if you agree, be for consideration on the report (and any subsequent work) I would put forward to you and colleagues on the wider Merseyside dimension.

7. There is a real problem of heightening expectations to unreal

levels, and a proposal for a Minister to spend 2 weeks in Liverpool would clearly lead to intense speculation. There are ready explanations of my presence in my capacity as Partnership Chairman, and as the Minister to whom the UDC is responsible, though I would need to give too a frank explanation of the immediate relationship with recent events.

8. There is no point in thinking for one moment that the exercise would be anything other than a disaster if I was not empowered to take real decisions on my own area of responsibility whilst I am there. Nor can those decisions only be implemented by compensating cuts in existing programmes. I could not advise you to expose a Minister to the inevitable hostility that this would produce.

9. Merseyside does face a different scale of problem in physical terms which only effective capital spending can solve. We have recognised this in the special programmes which already exist. As I have told you, however, it is my view that we need to build up additional capital programmes immediately, perhaps to the extent of an extra £100 million of capital spending by 1983.

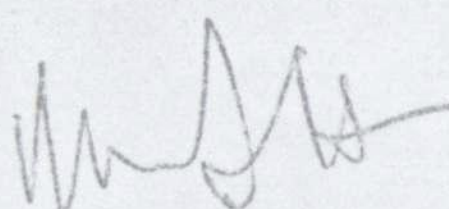
10. I see these programmes as essentially designed to create conditions so that private sector resources can be utilised, and quickly. These would include schemes for bringing into use the derelict sites noted above. We would increase the urban programme - much of which will go into industrial development. There would be environmental and housing improvement.

11. But this should not be seen solely as a public sector venture. There are some very good private sector concerns in Merseyside. My first task would be to pull in the private sector on the widest possible scale. I should promote local enterprise trusts on the lines of the highly successful example of St Helens; we would provide the financial support, local business the personnel. We would attempt to bring in the institutions wherever possible, on the lines of the American social responsibility fund. The building societies would be asked to promote assured tenancy schemes - I understand that the Abbey National is already talking to the UDC. I would build on our existing good relationships with private sector builders.

12. But this has to be backed by public sector resources to do land clearance and reclamation and necessary infrastructure, and for the environmental and housing improvement which can only be done in the public sector.

13. If you agree, we can begin to set this up immediately. I would then report back to colleagues after 2 weeks on the wider issues. You may like to consider whether a member of your staff - perhaps David Wolfson or John Hoskyns - should join me in Liverpool: I realise that I would need to rely very much on your personal support.

14. I am copying this only to Robert Armstrong and Robin Ibbs, who also attended your meeting on Tuesday.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'MH', written in a cursive style.

MH

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE IN MERSEYSIDE 1981/82

	<u>£M</u>	FORM OF EXPENDITURE
1. <u>Department of Industry, regional policies:</u>		
(a) Regional development grants paid in SDA (not identical to County Council area) in 1980/81 totalled £80m capital. Outturn for 1981/82 expected to be slightly lower, say,	75	cash grant
(b) Selective financial assistance under Sections 7 and 8 of Industry Act, accepted grant offers, capital; together with office and service industry incentive scheme (OSIS), offers outstanding, capital, for 1981/82 say,	7	cash grant
(c) Advance factory programme through EIEC, capital budget for SDA	10	capital budget
2. <u>Department of Employment, MSC</u>		
Budgeted expenditure, capital and current, for youth opportunity programme, community enterprise programme, community industry, temporary short-time working compensation scheme and job release	61	capital & current budget
3. <u>Department of the Environment</u>		
(a) Urban programme: Liverpool Partnership, Wirral programme authority, budgeted expenditure, mainly capital	21	mainly capital budget, 75% grant aided
(b) Merseyside Development Corporation, budgeted expenditure very largely capital	17	capital budget, mostly grant aided
(c) New Towns: Skelmersdale and Runcorn, not in Merseyside County area, gross capital budget	18	capital budget
(d) Water and sewerage: Water Authority's capital budget for Merseyside, includes additional £5M allocated for this year	16	capital budget
(e) Housing Corporation, expected capital spend in Merseyside say,	30	capital budget
4. <u>Department of Transport</u>		
Special aid to Port of Liverpool under Ports (Financial Assistance) Act 1981. Actual spend depends upon Ministerial decisions, assistance to date	14	cash grant repayable

	<u>£M</u>
5. <u>DHSS</u> Regional Health Authority, capital budget	19 capital budget
6. <u>Local Authorities' capital programmes</u> Total covers capital allocations plus expected capital receipts for Merseyside County, Liverpool, Sefton, Wirral, St Helens, Knowsley Districts, covering housing, transport, education, personal social services, other services	116 capital budget
TOTAL, say,	400

OTHER CURRENT EXPENDITURE

1. DHSS Supplementary Benefit, unemployment pay	£200-£250
2. Local authorities of which rate support grant £361 m	£665

This does not include nationalised industry, defence or PSA spend.
There may yet be further undetected pockets of expenditure



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

10 July 1981

Mr Clive

As you requested yesterday evening I attach short briefing notes on the Merseyside UDC, and the Enterprise Zone at Speke. Given the shortage of time, these have been prepared by the Private Office: I have no reason to doubt our accuracy!

for you
D A Edmonds

D A EDMONDS
Private Secretary

Clive Whitmore - No 10

MERSEYSIDE URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

1. The UDC was established on 25 March 1981. The Board, appointed by the Secretary of State for the Environment, is:

Chairman: Leslie Young (Chairman of Bibbys)

Deputy-

Chairman: Sir K Thompson (Merseyside CC)

Sir T Jones (Leader of Liverpool City Council)

Councillor Glover (Sefton MBC)

Councillor Hale (Wirral MBC)

Mr Carter (Managing Director, Littlewoods)

Professor Ashworth (Prof of Urban Studies, Salford University)

Dr Boaden (Dean of Social Studies, Liverpool University)

John Leighton-Boyce (Deputy Chairman, Pilkingtons)

2. The powers of the UDC are set out in Part XVI of the Local Government Act 1980. They are extensive. The Secretary of State can designate "if it is expedient in the national interest" any area of metropolitan land as a UDC area. The object of the UDC is to secure urban regeneration. It may acquire land, instal main services such as water, gas and electricity, and carry on businesses. It can build industrial, commercial and housing premises. It has full planning and building control powers in the defined urban development area.

3. The Merseyside UDC covers about 900 acres of mainly derelict or rundown dockland on both sides of the river in Liverpool, Sefton and Wirral. The aim is to bring that land back into economic use on the shortest possible timescale. The Board - already operating from offices in central Liverpool with a staff rising to 50 in August, led by a Chief Executive with experience of new town development - is being backed with £17 millions of government finance in 1981/82. The Secretary of State for the Environment sees the Board Chairman often, and met the whole Board in Liverpool 2 weeks ago.

4. Much of the budget in 1981/82 will be devoted to land acquisition and clearance, as an essential precursor to economic development. 508 acres of mainly public sector land are about to be vested in the Board (the Orders are before the House of Commons today, 9 July). This land is

*The Orders were approved in the Commons and go to the Lords on 10 July.

mainly discarded and derelict dock and railway land. A series of tasks will be undertaken to get the land, quickly, into active use: filling of docks, repair of lock gates, refurbishing buildings, clearance of derelict buildings, and road and environmental improvement. The immediate aim is to create sites which are attractive to private investors - especially small businesses. There is demand for advance factories. Jobs will be created in the clearance/rehabilitation work, as well as in the businesses which will locate in the UDC area. There will be early opportunity too for private sector residential development.

5. The UDC is working closely with the City Council, local business, and trade unions: it is willing to undertake work in conjunction with the City wherever this is possible. It has prepared an initial development strategy. The Board will remain too in very close contact with the Secretary of State for the Environment, who has emphasised the need for maximising private sector investment on the shortest possible timescale.

DOE

9 July 1981

REVIVING the riot-torn centre of Liverpool

Ruys David on a land redevelopment plan

PLANS to devote large areas of land for industrial, leisure and residential development close to the river... centre of Liverpool were unveiled yesterday by the Merseyside Development Corporation. The body was established earlier this year by the Government to revive the city's redundant dockland.

The corporation—sister to a similar organisation covering London docks—will, subject to parliamentary approval, acquire ownership on Saturday of 500 acres of land, mostly on the Liverpool side of the Mersey. It says it has almost 50 schemes already identified and waiting to be started.

A total of £17m has been voted to the corporation for the current year, a large part of which seems likely to go on land acquisition. An application for bigger funding next year was made recently.

The corporation is expected to act mainly as a pump primer, improving the dockside, infrastructure and attracting private capital to embark on development schemes.

The difficulties of the river are likely to have been exacerbated by the events of the past week, says Mr Leslie Young, chairman of the Corporation and also of one of Merseyside's biggest companies, the Bibby Group. "They make it that much more important, however, that we succeed," he added.

The plans unveiled by Mr Basil Bean, the corporation's chief executive, cover three main dockside areas, Bootle, Wirral and Liverpool's South docks. He promised a visual impact as well as a modest alleviation of the unemployment in the area within 18 months.

Bootle is close to the Royal Seaforth terminal where the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company is concentrating most of its activities. Efforts will be made in the area to market plans for port-related industry but if these fail, other developments will be invited. On the opposite Wirral bank of the river the corporation is planning to undertake a programme

of land reclamation, releasing land for industrial, commercial, recreational and residential development.

The most important contribution will be the opening up of Liverpool's now disused South Docks for a variety of uses. The land stretching for several miles along the Mersey south from the Pierhead had been effectively shut off from the rest of the city by dock operations, all of which have been transferred further down river.

The corporation's plan, coupled with road developments in the area, would extend the boundary of the city to the river front, it is hoped, and create new amenities for local people including those in the neighbouring Toxteth area.

The plans include the restoration of deep water for some of the bigger docks, enabling visiting naval and other vessels to be accommodated again. The work will involve the rebuilding of some docks.

Shallow water will be withdrawn in some of the other docks—all of which are badly silted up—so that they can be used for pleasure purposes. Buildings in the area will be refurbished where possible, and some converted to residential accommodation.

New factory accommodation will also be provided. Part of the area will be reserved as open space. A river slipway made is to be built.

The corporation was created by the Government to break the stalemate over land development in Liverpool—where thousands of acres are owned by public bodies such as the Docks Company and British Rail. The Port of Liverpool is under obligation to use the proceeds of land sales to pay off debenture holders who lost money when the previous port authority went bankrupt 10 years ago.

As a result, it has been reluctant to release land at

depressed prices. The district value will now decide, however, the payment it should receive for transferring land to the corporation. Apart from the 500 acres which the corporation is acquiring, this weekend, the designated area covers a further 365 acres, some of which is the subject of negotiations between the port and other possible buyers.

The corporation's success is likely to depend on the enthusiasm with which private sector developers respond to the infrastructure improvements it will be making. It faces strong competition from the new towns in marketing its sites but, Mr Bean said, he was confident the riverside was an asset which would prove very attractive.

Work on some of the schemes is starting immediately. The overall programme is expected to take about eight years. The £17m made available to the corporation—mainly in grants and loans—is on top of a similar sum which the Government is providing this year to the Liverpool inner city partnership for schemes in areas like Toxteth.

FT 10/2/81

SPEKE ENTERPRISE ZONE

1. Speke is one of the 11 sites in the UK which are to become enterprise zones. The area of the Speke Zone covers 340 acres, comprising 2 large vacant factories (formerly BL and Dunlop), a small English Estates estate, and part of Speke airport. Speke is about 4 miles from the centre of Liverpool.
2. The powers to create EZs are contained in section 179 and schedule 32 of the Local Government Act 1980. There has been delay in getting the Zone going because of the statutory procedures which are necessary before EZs can be set up. The process started a year ago with a formal invitation from the Secretary of State to the prospective enterprise zone authority (EZA - Liverpool) to prepare a scheme, which would set out the planning regime which the authority would agree to. In the case of Speke there were lengthy informal discussions before this outline was agreed and the precise boundary of the zone was fixed. (For later zones the processes have been expedited.)
3. The EZA has now published a draft scheme and has considered public comment on it. Although there is ~~still~~ ^{slight} some/risk of legal challenge, the Secretary of State now proposes to lay the designation order establishing the Speke EZ area at the end of this month and the Zone will then come into operation.
4. The EZ benefits are (for a 10 year period):
 - i. exemption from DLT
 - ii. 100% capital allowances for commercial and industrial building
 - iii. exemption from rates on commercial and industrial property
 - iv. simplified planning control
 - v. freedom from IDC controls
 - vi. exemption from the industrial training levy
 - vii. reduction in government statistical enquiries
 - viii. speedy decisions on any remaining controls.
5. The airport land in the site will not be available until some infrastructure works have been completed.
6. The BL factory, comprising 1 million square feet, is likely to be taken over by an investment company: about 300,000 square feet is understood to be going to an international wine and spirit importers for use as a distribution depot. The remaining 750,000 square feet will be let

for other warehousing or manufacturing use.

7. A number of companies have expressed interest in the Dunlop factory, again comprising 1 million square feet, although we have heard that one company may take over the whole site.

8. Interest in the EIEC site, comprising a number of small factory units, has been considerable. Since the announcement of the EZ last year, almost all of the units (totalling 100,000 square feet) have been let or are in the process of being let.

DOE

9 July 1981

Liverpool file.

DECISION REQUIRED URGENTLY

Clive has consulted Sir Trevor Jones, Leader of Liverpool City Council.

There is a special meeting of the Council lasting all day but Sir Trevor is quite ready to adjourn that meeting to have an hour or so with the PM.

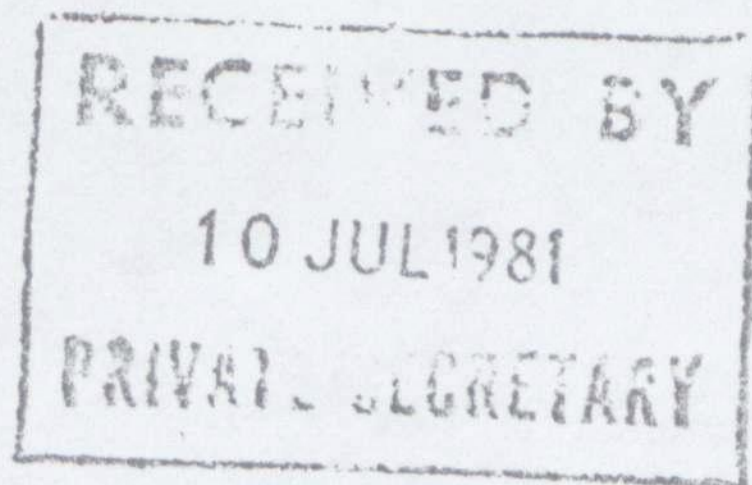
But Liverpool is alive with rumours that the Prime Minister is coming and Sir Trevor's advice is that the PM should not go xxx up today.

He thinks it would play into the hands of the militants who "are round the corner sharpening their knives" and would inevitably inflame the situation.

Sir Trevor does not rule out a visit in the near future and perhaps a visit to Liverpool could start very early one morning when no-one is aware that the PM is going.

Agreed
by PM
wm 4/7

| So Sir Trevor's strong advice is that she should not go today but of course the decision, he knows, must be the Prime Ministers and if she does decide to go then they will do everything possible to make it a success.



Prime Minister

PA

2
LM
10/7

MB

Mr Halliday

There were outbreaks of disorder over a wide area of Manchester and in various parts of London last night.

MANCHESTER

Spasmodic disorder broke out between 8 pm and 1 am over a wide area of Manchester. The disorder and damage was considerably less than the previous evening due to the more positive approach of the police following the disappointing result of their "softly softly" approach of the previous evening in the Moss Side area. 60 vans patrolled the area with 11 men to a van, wearing protective headgear, preventing crowds gathering and, where they did, quickly dispersing them. Shops were damaged, some set on fire, but no situation arose that could be classified as a major conflict, because of the different tactical approach by the police.

Over 150 arrests were made. 2 police officers received minor injuries.

LONDON

A preliminary report from the Metropolitan Police is attached.

P J Honour

P J HONOUR

E4 Division
10 July 1981

Enc.

- cc Miss Kippax
- Mr Boyle
- Mr Cooke
- Mr Wright
- Mr Andrew
- Mr Heaton
- Mr Phillips

Deputy Assistant Commissioner 'A' (Operations)

The following is a preliminary report regarding the public order incidents during the night of the 9th July 1981.

A fuller report will be submitted in due course when further details are received from the various Commanders in the Districts concerned.

The evening of the 9th July started quietly, until about 7.21pm when there was a build-up of both black and white youths in the Stoke Newington area. At 7.24pm 100 black youths and 50 white youths were reported at Woolwich, but there was no trouble.

At about 8.30pm information was received that the youths were threatening the police station at Leytonstone, and shortly after this, at 8.42pm, disturbances broke out at Woolwich, with youths throwing stones and overturning vehicles.

Serials had previously been deployed to the Woolwich area for the Anti-Nazi League meeting and these, supplemented by the Special Patrol Group and Urgent Response Units deployed from Operations Room, moved into the area to prevent further troubles.

At 9.30pm police units at Leytonstone were reported to be under attack, and units were sent to assist them. Throughout this time reports were being received predicting trouble elsewhere, especially at Tooting and Fulham.

At 10.35pm disturbances broke out at Lewisham, and at 10.41pm there were reports of disturbances at Evelyn Street at Stoke Newington. During this time the disturbances at Woolwich were continuing.

At 11.50pm it was all quiet at Leytonstone, the units had not in fact been under attack, but just previous to this the problems predicted at Fulham had broken out, and units were sent there to restore order.

At 11.45pm the Stoke Newington area was reported to be quiet.

At 0.03 Hours 70 youths were reported outside the Mangrove Restaurant at Notting Hill, and this was followed by windows being broken and stone-throwing. SPG and other units were drafted into the area to restore order.

At 0.45 Hours fighting broke out in Balham, SW12, but was quickly put down by units who were directed there.

It was clear during the evening, from information received from Commander 'R' District, and information from the Press, that CB radios were monitoring and possibly directing some of the activists.

At 1.27am 1 person was arrested at Stoke Newington for being in possession of a CB radio, and the result of enquiries awaits.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION

'R' DISTRICT (Woolwich)

Arrests:	37
Offences:	Offensive Weapon ABH Looting Handling stolen property Theft
Injuries to Police:	4 (minor)
Damage to Property:	8 windows broken 2 cars over-turned

'P' DISTRICT (Lewisham)

Arrests:	10
Offences:	Threatening Behaviour Theft Burglary Assault on Police
Injuries to Police:	1
Damage to Property:	No estimation at this time

'F' DISTRICT (Fulham)

Arrests:	8
Offences:	Threatening Behaviour Criminal damage Going equipped to steal Offensive Weapon Assault on Police
Injuries to Police:	1 (minor)
Damage to Property:	Doctor's surgery window broken 2 police vehicles damaged

'J' DISTRICT (Leytonstone)

Arrests:	NIL
Injuries to Police:	NIL
Damage to Property:	NIL

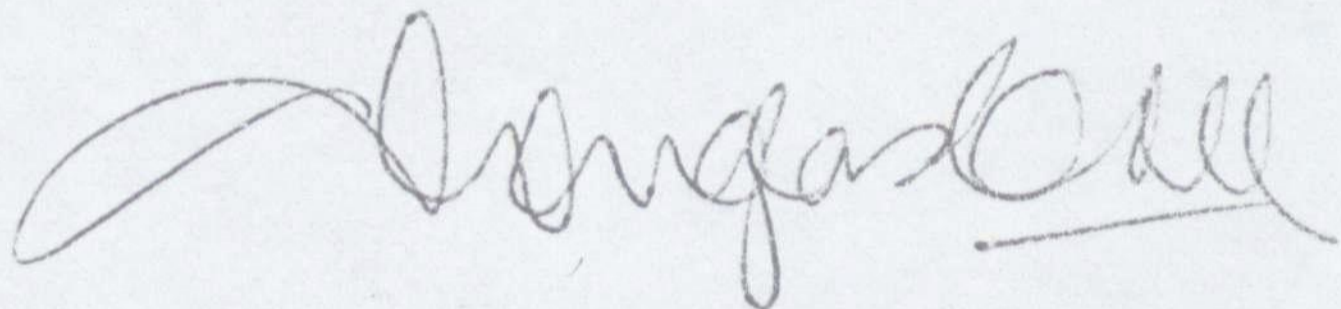
'B' DISTRICT (Nottingham)

Arrests:	NIL
Injuries to Police:	NIL
Damage to Property:	5 shop windows smashed Tesco's looted

'G' DISTRICT (Stoke Newington)

Arrests:	24
Offences:	Threatening Behaviour Highway obstruction Offensive weapon CB radio (enquiries)
Injuries to Police:	1
Damage to Property:	4 shop windows broken

10/7/81



Commander

MR WHITMORE

You asked for details of the Home Secretary's programme for his visit to Liverpool on Tuesday last. The programme was as follows:-

- 1130 Met at Liverpool Airport by the Chief Constable (Mr. Kenneth Oxford)
Followed by a tour of the district of Toxteth
- 1200 Meeting at Liverpool Town Hall with the Lord Mayor and leading representatives of Liverpool City Council, and Merseyside County Council (including Mrs Simey and Mr. Bundred respectively Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Police Committee)
- For list of those present at the meeting please see my note of the visit which is coming over by hand.
- 1300 To Police Headquarters for lunch with Chief Constable and his senior Officers, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Police Committee, the Chief Fire Officer (Mr. Rankin) and the Chief Ambulance Officer (Mr. Guinney)
- 1400 To the Municipal Annex, Dale Street, to meet the Archbishop of Liverpool (Derek Warlock) and the Bishop of Warrington (Michael Henshall - standing in for the Bishop of Liverpool)
- 1430 A meeting with the Chairman of the Community Relations Council and other community leaders, also at the Municipal Annex, Dale Street.
- 1500 Press Conference at the Municipal Annex
- 1530 Visit to injured Police Officers in hospital
(Municipal Annex was chosen as the venue for the meeting with Community leaders to provide a neutral place for meeting them.)

No Storks

051 724 2448.

(home).

(as from (home).

0744 55851.

Useful 'phone numbers:

9390.

✓ Chief Constable 051 709 ~~6010 x 2012~~ .

✓ Archbishop Warlock 051 722 2379

✓ Bishop of Warrington 051 708 9480

✓ Liverpool City Council 051 227 3911

Community Relations Council: 051 709 6858

(Contact either Community Relations Officer, Paul Somerfeld
or CRE Regional Officer Sukdev Sharma)

Colin Walters
Home Office

9 July 1981

PA

we
13/7



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

9 July 1981

Dear Willie

me

You mentioned to me that the Prime Minister would be visiting Ealing on Friday morning and that she would be willing to make a short time (say 15/20 minutes) in her programme to talk to community leaders from Southall. You thought that they might be invited to the Caernarvon Hotel, The Common, Ealing, for about 12.30. We propose that the following people should be invited (we would do the inviting from the Home Office first thing on Friday morning):

Mr Cedric Mostyn: Chairman of the Ealing Community Relations Council (whose interests go wider than Southall; and not, perhaps, of great influence in Southall). We propose that he should be the only CRC representative.

Councillor P S Khabra JP: President of the Indian Workers' Association (Southall). The IWA is the largest and most influential ethnic organisation in Southall; Mr Khabra is widely respected in Southall. We propose that Mr Khabra should be asked to nominate one further person to come.

Mr Ravi Jain: Secretary of the National Association of Asian Youth; a member of the Home Secretary's Advisory Council of Racial Relations (therefore of some national standing).

Mr Balraj Purewal: co-ordinator of the Southall Youth Movement.

We have not included in this list any religious leaders: we think that to invite one or two might create jealousies and that they are best left out, although it is possible that Mr Khabra may wish to bring a religious representative.

The Prime Minister can expect to have views of some strength put to her. In discussion of the violence at Southall last Saturday she will want to stress the Government's commitment to a multi-racial society, to condemn violence and those who provoke it. As for the disturbances in other parts of the country, again she will wish to condemn the violence; unemployment is a problem, but it is no excuse. The Government has shown its concern at the increase in racial attacks. The Home Secretary announced earlier this year an inquiry into racist activities to examine how far racist organisations are arranging or encouraging these

/attacks. The Home

Willie Rickett Esq

attacks. The Home Office is also carrying out a review of the Public Order Act and related legislation: this legislation controls marches and processions and includes the offence of incitement to racial hatred.

... As more general background the Prime Minister may care to glance through the enclosed speech which the Home Secretary gave to the UK/India Association on Tuesday.

May I assume, if I do not hear from you by tonight, that you are content for us to proceed in this way?

Yours ever,

Andrew Jackson

(A P JACKSON)



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

Here is a copy of the letter
which Anthony Steen sent to
the Home Secretary on Monday,

challenging his Statement.

MA

8 July 1981

ER.

NOTE OF A VISIT: LIVERPOOL: 7 JULY 1981

The Home Secretary visited Liverpool on 7 July 1981 to assess the situation in the city following the disturbances of the preceding four nights. Mr. Phillips, Mr. Grant and Mr. Walters accompanied the Home Secretary throughout the visit.

2. The Home Secretary was met on his arrival in Liverpool by the Chief Constable, who updated the report he had given to the Home Secretary the previous day. The Home Secretary was given a brief tour of the scene of the disturbances, and he was able to continue his discussions with senior officers of the police, fire, and ambulance services over lunch. In addition, the Home Secretary held separate meetings with local authority representatives, the Chairman of the police authority, the Archbishop of Liverpool and the Bishop of Warrington, and a delegation led by the Chairman of Merseyside Community Relations Council. Notes of these meetings follow.

MEETING WITH LOCAL AUTHORITY REPRESENTATIVES

Present:	The Lord Mayor	(Councillor Cyril Carr)	} Liverpool City Council
	Sir Trevor Jones	(Liberal Group Leader)	
	Mr. John Hamilton	(Labour Group Leader)	
	Mr. S. Airey	(Conservative Group Leader)	
	Mr. A. J. Stocks	(Chief Executive)	
	Mr. W. I. Murray	(Solicitor)	
	Mr. R. M. Kirkham	(Solicitor's Department)	
	Councillor W.A. Wiseman	(Chairman)	} Merseyside County Council
	Councillor J. Stuart-Cole	(Leader of the County Council and Labour Group)	
	Councillor Mrs M. Simey	(Chairman of the Police Committee)	
	Councillor G. Bundred	(Deputy Chairman of the Police Committee)	
	Councillor N.C. Goldrein	(Leader of the Conservative Group)	
	Councillor F. Doran	(Deputy Leader of the Liberal Group)	
	Councillor S. T. Moss	(Conservative spokes- man on the Police Committee)	
	Mr. R. F. O'Brien	(Chief Executive)	}
	Mr. C. K. Wilson	(County Solicitor and Secretary)	

3. In a wideranging discussion, the local authority representatives made the following points:

- (i) there was general agreement that racial tensions had made at most a minor contribution to the origins of the disorders; however, it was acknowledged that there was some degree of tension between the indigenous white population, the long-established black community, and the more recent immigrant arrivals. A great deal of work had been

put into maintaining good race relations in the area, although there was some evidence that extremists were trying to exacerbate the tensions which did exist;

- (ii) it was also argued that poor housing and environmental conditions were not largely to blame. A good deal of money had been spent on improving the existing housing stock and building new accommodation; in addition, much work had gone into improving the local environment. Trees had been planted, and open spaces laid out;
- (iii) it was further said that educational provisions in the Liverpool 8 area were not poor by the standards prevailing in the city. Indeed, there was an over-provision of primary schools in view of falling school rolls. However, the proposal to close Paddington Comprehensive School had provoked a great deal of hostility in the area, and the local authority representatives urged the Home Secretary to use his influence with the Secretary of State for Education to prevent this proposal from being implemented;
- (iv) the local authority representatives were unanimous in agreeing that the underlying cause of the problems in Liverpool 8 was the extremely high level of unemployment in that district, particularly among black people. It was said that the seemingly endless succession of factory closures had undermined morale, particularly among young people, to the point where they now saw themselves as having little hope of ever obtaining employment or achieving a decent standard of life. In this context, the Government's temporary employment and training schemes were of little help - young people going into them were well aware that they had little prospect of a job afterwards. The need was for long-term measures to create worthwhile training opportunities and new jobs. Some of the local authority representatives stressed that unemployment, though important, was by no means to be seen as the whole explanation for the disturbances. Other areas of the city - for example Kirby - also suffered very high levels of unemployment;
- (v) there was general agreement that the police had done a very good job in controlling the unrest, and the local authority representatives said that they had done their best to make public their appreciation of the work which the police had done in these extremely difficult circumstances. However, it was argued that the style of policing which had been adopted in Liverpool 8 appeared to have aroused considerable local hostility. In the view of the local authority representatives, this had something to do with the use of motorised, rather than foot, patrols, and the abandonment of small local stations in favour of larger, but more remote buildings; it had perhaps more to do with what the local authority representatives described as an over-frequent use of the "sus" laws (by which they appeared to mean the use of stop and search powers rather than the suspected person

provisions themselves). Although there had probably always been a degree of hostility towards the police in the Toxteth area, a generation had certainly grown up which regarded policemen as their enemies. There was no doubt that Liverpool 8 was an area in which there were many complaints about the number of burglaries and street crimes. However, there was an urgent need to devise methods of policing which would tackle these problems without arousing undue antagonism from the local community;

- (vi) it was argued that the pattern of the rioting illustrated the nature of the alienation which was felt by the people of Liverpool 8: violence had been directed against the police and against businesses, both representing the establishment. Private homes and facilities such as community centres had come through largely unscathed;
- (vii) representatives of the County Council said that attempts by the police authority to engage senior police officers in a constructive dialogue about these problems had not so far met with an encouraging response: it was to be hoped that in the aftermath of the disorders the police would be more willing to look at the ideas of the police authority. Representatives of the City Council said that prior to the police service reorganisation, City Councillors had enjoyed a close relationship with the old City police force. The City Council greatly regretted the passing of this relationship;
- (viii) the local authority representatives acknowledged that many Government initiatives had been launched to tackle the problems of inner city decline; however, co-ordination between these initiatives was too often poor, to the extent that sometimes they pulled in opposite directions. An example of this was the creation of enterprise zones, which were likely to draw jobs away from other areas of high unemployment. Local authorities had to spend far too much time devising means of circumventing beauracratc hurdles arising from the poor co-ordination of overlapping Government initiatives.

4. Thanking the local authority representatives for giving him their views, the Home Secretary said that he would report those relating to the social conditions in Liverpool 8 to his colleagues. He was grateful for the invaluable support which had been given to the police during the disturbances; he had made it clear that in his view there was everything to be gained from a closer dialogue between police authorities and the police service. If there had been insufficient contact in the past, the fault did not lie wholly with the police: for example, it was arguable that some of the magistrates on police authorities could usefully play a more active part in the work of the authorities. The Home Secretary added that he had been most interested to hear the views of the local authority representatives on detailed aspects of the disturbances. This had confirmed the information the Chief Constable had given him that people of all ages, and all ethnic backgrounds, had been involved, and it was particularly noteworthy that on the final night

of the disorders, the great majority of looters had been white. It was deeply disturbing to hear of the very young age of many of the rioters, and he hoped that local leaders would join him in appealing for parents to exercise their authority over these youngsters. He wholly agreed with the Lord Mayor that it was important that Liverpool should not be stigmatised as a place of violence: 'the problems of Toxteth were common to those of many other inner city areas, and the prospects for repairing the damage done to the community could only be hindered if undue stress was placed on the events of the preceding four days. It was important to get the message across that there was every reason to hope for a better future for the people of Liverpool 8.

MEETING WITH THE CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE POLICE COMMITTEE

5. Mrs. Simey and Mr. Bundred later requested a short, separate meeting with the Home Secretary. Mrs. Simey said that the police authority was keen to initiate a dialogue with the Chief Constable about a proposed programme of action aimed at improving the relationship between the police and the public in Liverpool. The Chief Constable had so far cold-shouldered this approach, a response in keeping with the frosty manner in which he had chosen to deal with the police authority. A recent example had been the handing over the keys of the police headquarters to Mr. Oxford rather than to the Chairman of the County Council. Matters were not helped by the difficult relationship between the County Council and the City Council. However, Mrs. Simey felt that there was hope that the police authority could engage the Chief Constable in a dialogue about its proposals if these proposals could be seen as having the support of the Home Office. She therefore hoped that there might be some means of involving Home Office officials in discussions with the Chief Constable about the proposals.

6. In response, the Home Secretary said that he had a great deal of sympathy with the points Mrs. Simey had made: the interplay of personalities obviously added an extra dimension of difficulty to the problem. The matter would therefore require a good deal of thought before the Home Office made any move which was open to mis-interpretation. However, a useful next step might be for Mrs. Simey to visit him in London, when they could explore her ideas in greater depth.

MEETING WITH CHURCH LEADERS

7. The Home Secretary then met the Archbishop of Liverpool, the Most Reverend Derek Worlock, and the Bishop of Warrington, the Rt. Reverend Michael Henshall. They made the point that the character of the disturbances had changed substantially over the four nights of rioting. Community relations leaders had been quite successful in their attempts to get the original rioters off the streets by the final night: however, their place had been taken by a mob of mostly white youngsters, apparently including a number of outsiders, who behaved like a wild crowd of football hooligans. Throughout the week-end's disorders, it had been clear that many of the policemen had been wholly unprepared for the situation they faced; the use of foul and racist language by some officers had helped to inflame the mob. However, by the

Monday night senior officers had come to accept the advice of community leaders on the handling of the disorders, and this had helped them to contain the rioting on that night.

8. The church leaders said that they felt it was now essential for the authorities to make the right response to the disorders. There needed to be a real dialogue with community leaders, and the mass media portrayal of the disturbances as a race riot should be played down. There was a need for political will to restore some hope to the area: consideration should be given to giving a Cabinet Minister special responsibility for the problems of Merseyside. Ministers should be wary of the myth that a great deal of money had been poured into the Liverpool 8 area. It was not true that, in comparison with other local areas, Liverpool 8 had had an especially large inflow of public funds: figures could be produced to support this argument. Many people had lost a great deal of property in the rioting, and urgent steps should be taken to reassure the local population that full compensation would be paid. There was a need for both long-term measures to combat the problems of the area, and for short-term measures to tackle some of the worst aspects of local deprivation.

9. The Home Secretary thanked the church leaders for their expression of views. He took particular note of the suggestion that urgent steps should be taken to publicise the arrangements for compensation. This had been done in the case of the Brixton disorders earlier in 1981, and he would ensure that the Merseyside police authority was given every assistance to mount a similar publicity exercise.

MEETING WITH COMMUNITY RELATIONS LEADERS

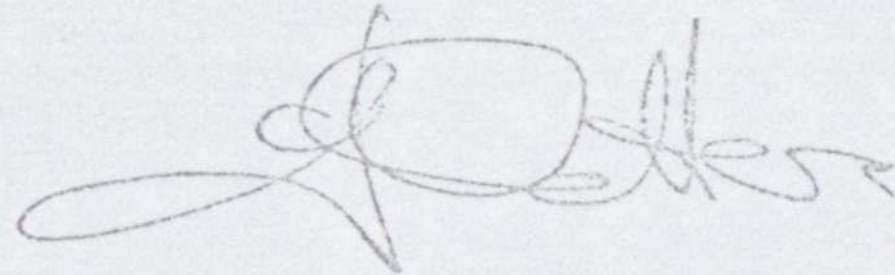
Present: Mr. Wally Brown (Chairman, CRC)
Mr. Paul Sommerfeld (Community Relations Officer)
Mr. Manneh Brown
Mr. Peter Basse
Mr. Rashid Mufti
Mr. Hugh White

10. The community relations leaders said that the principal factors underlying the recent disorders had been unemployment, poor educational facilities, racism, and the relationship between the police and the black community. The actions of the police had both triggered off the rioting and made it worse than it otherwise need have been. The Friday night disorders had started after the police had questioned a black youth suspected of stealing a motor cycle. The police had summoned assistance, and no less than eight police vehicles had arrived on the scene. By the Sunday night, the police had decided to cordon off the Toxteth area. Thus the area had been ringed with police barricades before any rioters appeared on the streets. When the youths did start to assemble on the streets, the police barricades had provided them with an obvious target. The events of the Monday night had shown that oppressive policing was not the answer to these difficulties. The lower profile adopted by the police had helped greatly to calm the situation. Another criticism levelled at the police by the community relations leaders was that they had not received proper training in the use of the CS gas canisters. Some of these had been fired directly at

members of the crowd, who had been injured as a consequence. A member of the deputation added that some police officers who had removed their identifying numbers had been seen indulging in provocative action, including the shouting of racialist slogans. There was an immediate need for a review of policing methods in places like Liverpool 8; although there had been useful discussions in the past with senior police officers, it was clear that there had been little effect on the attitudes of policemen of lower rank. But there were other issues also requiring urgent attention, for example the proposal to close Paddington Comprehensive School. Many of the problems were shared with other areas, yet the Government had not heeded previous warnings - such as the Bristol riots. The community relations leaders said they had many other points which they would want to put to the Home Secretary after further consideration, and asked if they could have a further meeting with him in due course.

11. Thanking the community relations leaders for giving him their views, the Home Secretary said that he would certainly be happy to meet them again when all concerned had had a chance to give deeper consideration to what had happened.

12. The Home Secretary's visit to Liverpool concluded with a press conference and a visit to injured police officers in hospital.



Private Office
9.7.81.

C. J. WALTERS
Private Secretary

cc Miss Kippax
Mr Boyle
Mr Cooke
Mr L P Wright
Mr Andrew
Mr Hyde
Mr Bantock
Mr Heaton
Mr Peach
Mr Phillips
Mr Hayzelden
Mr Nagler
Mr D Grant

Cc Miss Kippax
Mr Boyle
Mr W. Wright
Mr Anson
Mr Heaton
Mr Peach
Mr Nagler
Miss Cooke
Miss Grant

HOME SECRETARY'S SPEECH AT INDIA ASSOCIATION
DINNER - 7 JULY 1981.

I am most grateful to you for inviting me here tonight to the inauguration of your Central London Branch. I am happy to share in this further expansion of your Association and to wish you well for the future. The contribution of the Indian community to this country has already been considerable, and I am sure that that contribution will continue to increase in the years ahead.

I am well aware, however, that there are those in this country who are blind to the benefits, commercial and cultural, which our ethnic minorities have brought us. I am also well aware that despite the success that many of you and your compatriots have

/achieved here

achieved here, there is for a variety of reasons a very real sense of insecurity in your community. This is what I want to talk about tonight, those fears, suspicions and misunderstandings which separate our citizens from one another and which must be removed.

Uppermost in all our minds at the moment are the serious disturbances that took place in Southall and Liverpool during the week-end. The violent clashes that occurred between the police and young people in Liverpool on Saturday and again on Sunday are unprecedented in the history of this country.

The disorders in Southall are deeply saddening in view of the enormous efforts for good race relations between the Asian

/community and

community and the white population in the area. The riot, for such it was, was triggered when the local community was invaded by aggressive 'skinhead' outsiders who smashed windows and terrorised local shopkeepers. A large number of Asian youths gathered in the streets and around the public house where the visiting skinheads were listening to a pop group. The pub was attacked and the police, who were doing their duty trying to keep the two sides apart, became increasingly under attack. Petrol bombs, bricks and other missiles were thrown before the police eventually brought the situation under control. At the end of the day, 105 police officers were injured as well as two firemen and three ambulancemen.

/Let all of

Let all of us learn two immediate and fundamental lessons from these events. We have, and must uphold, a multi-racial society in which the rule of law, and the protection of the law, must be available equally regardless of colour, race or creed. Such intolerance, and hostility, is firmly rejected by the Government and by the community. But in what form, in a society committed to the rule of law, should such rejection consist? Certainly not in the violence which was directed against the police. This was wholly unacceptable. We cannot tolerate mob violence and vengeance on our streets, however strong the provocation. For the rule of law, which is the only sure foundation of a multi-racial society, requires the community to support, not attack, the police

/who are its

who are its appointed agents. Crimes of violence and racial hostility are not to be combatted on the streets by those who feel threatened. That way is the route extremists want you to follow.

This is why I am very concerned about the incidence of attacks by racists, especially in London, and why I have ordered an enquiry into such attacks.

There is disturbing evidence that racist activity is on the increase. In a time of economic recession the enemies of reason and of democracy are quick to exploit the sense of grievance and the sense of failure which some of our young people naturally feel.

They use the ethnic minorities as a convenient scapegoat on which to vent their aggression and frustration. It upsets me very much to

/know that

know that this brutish and irrational hatred has already cost lives. I cannot express too strongly the Government's contempt and condemnation of those depraved and cowardly people who perpetrate these crimes. Such activities are intolerable, and they will not be tolerated. I have every confidence that the police are doing their utmost to track down those who perpetrate racialist attacks. Rest assured that if the culprits are caught and there is sufficient evidence, they will be brought to court and dealt with appropriately.

It is clearly our duty to fight racial hatred, but we must fight it together because its object is to divide us. There are certain actions the Government can take. Early this year I set up an inquiry, to which I have referred, into racialist activities in

/order to

order to assess across the country as a whole the extent of racially motivated attacks and to examine how far racist organisations are arranging or encouraging these attacks. I have sent my officials out to visit selected areas of the country to obtain at first hand the views of the police, the local authorities and the ethnic minorities themselves. They are trying to meet all sections of the ethnic minority community and to hear as wide an expression of views as possible. In the light of what they learn, I will consider with the police and other agencies what new ways we can find to tackle the problems caused by racialism.

That is not all I am doing. My Department is carrying out a review of the Public Order Act and related legislation. This is the Act

/which relates

which relates to the control of marches and processions and which includes the offence of incitement to racial hatred. Last year we issued a Green Paper on the subject and we received many comments from various sources. We have been considering these comments and I hope to announce our conclusions later this year. Obviously the inquiry into racist activity has much to contribute to the review of the Public Order Act. Taken together they have allowed us to look at whether we need new methods to protect our society from the essentially anti-democratic racials.

Of course, there are other anti-democratic forces in our society who come from the opposite extreme and who find the upsurge in racist activity most helpful to their cause. For the most part they have been

/rejected by

rejected by the ethnic minorities and yet they persist in their efforts to use race relations as a means to obtain support. Let there be no mistake, the extremists of the left and right need each other; they have an equal interest in racial tension and racial conflict. They seek to use ethnic minority communities as a battleground for their disputes in a conflict from which the ethnic minorities will obtain no benefit. Racialists must be fought from within our democracy and with the agencies of a democratic society.

In this connection the most important agency is, of course, the police and I want to come on to some more general comments on the police. Before I leave the subject of racialist activity, however, may I just say how important it is that all incidents that

/seem to

seem to have a racial motive are reported immediately to the police. Offences can only be investigated effectively if they are reported at once. Not to report incidents simply deprives the police of the opportunity to assess accurately the extent and nature of the problem. You will expect too much of the police if you do not share your knowledge with them.

There must be mutual trust and co-operation between the police and the community if we are to have effective policing. I am well aware that misunderstandings occur and that particular incidents arise in which members of the ethnic minorities feel that they have not been properly treated by the police. But the answer to such difficulties is to build closer links between the police and the community they serve. A particular

/responsibility

responsibility lies on the police and I have little doubt that Lord Scarman will be providing much food for thought when he reports in due course on his inquiry into the Brixton disturbances. But the community itself must be ready to respond to police initiatives.

I should like to see more police recruits from the ethnic minorities, not so much to improve communications with the minority communities, but because it is important that the police should be representative of the society they serve. The fears and suspicions which exist within these communities are, I suspect, based partly on the feeling that the police are not representative of those communities. It is a short step from there to believing that the police have less interest in protecting

/those

those communities. That is an opinion I have heard expressed, but which I believe to be utterly wrong. I believe that the police are fully aware of the need to enforce the law impartially. They know that respect for the law, which is the basis of a free society, depends on that law applying - and being seen to apply - equally to all citizens. I am sure that that is a view everybody here would share. It is dangerous, therefore, to allow mistrust to develop between the police and the minority community. The police know this and you know this. I hope every effort will be made on both sides to close whatever gaps may exist.

We cannot expect the police to operate effectively against these problems on their own. They need the active co-operation of

/the public.

the public. In this country we have a long tradition of policing by consent. This means the police are not agents of the state but are servants of the community. I wish to see this tradition maintained and so do the police organisations representing all ranks of the police service. When I met them a few weeks ago after the events in Brixton, I was glad there was complete agreement that any departure from traditional policing was undesirable.

The police service has long been conscious of the need to establish real links with all sections of the public. They regard this as an essential part of good policing and this has been reflected in their training. Only recently the district training centres for police recruits have introduced a revised syllabus for the studies designed to make new

/officers more

officers more aware of human behaviour and attitudes, and more knowledgeable about society generally. The aim is to help new officers to establish and maintain good relationships with the public, including the ethnic minorities. Within individual forces efforts are being made to train officers in areas with large minority populations to a better understanding of these communities, and to develop their skills, under the guidance of experienced officers, in dealing with people of all kinds in differing circumstances.

Traditionally, this has been one of the great strengths of the police service in this country.

While it is the duty of the police to do all they can to enable all citizens to go about their business peacefully and without fear,

/everyone

everyone, whatever his race, colour or creed, should bear equal responsibility before the law and for maintaining public order. But equally everyone should be able to enjoy the same security and protection under the law.

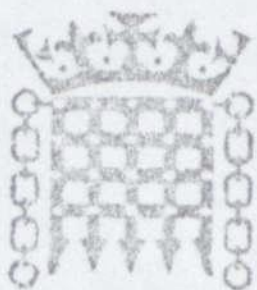
CONCLUSION

I should like to conclude by taking this opportunity to reaffirm the complete commitment of the Government to a society in which everyone has equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities. We want a society in which people are treated according to their merits as human beings and fellow citizens, and not on the basis of irrational preconceptions; a society in which individual customs and traditions are respected; a society in which equal opportunities are open to all. I do not believe there are separate roads to the equal
/society

society for black or brown or white. Separatist policies have no place in the sort of society we should be aiming to build in this country. All our citizens are entitled to equal treatment and equal opportunity.

This can only be achieved by the development of mutual understanding. I believe that we must all take responsibility for developing this understanding. This will call for a positive effort, not least at the present time when fears may have been roused and tension increased.

FROM: Anthony Steen M.P.



RECEIVED BY

- 8 JUL 1981

PRIVATE SECRETARY

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

July 6th 1981

The Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw CH.MC.MP.
Secretary of State
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear William

I was troubled this afternoon by your Statement regarding the rioting in Liverpool. This was echoed this evening by many members of my Association who telephoned me in despair about the happenings in our city. They tell me they are living in near-seige conditions and fear for their safety.

In these circumstances they tell me they were expecting our Party - being the Party of law and order - to say something resolute in the House, including the bringing in of troops to support the police.

They also wanted to hear that our Party recognised the problems of the inner city and that we were going to do something to demonstrate our care and compassion.

Clearly, congratulating the police and other services for their outstanding work is of the utmost importance, but simply providing them with stronger protective headgear has made many of our supporters feel that the bigger issues have not been fully comprehended.

Could you please let me know when we will debate these issues and will you be making another statement shortly about our determined drive to crack down on violence and to embark upon remedial work.

With Kind Regards

L. Long

G. J. Long

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

What are the causes of the disorders?

I have indicated what is currently known of the immediate circumstances of the disorders, and that they were different. I shall study carefully the detailed accounts of the causes in the comprehensive reports from the Commissioner and the Chief Constable.

Were extremists and outsiders involved?

The investigations by the Commissioner/the Chief Constable will address themselves to this question. All I would wish to say now is that those, whether their views are to the right or to the left, whether are black or white, who seek to foment disorder in any community, do a grave dis-service to the interests of that community and to the nation as a whole.

Police Response: Spontaneous Disorder Review

I set up a review of the police arrangements for handling spontaneous disorder following the disturbances at Bristol last year. The lessons of Southall and Toxteth for public order policing can, and will, be properly handled in that context.

What is being done about protective clothing and equipment?

I have already appointed a Working Group on protective clothing and equipment for the police, following the serious disorder at Brixton last April. The Group will now take account of the new dimension which has been presented over the week-end, particularly at Toxteth.

What helmets will be provided?

I shall seek to make available as quickly as possible helmets which resemble the crash helmets worn by motor-cyclists, and which have protective visors and padding for the neck.

Who will pay

Any necessary equipment required by a police force will be financed in the normal way.

What protection is provided against fire?

The use of fire-bombs is a most worrying and dangerous development, to which the Working Group is paying particular attention. The protective shield resists attack from burning petrol. The use of fire-resistant materials for uniforms, together with rapid means of extinguishing fires and immediate first-aid, will go forward with all possible speed.

The police should use water-cannon/plastic bullets

When I met representatives of all the police organisations following the disturbances at Brixton, there was complete agreement that such a departure was undesirable. But in the light of this weekend's violence I can assure the House that my Working Group will not have a close mind on this, and will explore any measures which may be appropriate both to protect the police and to equip them to deal with disorder.

Is CS now to be the common response to disorder?

The Chief Constable was well aware that the use of tear smoke was a radical step, in response to extreme circumstances. Chief officers will continue to regard the use of tear smoke only as a measure of last resort.

Which forces have tear smoke?

All police forces have had small stocks of CS smoke equipment since the mid 1960's.

Which officers use tear smoke?

Training in the use of tear smoke is a matter for individual chief officers. It is usually given only to instructors and selected members of specialist firearms units. The smoke used in Liverpool was fired by specially trained staffs.

Public Order Act Review

Any implications of the disturbances for the review of the Public Order Act 1936 and related legislation will, of course, be carefully considered.

The police should have additional powers to deal with disorder

The police already have extensive powers at common law to deal with unlawful assemblies. These include a power to disperse an assembly when the police reasonably apprehend a breach of the peace, or when there is a breach of the peace. The problem, as the events of the week-end have made only too clear, is one of enforcement.

There should be statutory powers

I am already considering suggestions that the common law powers of the police should be made statutory, in the course of my review of public order legislation.

Revive the Riot Act

The principal purpose of the Riot Act 1714 was to translate the offence of unlawful assembly from a misdemeanour to a felony. It was repealed, by the Criminal Law Act 1967, because that Act abolished the distinction between felony and misdemeanour. The common law offence of riot, like the offences of affray and rout, was unaffected by the repeal and all continue in existence.

Racial Attacks Study

Any evidence that racial attacks were related to the disturbances will be considered in the study of such attacks which I set in train earlier this year.

What about compensation for damage?

Claims for compensation will be dealt with by the Riot (Damages) Act 1886. This provides that subject to certain conditions, the Police Authority shall pay out of the Police Fund compensation to any person whose house, shop or building has been injured or destroyed, or the contents of which have been injured, or destroyed, or stolen, by persons who riotously and tumultuously assembled together. Claims must be made within 14 days. The consideration of claims in respect of the disturbances in Southall is a matter for the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police District, and for those in respect of the disturbances at Toxteth, Merseyside County Council.

What compensation has been paid in respect of Brixton?

Claims for approximately £6½ million arising from the Brixton disorders have been received by the Receiver for the Metropolitan Police District. The first payments are expected to be made in about a week's time.

Lord Scarman's Inquiry

The second part of Lord Scarman's Inquiry, which is to consider the problem of policing areas where the community is multi-racial, will look at areas outside Brixton. Lord Scarman will no doubt wish to take account of the situation in Liverpool.

Need for an Inquiry

I do not believe that a further inquiry, into either disturbance would be an appropriate response, given the range of studies and inquiries on the evident issues of public order and policing which are already in hand. The need now, more than ever before, is to bring that work to fruition, and to take appropriate action.

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIESRELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLICE AND MERSEYSIDE COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

I understand that regular meetings take place between the Merseyside Community Relations Council and the police, and that relations between these two bodies are steadily improving.

POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS ON MERSEYSIDE

The Chief Constable is fully conscious of the need to foster good police-community relations on Merseyside. He has my full support in the efforts he is making, through training and community liaison, to improve relations with the black community in Liverpool.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS

Community liaison arrangements have an important part to play in improving relations between the police and members of ethnic minority communities. A number of forces (including Merseyside) have increased their contacts with local community relations councils by forming police liaison committees.

ANTI-POLICE ACTIVITIES BY COMMUNITY RELATIONS ORGANISATIONS

There are undoubtedly those who use race relations to further their own extremist politics, as they use other social issues. I deplore their activities. I do not believe, however, that they influence more than a small proportion of community relations organisations.

ETHNIC MINORITY UNEMPLOYMENT

The Government is, of course, concerned at the high level of ethnic minority unemployment. It believes that the best single thing it can do for the minorities is to control inflation and create a climate where real jobs flourish and unemployment falls.

INQUIRY INTO RACIAL ATTACKS

This inquiry is well advanced: officials from the Police Department and the Community Programmes Department ^{of the Home Office} visited Merseyside recently for talks with the

local authority, the police, the community relations council and leaders of the ethnic minority community.

Repatriation

Most members of the ethnic minority community in Liverpool come from families which have lived in the city for several generations. They are British citizens by birth. There can be no question of their repatriation. More general suggestions for the compulsory repatriation of members of the ethnic minorities are, I believe, highly repugnant to the great majority of people in this country.

Liverpool Inner City Partnership

The Partnership will receive £17.6m in 1981/82. In addition a further £17.2m will be available to the Merseyside Development Corporation.

Use of Inner City funds

About 40% of the money will be spent on economic projects, and a similar figure will go towards environmental projects. Such projects are intended to make the Inner Cities places where people will want to invest.

Help for unemployed youth

The Inner City programme is designed to assist the economic regeneration of Merseyside. The Government is very concerned about the problem of youth unemployment. For example, Inner City funds go inter alia towards the South Liverpool Personnel Employment Agency, which is specifically designed to help those with difficulties in finding employment.

Other DOE assistance

I understand that a further £4m of Inner City assistance will go to various authorities outside the partnership. In addition, Liverpool will receive over £110m. in the form of rate support grant. The allocation for capital housing expenditure in 1981/82 is over £37m.

No section 11 funding

Section 11 grant is primarily intended to help local authorities to deal with the problems of newly arrived immigrants, particularly those arising from language and cultural difficulties. To qualify for grant a local authority must have more than 2% Commonwealth immigrant pupils on its school rolls. Liverpool does not meet this requirement as the majority of its black population are not immigrants but have been settled in Liverpool for a number of generations.



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

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FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP
 Secretary of State for the Home Department
 50 Queen Anne's Gate
 LONDON
 SW1

26 June 1981

Wm
 29/6

Recomm. White

THE URBAN PROGRAMME AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

I look forward to attending the meeting on this subject which I understand your office will shortly be arranging.

Before the meeting takes place, however, I should like to endorse what Patrick Jenkin has said in his letter of 21 May about the role of the Urban Programme in providing social support as well as stimulating economic activity. I am concerned that, even if employment opportunities were improved to some extent, large numbers of ethnic minority youngsters might still be at a disadvantage in the competition for jobs, because of their relative lack of educational qualifications and achievements. The Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups is looking into the factors affecting the progress of these children in schools, and is considering whether they have any special needs which are not being met at present by the education system. Their interim report on West Indian pupils has just been published. We shall need to respond positively to any clear and sensible recommendations for action, at a time when there are tight constraints on the main programmes of local authorities, the Urban Programme is the only means of channelling government resources into particularly worthwhile projects in areas of greatest need.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Jim Prior, Michael Heseltine and Patrick Jenkin.

*Yours ever
 Mark*

MARK CARLISLE

How many jobs.



DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 3301
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

Secretary of State for Industry

27 May 1981

W Rickett Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Willie

Thank you for your letter of 13 May seeking advice, following an approach by Inter-Media, on the merits of including Bibby Edible Oils (BEO) in the Prime Minister's engagement list if she visits Liverpool in July.

2 We do not see any strong reasons for the Prime Minister to accept this invitation. We understand that MAFF (who have a more direct interest in the company) regard BEO as exhibiting a useful blend of competence, resilience and aggression. BEO have been helpful to MAFF in development work on new fats. The company has premises on Liverpool Docks and utilises both old and new technology.

3 The introduction of a PET bottling line is to be welcomed. However, this is not a new idea. PET is already used for soft drinks bottling. Overseas PET has been adapted for soya products and there has been a recent announcement of its use for beer in Japan. The company has apparently funded PET development without recourse to discretionary assistance under Section 7 of the Industry Act.

Yours ever

RICHARD RILEY *Richard*
Private Secretary

PI



WM
21/5

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & SOCIAL SECURITY

Alexander Fleming House, Elephant & Castle, London SE1 6BY

Telephone 01-407 5522

From the Secretary of State for Social Services

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP
Secretary of State for the Home Department
50 Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON SW1

21 May 1981

Dear Willie,

URBAN PROGRAMME: ETHNIC MINORITIES

will request if required

I look forward to attending the meeting you are to chair following Michael Heseltine's letters of 21 January and 7 May.

It might be helpful if I let you know in advance that while I think the paper which Michael Heseltine sent with his letter of 7 May should prove a useful starting point for discussion, we need to be wary of assuming that it is only economic regeneration of which inner city areas with ethnic minorities are in need. A low level of economic activity is often one of their problems; but they have, too, the most serious social and health problems many of which are bound to remain even after improvement of their economies, and which in any case are a disincentive to investment and the creation of jobs. It is therefore important that we should continue to use the urban programme to provide social (including health and social services) support, as well as to stimulate economic activity.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister, Jim Prior, Michael Heseltine and Mark Carlisle.

*You are
Patel*

Mr Rickett

Derek Howe's only comment is that there is no mention of how many new jobs have been created.

Sally Dickson

15th May 1981



10 DOWNING STREET

MR. HOWE

Any comments please?

wh

13 May 1981



3/6

JS
cc Mr. Howe
Press

Wm 8/6

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 May 1981

NB:
Acknowledged
by Press Office

Willie
I have the reply & will
consider with
MR. LEWIS
Have you heard anything? Caroline
Kay
Wm 3/6
J. Bibby Edible Oils
Willie
Thanks Kay 4/6

I enclose a copy of a letter that we have received from Mr. Lewis of Inter-Media. He suggests that if the Prime Minister is planning to visit Liverpool or the North West that she should make a call on J. Bibby Edible Oils Ltd.

We are in fact tentatively planning for the Prime Minister to visit Liverpool in July. I should be grateful if you could let me know whether the Department of Industry feel that a visit to Bibby Edible Oils would be worth while. We can then consider how to respond to Mr. Lewis' proposal at the Prime Minister's next diary meeting.

W. F. S. RICKETT

Mrs. Catherine Bell,
Department of Industry.

Out

SF



Prime Minister

2

WR
14/5

Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the attached summarise the questions which the Home Secretary's meeting will concentrate on.

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

WR
12/5

My ref:

Home Affairs

Your ref:

7 May 1981

Dear Jackie

will request if required

WR

I wrote to you on 21 January to suggest that we ought to meet, with some colleagues, to consider ways in which the urban programme might help other policies in dealing with race problems. You agreed that this would be useful and officials have been discussing a paper which might have formed the basis of the meeting which you agreed to chair. I attach a version of this which raises a number of the key issues.

Recent events obviously highlight the usefulness of an early meeting.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister, Jim Prior, Mark Carlisle, Patrick Jenkin.

Yours ever

MICHAEL HESELTINE

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw MP

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN INNER CITY AREAS

Note by DOE

Introduction

1. About two fifths of the ethnic minority groups in England live in the run down inner city areas covered by the Partnership and Programme authorities. The Urban Programme also benefits many other authorities with large ethnic minorities. The minorities often suffer more than others from disadvantages in employment and housing. They have been disproportionately affected by recent increases in unemployment.
2. The Urban Programme has a part to play in meeting the needs of ethnic minorities, though they are by no means solely concentrated into the areas covered by Partnership and Programme authorities (see Annex 1). The Urban Programme must, in any case, be used constructively in conjunction with other programmes of activity such as education, housing and employment. The role of the Police is also vital.
3. There is a need, therefore, to consider the nature of the problems faced by the ethnic minorities themselves and the problems which their presence may pose for those providing services to the community. Are specific steps being taken to combat unemployment amongst ethnic minorities? to right any imbalances in educational achievements? to ensure adequate delivery of health and social services? The independent efforts of private industry and voluntary organisations are also most important as providing potential going well beyond Government action.
4. The Urban Programme is used to improve the economic environmental and social facilities of inner city areas, to the benefit of the residents generally (see Annex 2). About 300 projects are for the specific benefit of ethnic minorities, roughly £6m (3% of the total) went on this in 1980/81, though many more have a bearing on their needs. Within the Urban Programme as a whole we are shifting the emphasis to projects to regenerate the economy of the inner cities. As well as major capital projects, this includes training programmes for industrial and commercial skills, community workshops and so on.

Links between the Urban Programme and other policies

5. (i) Employment. Ethnic minority groups do not seem to take full advantage of such funds as are available to improve employment prospects under the Urban Programme and other programmes. What can be done to help take-up? Is there scope for joint funding of projects through the Urban Programme and the MSC Community Enterprise Programme? Are there American examples (such as OIC) to draw on?
- (ii) Police. Are there examples of police involvement in ethnic matters in partnerships (though not only there) which might have useful lessons for police activity in these and other areas? The Lozells and Handsworth schemes in Birmingham are well spoken of. Might more effort be devoted to publicising such examples?
- (iii) Problem areas. Is it possible to identify other areas where racial tension is particularly high and trouble is likely? Is there a useful link with the initiative recently announced by the Home Secretary on investigating racial attacks? Should DOE and Home Office, for example, finance pilot projects to develop ways of preventing racial harassment in Council housing estates, and subsequently publicise them, as with the priority estates projects?
- (iv) Community Business. Profit sharing enterprises, and those whose profits are dedicated to the support of socially beneficial projects, are beginning to be developed. They are an important part of the American scene, especially amongst ethnic minority groups. How can this be encouraged?
- (v) Private Enterprise. Ministers are stressing the importance of mobilising local industry and commerce in regenerating inner cities. The Pilkington group's work shows that the national business community is responsive. Should encouragement, or even financial assistance, be given in selected areas to encourage a greater "ethnic" emphasis in the efforts of private business? Are there national endeavours that could be made?

INNER AREAS: ETHNIC MINORITY POPULATIONS (1977)

1. The local authorities which have Partnership or Programme arrangements with DOE have 38% of the ethnic minorities living within their boundaries. Most live in the 'special areas' of these authorities whose Urban Programme resources are concentrated. Many of the largest groupings of ethnic minorities are to be found in authorities benefitting under the Traditional Urban Programme; if these are included, the proportion rises to 54%. The authorities with the highest ethnic minority populations are as follows.

	Population (000s)	Ethnic Minority (000s)	Population (%)
<u>Partnerships</u> ϕ			
Birmingham	253	92	36
Hackney/Islington	364	85	23
Lambeth	175	48	28
Manchester/Salford	311	33	11
<u>Programme Authorities</u>			
Leicester	274	60	22
Bradford	450	46	10
Wolverhampton	248	38	15
Leeds	721	35	5
Hammersmith	161	28	17
<u>Others</u> (* are designated districts)			
Brent*	266	88	33
Ealing*	280	70	25
Haringey*	219	57	26
Wandsworth*	214	52	19
Newham	226	52	23
Barnet	290	44	15
Waltham Forest	229	39	17
Lewisham	253	38	15
Croydon	327	36	11
Southwark	212	34	16
Westminster	200	34	17
Kirklees	355	32	9
Sandwell*	320	32	10
England (total)	45,779	2,109	5

ϕ For the Partnerships, population figures refer to the Birmingham Core Area, Hackney/Islington Special Area, Lambeth Area of Need and Manchester/Salford Special Area respectively.

THE URBAN PROGRAMME (IN ENGLAND)

The Urban Programme provides 75% grant towards local authority expenditure on their own projects and those of voluntary bodies which they choose to support. Authorities assisted under the Urban Programme fall into four categories:-

- a. Partnership Authorities. These have been invited to draw up comprehensive programmes for the regeneration of their inner areas. The programmes are discussed and approved by partnership committees chaired by a DOE Minister and made up of local authority leaders and representatives of the Police, Area Health Authorities and central Government.
- b. Programme Authorities. These have also been invited to draw up and submit programmes, but without the full machinery for partnership meetings.
- c. Other Designated Districts. In addition to the partnership and programme authorities, 14 other authorities are designated under the Inner Urban Areas Act. Additional Urban Programme resources are made available to them for industrial and commercial projects. These authorities are also eligible for grant for other sorts of project under the Traditional Urban Programme.
- d. Traditional Urban Programme. Other local authorities are eligible for grant aid towards particular projects in urban areas; about 150 benefit in this way.

URBAN PROGRAMME RESOURCES 1981/82

	£m (out-turn prices)
Birmingham	17
Docklands*	23
Hackney/Islington	16
Lambeth	9
Liverpool	18
Manchester/Salford	17
Newcastle/Gateshead	14
Programme Authorities	49
Other Designated Districts (industrial projects)	5
Traditional Urban Programme	44
Total	<u>212</u>

*To be replaced by Docklands Development Corporation; funding for social projects will be made available to the Boroughs of Newham, Southwark & Tower Hamlets.

cc. Miss Stephens

CONFIDENTIAL

51 Burlington Road London SW6 4NH. Telephone: 01-736 8075

Inter-Media
Public Relations, Advertising, Marketing.

Mr Bernard Ingham,
Chief Press Secretary,
Prime Minister's Office,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

6th May, 1981.

Dear Mr Ingham,

J. Bibby Edible Oils Ltd

Should you be planning a visit by the Prime Minister to Liverpool or the North West this autumn, may I ask you to consider the above company as a suitable venue for a factory visit?

The enclosed cutting from North West Success, newspaper of the North West Industrial Development Association, conveniently sums up the company's main claim to fame.

This autumn would be a particularly apt time for a visit, however, as the company will have just installed what is expected to be the first PET bottling plant for cooking oil in the U.K. at a cost of some £750,000.

Polyethylene terephthatale (PET) is a thermoplastic material which is virtually unbreakable and combines the clarity and inertness of glass with better oxygen impermeability than PVC.

By introducing a bottle made from a material which is inherently superior in performance to the present packaging medium, Bibby Oils plan to consolidate their commercial and technological lead in the retail cooking oil market.

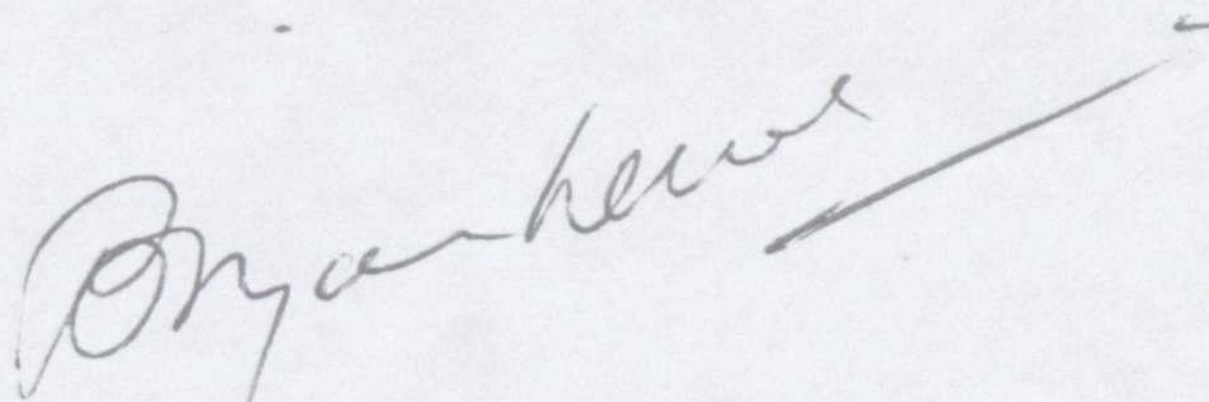
/Cont'd...

- 2 -

The company is, of course, a subsidiary of J. Bibby and Sons Ltd, the Liverpool-based agricultural and industrial Group which this year produced record profits for the fifth successive year running, and currently represents one of the few success stories on Merseyside.

Could you let me know what the prospects are in order that the company can make suitable advance plans.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bryan Lewis", with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

BRYAN LEWIS

How to be No 1 . . .

NW FOR LEADERS

Timely switch to new market

BRITAIN'S biggest manufacturer in its field — that's the achievement of a Liverpool company which faced the challenge of change and responded by successfully switching course.

J. Bibby Edible Oils, part of the industrial group of Merseyside's century-old J. Bibby and Sons, became one of the first to invest in the domestic cooking oil market in the 1950's. Now it has built a position as market leader.

Trends

Historically, a major company activity on Merseyside had been animal feed compounding. But basic economic trends began working against port-based compounders and steering operations to regional locations. The challenge was to exploit new business opportunities.

Advanced

The decision to enter the cooking oil market proved timely. It not only confirmed assessments of growth potential but was quickly followed by the development of major supermarket groups in Britain.

David Airey, managing director, told *North West Success*: "We quickly saw the opportunities for private label cooking oils and were prepared to put investment specifically behind this area of market development."

A £2m programme in 1972 gave Liverpool one of the most advanced refineries in Europe with a total refined oil capability of around 100,000 tonnes a year.

A bottled oil capability of 25,000 tonnes a year is equal to 60 per cent of the current market requirement.

The company, which is also a major producer of packaged fats and bulk oils for food processing and catering, has maintained an annual investment level of £1.5m in recent years and is planning to spend £1.8m this year.

People

Bibby, which employs 850, also believes in investing in people. Twenty-five new jobs have recently been created by switching the oil refinery from five-day to continuous seven-day working.

It is good news for Merseyside — and for others facing change. Mr Airey said: "Probably the most important aspect of our recent success for Merseyside has been the demonstration that an old-established major manufacturer in Liverpool is capable of reversing what was a trend of decline."

Overall sales of £167m by the diversified Bibby group produced a record trading profit of £8.4m in the latest financial year. The volume of bulk and bottled oils sold by J. Bibby Edible Oils also set a new record.

LORD SCARMAN

WORLD AT ONE: LORD SCARMAN

Home
PA (Brixton
CF file)
MS

Q: Lord Scarman did you have misgivings as a judge in agreeing to conduct singlehanded an enquiry of this far-reaching social importance?

LS: None whatever.

Q: Doesn't it worry you that a judge in such an enquiry exposes himself to political criticism as indeed you suffered after your report on the Grunwick enquiry from certain Conservative politicians?

LS: I think judges have got to be prepared to accept public criticism both at the way they conduct their cases or their judicial business and at the substance of their decisions. Judges are as much in public life as any other public figures.

Q: Will you be enquiring into the underlying causes of these Brixton riots or merely into the chain of events which led to the rioting and the violence?

LS: The underlying causes undoubtedly. If you saw what Mr. Whitelaw said in the House of Commons I shall be enquiring into all the matters that he mentioned in the course of his reply to Roy Hattersley.

Q: But I believe you have had time to visit Brixton in the few hours since the Home Secretary announced your appointment.

LS: I went straight down to Brixton from the House of Lords after hearing the Statement in the House of Lords which of course was a repetition of the Statement in the Commons.

Q: Did you walk around the streets?

LS: I walked around all the streets and talked to people.

/ I didn't

LS: I didn't talk to anyone, I just kept my eyes open.

Q: Do you feel at all inhibited by Section 32 of the Police Act under which your enquiry is going to be conducted which refers to matters connected with the policing of the area?

LS: No, because I think the central question which I have to answer is concerned with the policing of the area and Section 32 is very wide in any matter connected with the policing of the area. I would say this - I am not sitting in a tribunal to do the work of Parliament - Parliament is concerned with the underlying social, economic and political questions but I am concerned with a whole variety of matters, the whole complex of matters which lie behind the problem of successful policing and I would stress that it is the relationship between the police and the local young of the area that I am most concerned to examine. Something appears to have gone wrong there and I have got to find it out.

Q: I notice that you say the local young rather than the local blacks.

LS: Yes, I think that if you look more widely at the Western world you will find these type of violent outbursts occurring in a large number of metropolitan Western cities and certainly black is merely an accident, as perhaps religion is an accident in Northern Ireland.

Q: Lord Scarman, do you think you could combine the need for urgency in finding facts with your further task of looking into the underlying causes?

LS: Yes I do. I think it is unnecessary for me to examine in detail matters which according to The Times would be suitable for social treaties but I must examine profoundly those matters which are directly relevant to relations good or bad and between the young of a community and the police.

Q: In The Times editorial which you mention, it did suggest the possibility of your making two reports, one an interim report

/ on the

on the immediate causes, and secondly a later report on the underlying background.

LS: I hope that will not be necessary. In Red Lion Square I divided the report into two phases, one dealing with the chain of events, and the other with the lessons to be learned. There is a lot to be said for dividing this enquiry into phases and I would hope that I could cover the ground with reasonable speed once I have got the enquiry organised and going.

Q: When you say in two phases, you don't mean two reports?

LS: Oh no, I want one report.

Q: What will be your approach? How will you go about it? How will you gather the facts and the evidence sitting there as a single enquirer?

LS: Well, I have considerable experience of the administrative and organisational problems of enquiries of this sort and it would be a very long answer if I was to deal with your question fully. It can be done and one of the reasons why I accepted your invitation was that I knew that in answering you I would be able to give the general public and the people in Brixton some idea of the sort of matters to which they should be directing their minds.

Q: How far will you have to rely on the police into whose conduct you are going to be to some extent enquiring to help you assemble the evidence, the witnesses and the facts?

LS: I shall rely on the police to cooperate with the enquiry but I shall not make use of the police so to speak as tribunal agents.

Q: Will you have someone to help you call witnesses and to cross-examine them in front of you as happens in other kinds of tribunals, or will you be asking all the questions yourself?

/ LS:

LS: I intend to have^a/counsel and solicitor representing the tribunal just as I had in Red Lion Square enquiry.

Q: What powers will you have Lord Scarman?

LS: My powers are all set out in Section 32 of the Act. I have power to summon witnesses, I have power to call for documents, I can take evidence on oath and of course I have complete discretion as to whether to sit in public or in private. I found those powers perfectly sufficient in the Red Lion Square enquiry and I have no doubt that they will be perfectly sufficient for this enquiry.

Q: How much do you intend to sit in public?

LS: Almost the whole of my time will be in public. I deprecate enquiries of this sort in private.

Q: Where will you hold the enquiry?

LS: That's not yet decided.

Q: And when will you begin your hearing?

LS: Again, that is not yet decided. I am a very fledgling tribunal appointed less than 24 hours ago and I found it necessary between then and now to have a sleep!

Q: Do you expect your enquiry will take weeks or months to produce a report?

LS: It would be very unwise of me to speculate/^{at the moment}but I am treating it urgently and I shall be of course putting aside other judicial business while the enquiry is on and since I am by myself I would think I could do the job quickly.

Q: May I ask finally for your reaction to comments on matters which you are going to be enquiring into? For instance, Mr. Hattersley this morning accused the Prime Minister of comment prejudicial to your enquiry by a statement last night

/ that

that unemployment was not the cause of these riots. Now, without asking you to comment on that, what is your view of comment on the matters which you are enquiring into?

LS: I do not care a rap whether people make comments or not- If they wish to make comments let them do so. It will not influence me.

CONFIDENTIAL



no 2
Home Affairs

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

28 April 1981

The Prime Minister was grateful for the Home Secretary's minute of 27 April, covering a review of the potential for civil disturbance in 1981.

I am sending a copy of this letter to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATTISON

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly 'R', written in dark ink.

J.F. Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

overtake

Home Affairs 2

Mr. Whitelaw's Statement on Bristol

The Home Secretary's statement (copy attached) went off very well today. The House was very quiet, and was not disposed to argue seriously for a public enquiry. There was support for Mr. Whitelaw from William Waldegrave, Michael Colvin and Arthur Palmer, but not a great deal from Tony Benn.

No new commitments were given, and I think that the Home Secretary has successfully put this matter to bed for the time being.

Mr. Nott's Statement on Tenerife

Mr. Nott made a short statement about the Tenerife air crash. It was received with appropriate expressions of sympathy from all sides of the House. Mr. Nott undertook to report back to the House as soon as he could provide any further information.

MS

28 April 1980

Copied to Disasters:
Dan Air Boeing 727
crash in Tenerife: Apr
1980.

28-4-80

~~HOME SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON THE DISTURBANCES IN BRISTOL ON~~
TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY
2 APRIL 1980

With permission, Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement to the House on the serious disturbances that occurred in Bristol on 2 April 1980.

I have considered the full and clear report which I have had from the Chief Constable of the Avon and Somerset Constabulary, and I have placed in the Vote Office a memorandum containing an account of the disturbances, of the difficulties which faced the police, and of how they sought to deal with them.

In the light of the memorandum, there will not, I believe, be dispute about the facts. What began as a normal operation into possible criminal offences, turned sharply and unexpectedly into serious public disorder. The memorandum also sets out the Chief Constable's conclusions and recommendations for future arrangements in his force area. A number of important lessons have been learned from this event. The Chief Constable has acknowledged frankly that there were points at which decisions might, with hindsight, have been taken differently. But he remains of the opinion that the decision to regroup his officers away from the area

/of St. Paul's

of St. Paul's was, in the face of great violence and extensive injuries to the police, a necessary step. In the light of his report, I understand the reasons for that decision, as, I am sure, will the House.

There can be no excuse for the lawlessness which then followed. But we must ensure that however quickly or fiercely public disorder may occur, the police are able swiftly to restore the peace and enforce the law.

We must therefore concern ourselves with the more general lessons which must be learned from these events, not only for the efficiency of policing, but also for good community relations. There are three ways in which I believe we can best move forward.

First, in this country we rightly wish the police to maintain order through traditional methods but, if that is so, police forces must be able to call rapidly on sufficient trained officers. I am, therefore, asking senior officials in my Department and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, in conjunction with the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis and the Association of Chief Police Officers in England and Wales, to examine thoroughly and urgently the arrangements

/for handling

for handling spontaneous public disorder. I shall publish the results of that review.

But we must not look simply at the policing aspects of these events. We must look much more widely in our search for solutions to the underlying problem. Second, therefore, the Government particularly welcomes the decision of the Select Committee on Home Affairs to look into racial disadvantage and, as a part of that work, to study the St. Paul's area of Bristol. We shall do all we can to help the Select Committee in this work.

But action at local level is also essential. I welcome the decision of the Avon County Council and the Bristol City Council to come together to examine how best they can further help in strengthening good community relations in the area. Experts from all the Government Departments concerned will play a full part in this examination.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that this three-fold approach is the best way to respond positively and constructively to these events.

CONFIDENTIAL COVERING

SECRET



Prime Minister (through CAW)

ful / 27w

This assessment concludes that ethnic minorities are the likeliest flashpoint - paras 21-26 of attachment refer.

PRIME MINISTER

mf

REVIEW OF POTENTIAL FOR CIVIL DISTURBANCE
IN 1981

MP 27/4

..... My officials, in consultation with those from other Government Departments, recently carried out at my request a survey of the potential for civil disturbance in Great Britain over the next 6-12 months. I enclose a copy of their report.

The review was conducted against the background of the industrial unrest of the winter of 1979/1980; of outbreaks of spontaneous disorder in a number of cities, most notably in Bristol last year; of increasing nationalist violence, particularly in Wales; of the growth and proliferation of extreme right wing groups and their propensity for street violence; and of growing militancy among the ethnic minority communities (as evidenced by the recent events in Brixton).

The report was largely compiled before the Brixton disturbances took place but it clearly indicates that further violence in the ethnic minority communities is likely. We have made it clear that violence is not an acceptable way of expressing a sense of grievance, but we shall need also to do what we can to reassure these communities of the Government's concern for their problems. To this end, my attention will focus not only on Lord Scarman's Inquiry but also on my study into racial attacks and the activities of extreme right wing organisations.

The report's conclusions are otherwise not wholly pessimistic. On the industrial front in particular major disorder seems unlikely over the next few months. Prospects for the next pay round are necessarily less certain. Large scale political demonstrations - campaigning, for example, against unemployment or nuclear weapons - are likely to be frequent but mainly orderly events.

I shall, of course, keep you and our Cabinet colleagues informed of any changes in the situation over the coming months, and will in particular give notice where possible of any likely trouble spots. Colleagues in the other Departments involved in this review will no doubt do likewise. We shall aim to conduct a similar review for 1982 around the turn of the year.

I am sending copies of this minute to Cabinet colleagues, the Attorney General and the Lord Advocate, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

holl

27 April 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

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SECRET

SECRET

REVIEW OF POTENTIAL FOR CIVIL DISTURBANCE IN 1981

INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE REVIEW

1. The Home Secretary asked officials to review the likelihood of civil disturbance in Great Britain over the coming months. This review, which looks at the prospects for the next 6-12 months, is intended to complement the work of the Civil Contingencies Unit of the Cabinet Office (CCU) on the prospects of disruption to essential services. It considers three main forms of civil disturbance: mass demonstrations and marches; smaller demonstrations, including picketing, at focal points; and spontaneous disorder. Each may be the occasion of violence.
2. The review has been conducted by a group of officials chaired by the Home Office. A list of Departments involved is at Annex 1. The Northern Ireland Office have been kept informed, but the study does not extend to Northern Ireland, although the Irish problem may well have implications for civil disturbance in Great Britain, particularly in cities with large Irish communities such as Glasgow.
3. The main potential sources of civil disturbance are -
 - (i) economic and industrial issues;
 - (ii) opposition to nuclear weapons and nuclear energy;
 - (iii) Welsh and extreme Scottish nationalism;
 - (iv) racial issues and extreme right wing activity.

Welsh

These areas overlap, as with/nationalist opposition to the contraction of the coal and steel industry.

4. The assessment of the likelihood of serious disruption over a period of 6-12 months is necessarily speculative. More detailed reports on particular areas of difficulty will be made to Ministers as they arise.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL ISSUES

5. The three general issues underlying the potential for disturbance in the industrial sector in the coming months are:-
 - (a) pay;
 - (b) closures, redundancy and increasing unemployment;
 - (c) trade union opposition to the Employment Act 1980.

SECRET

/The

SECRET

The nature of any possible disturbance as a result of present industrial difficulties may be local (protests at a threatened plant closure) or national (demonstrations directed against Government policies).

6. On pay, greater appreciation of economic realities is being reflected in lower pay settlements and fewer pay disputes. Generally this seems likely to continue for the rest of the current pay round. Some industrial action is to be expected in both public and private sectors, but there is at present no reason to anticipate anything on the scale of last winter's steel strike with its attendant widespread and often disorderly picketing. Looking to the next pay round, a major question mark must arise over the miners' pay negotiations this autumn.

7. Unemployment, rather than pay, seems likely to be the main target for trade union activity in the coming months. Factory closures may give rise to local action such as sit-ins or pickets leading to public order problems, particularly in depressed areas. At national level, a number of further marches and demonstrations protesting about Government policies and unemployment have been planned: although ostensibly peaceful, these may offer an opportunity for exploitation by more extreme groups.

8. The TUC has adopted a stance of outright opposition to the Employment Act 1980 but has shown no enthusiasm for a concerted campaign on the lines of that mounted against the Industrial Relations Act 1971. The new provisions on picketing have not undergone any major challenge, but there is always the possibility that legal action over a local situation involving unlawful picketing could, quite unpredictably, escalate into a major confrontation. The (Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party have declared their intention to confront the provisions of the Act by heavy picketing where possible.

Assessment

9. The incidence of industrial action is relatively low, and major disturbances over pay seem unlikely for the present pay round. Unemployment, redundancies and closures will (as illustrated by the abortive announcement of the NCB's pit closure programme) be a potential source of disturbance throughout 1981. Mostly peaceful rallies and marches can be expected, but these could give rise to some violence, possibly as a result of activities by subversive groups, and they will represent a considerable drain on police resources.

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OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

10. After some years of quiescence, recent months have seen renewed opposition to nuclear weapons and growing concern about civil nuclear energy programmes, and the cooperation between the two movements, now limited, is likely to continue to increase.

11. On nuclear weapons this has been marked by a widespread revival of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) movement. The involvement of the Official Opposition in the anti-nuclear weapons movement represents a new departure, and the CND organisers may seek to encourage respectability by preserving a peaceful and orderly front. However, communists and their sympathisers hold influential positions within the CND hierarchy and other subversive groups have increased their interest in the movement.

12. References by President Reagan to the deployment of further US nuclear weapons in Europe may fuel the movement. Increased CND and similar activities in the next year are likely to be well supported and generally orderly, but may be accompanied by disorder as a result of the activities of more militant groups.

13. Apart from large set-piece demonstrations, smaller events at military establishments are likely. These may be disruptive, with the aim of seeking maximum publicity, and mounted with little or no advance notice, so requiring good liaison between civil and military police. The involvement of extremists in local CND groups could lead to minor sabotage if attempts were made to occupy or damage installations. And, if thwarted in efforts to mount effective protests at nuclear sites, demonstrators might switch to non-nuclear installations.

14. Unlike their counterparts on the Continent, with whom they seem at present to have little significant contact, the anti-nuclear energy campaign in this country has so far adopted a relatively peaceful approach. The two largest organisations are for the most part free of subversive influences, but anarchist-dominated groups are prominent in the campaign and Trotskyist groups are showing an increasing interest. Mass rallies and demonstrations, particularly at nuclear plant sites, may give rise to some disorder. The Government's open approach to policy and planning developments in this field will help to keep matters generally low-key. And, unlike the deployment of nuclear weapons, the speed at which nuclear energy is introduced can to some extent be regulated to accommodate changes in the climate of opinion.

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15. A particular feature of civil nuclear energy is the transport of radioactive materials and disposal of waste. There has been some disruption by the organisation 'Greenpeace', and this year's sea dump may be similarly disrupted. A research programme for the disposal option for high-level radioactive waste is under way. This requires planning permission for various research drilling projects, and public local inquiries will be spread throughout the latter part of the year. Opposition is organised and vocal, and as the drilling programme progresses it may serve as a catalyst to unite a number of the potentially dissident groups in promoting publicity-seeking demonstrations or vandalism. The isolation of many drilling sites will create difficulties for the police. And the programme may become a significant nationalist issue in Scotland and Wales.

16. Minor acts of attempted sabotage by anti-nuclear groups have also been directed against the transport of radioactive material. There is less scope for civil disturbance here but, as the anti-nuclear energy campaign grows, so will the risk of more dangerous activities by its extreme members.

Assessment

17. Large and mostly peaceful demonstrations protesting about both civil and military use of nuclear energy can be expected. Extremist groups may seek to exploit them by violent means. With increased involvement of subversives in these protest movements there will probably be scattered incidents at installations, drilling sites or transport depots associated with the nuclear programme, possibly involving minor sabotage.

NATIONALISM (including policy on Northern Ireland)

18. In the absence of any major focal point of direct concern to their cause, the militant activities of Scottish and Welsh nationalists are unlikely to be extensive. But nationalist elements, particularly those subject to extreme left-wing influence, will seek to exploit wider causes of discontent affecting Scottish and Welsh interests (eg unemployment in South Wales, test-drillings in Scotland), with marches and demonstrations as counterparts to those in England. Nationalist groups will seek to use such occasions to foment disorder and prompt nationalist discontent.

19. More recently, various Irish factions have increasingly been choosing Glasgow for their demonstrations. The developing pattern of protest and counter-protest there serves to underline the potential for serious disorder in Strathclyde

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arising from Irish issues, and the present 3 month ban on public processions in the region reflects the worsening situation.

Assessment

20 Civil disturbance may result from nationalist activity where issues facing the country as a whole are exploited for nationalist ends.

RACIAL ISSUES AND EXTREME RIGHT WING ACTIVITY

21. Extreme right wing groups continue to seek publicity through frequent provocative marches and rallies. The main groups are the National Front, the British Movement and the New National Front. The marches, though ostensibly peaceful, generate vocal and often violent opposition, often organised by the Trotskyist-sponsored Anti-Nazi League (ANL). Recently there has been a lull in its activity, but the ANL is undergoing something of a revival. The level of disturbance at marches by the extreme right is unlikely to increase very significantly, but will continue to impose a strain on the police.

22. Of more immediate concern has been the apparent increase in violent attacks on members of ethnic and other minorities. The Home Secretary has undertaken to inquire into the extent to which these are perpetrated by members of extreme right wing organisations and into possible counter-measures. Collectively such attacks on individuals have agitated the minority communities and made them more volatile and inflammable. In these circumstances spontaneous violence and disorder is easily sparked off.

23. There are also signs of growing militancy and disaffection on the part particularly of West Indian youths on such matters as unemployment, right wing activity and the Nationality Bill, and a number of militant organisations have grown up. There is also support amongst Asians for the Communist-dominated Campaign Against Racist Laws. Although ethnic minority groups may, as in London on 2 March, take to the streets in formal protest marches and demonstrations, the much greater risk is of spontaneous disorder of the sort seen last year in Bristol and recently in Brixton.

24. There is, particularly in London, the problem of sizeable communities of students and others from the Middle East and elsewhere. There is always the possibility of internecine conflict between or within these communities.

/25. Marches

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Assessment

25. Marches by extreme right wing movements are likely to be a regular feature of the next 6-12 months. With the marchers and opposition often looking for confrontation, these will probably create more difficulties for the police than the organised events on unemployment, nuclear disarmament, or other issues. But the police should be able to contain any disorder, using their public order powers and the tactics they have developed in recent years.

26. There is potential for serious disorder by members of the ethnic minorities. Increased militancy and large numbers of bored, unemployed youths may spark off disturbances in almost any large town, with the police a main target. Tension is aggravated by the fact that racial issues and immigrant areas have become the battlegrounds of the (predominantly white) extremists of right and left. There is increasingly organised political activity by racial minority groups, and the more militant will seize upon issues such as black unemployment and the Nationality Bill for campaigns of their own.

CONCLUSION

27. Although subversive organisations are not known to be planning to stage major violence they may well exploit issues and incidents. More set-piece marches and demonstrations are to be expected, and extremists will seek to exploit them by violence or disruption. Irish marches in Glasgow and marches by extreme right have in themselves a potential for serious disorder - partly because they are provocative and partly because of the opposition they generate. All these set-piece events are expensive in police manpower, and at this cost the risk of serious public disorder seems likely to be contained. But there is always a danger of an event erupting into something more serious, and it will be necessary to monitor the major events closely.

28. Other disorder, for example at nuclear installations, may be orchestrated by extremists. Public order arrangements and plans for the protection of key sites will need to be well co-ordinated, and steps are being taken to ensure this.

29. Finally, spontaneous disorder at focal points around the country must now be expected. This may be a sudden eruption, for example in response to a factory closure or strained industrial relations. But more likely, and potentially far more serious, are outbreaks of spontaneous disorder among ethnic minorities, such as was seen last year in Bristol and this year in Brixton. Work is continuing on the improvement of police arrangements for handling spontaneous disorder, but the problems that such incidents set the police, even in London, are serious.

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Further Measures

30. In the course of this review the need has become clear for the wider collation and dissemination of information which may be relevant to the prospect of disorder. For example, the announcement last year of widespread steel redundancies coincided with the Prime Minister's visit to Cardiff, and her arrival there was met with some disorder. The public order implications of developments in the areas identified in this paper, particularly those involving changes in Government policy, need to be borne in mind. It would be helpful if Ministers of the Home Departments could be advised of any development, such as the announcement of Government plans (eg those affecting plant closures), since public order considerations may be relevant to its timing.

Home Office
23 April 1981

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Annex

DEPARTMENTS TAKING PART IN THE REVIEW

Home Office
Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
The Security Service
Scottish Home and Health Department
Welsh Office
Department of Industry
Department of Employment
Department of Energy
Ministry of Defence
Cabinet Office

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

13 April 1981

Dear John,

BRIXTON : INQUIRY

The Prime Minister discussed the weekend's events in Brixton with the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Chief Whip this morning. I passed the essential conclusions of the discussion to Stephen Boys-Smith by telephone as soon as the meeting was over. The purpose of this letter is to confirm what I told him.

Ministers agreed that there would have to be an inquiry into what had happened at Brixton. It should be carried out by Lord Scarman, if he was prepared to accept the task. He should sit alone, and ideally he should conduct the inquiry in private, although it might be necessary to say that the evidence presented to him would be published when the inquiry had been completed. The Home Secretary pointed out, however, that Lord Scarman might himself feel that at least a part of the inquiry should be conducted in public, and if that was so it would be necessary to give him the power to sit in public.

After further discussion it was agreed that the terms of reference of the inquiry should be:

"To inquire urgently into the serious disorder in Brixton on 10-12 April and to report, with the power to make recommendations".

I am sending copies of this letter to David Heyhoe (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,

Heri Whitmore.

John Halliday Esq.,
Home Office.

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STATEMENT BY THE HOME SECRETARY

BRIXTON: DISTURBANCES

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

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With permission, Mr. Speaker, I will make a statement about the major disorders which have taken place in Brixton over the week-end. The House is well aware of the violent clashes which have occurred between the police and young people, mainly black. The most serious disorder took place in the afternoon and evening of Saturday. Shops were looted, vehicles destroyed and other property (including private homes) seriously damaged. Again yesterday there were outbreaks of lawlessness in the area, though on a lesser scale. Over the two days a total of 149 police officers were injured, along with 58 members of the public. 10 police officers and one member of the public remain in hospital. 215 people were arrested.

We in Parliament, on behalf of the people of this country, have placed on the police the heavy burden of maintaining peace on the streets and of preserving order and the rule of law.

Whatever questions may arise in people's minds about the reasons why this outbreak of violence occurred, there is no doubt in my mind, nor should there be in the mind of any Member of this House

/that

that Metropolitan Police officers of all ranks carried out their duty with great bravery and professionalism. On our behalf I have asked the Commissioner to pass this message on to all members of his force. I would also wish to pay our tribute to the same courage and determination which were shown by the members of the London Fire Brigade.

But despite the determined efforts of the police, they were faced with violence which was very serious in its type, scale and intensity. In addition to the personal injuries, the widespread damage to property, and consequent financial loss to wholly innocent people, has been enormous. Whatever grievances individuals or communities feel they suffer, such violence - from whatever quarter it comes - cannot and will not be condoned. The police will continue to do their duty to maintain the law on the streets of London, and in this they are entitled to the full support of Parliament and the nation.

The events of this week-end call for the most thorough examination. I have therefore decided to appoint an inquiry under Section 32 of the Police Act 1964. I have invited Lord Scarman to undertake this inquiry and I am glad to say he has accepted. His terms of reference will be:

"To enquire

"To enquire urgently into the serious disorder
in Brixton on 10 to 12 April and to report,
with the power to make recommendations."

The enquiry will be held in public save where Lord Scarman
judges it is appropriate to be held in private.

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

With permission, Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a statement.

The Chief Constable of Avon and Somerset has informed me that serious disorder occurred yesterday evening in part of the St. Paul's area of Bristol. The trouble started when police officers visited a club to execute a search warrant in connection with suspected drink and drug offences. A hostile crowd gathered outside the club and threw stones at the police, who were obliged to call for reinforcements. Police reinforcements arrived, but were heavily outnumbered by the crowd which had grown to some two to three hundred and which pelted the police with bricks, stones and bottles. A running fight developed in which a number of police cars were overturned and set alight.

The Chief Constable, who had taken personal charge of the operation, decided temporarily to withdraw his officers from the area, pending the arrival of further reinforcements. As soon as reinforcements were available the police moved in with riot shields and secured the area. Order was restored by midnight. The police are continuing to patrol the district to prevent further trouble. During the course of the evening considerable damage was done to shops and other

premises; a bank was set on fire; and looting took place.

Some 21 police officers and 9 members of the public were injured: none seriously. 21 arrests have been made so far, mainly for looting. It is not yet possible to assess the extent of the damage to property. The Chief Constable has announced that he is making full enquiries into the incident and I have asked him to report to me urgently. He is in close touch with the local community relations council.

PRIME MINISTER

Riot in Bristol

At 9.00 p.m. this evening rioting broke out in Bristol following a police raid on a cafe (purported to be linked with drugs). Information on the scale of the incident is, as yet, unknown but the following has been reported by the Home Office:

1. Four police cars damaged.
2. A bank has been attacked.
3. A post office has also been attacked.
4. Some injuries to people.
5. Looting is occurring.

The Home Office is providing a full report tomorrow morning.

Duty Clerk

2 April 1980

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