# SHEFFIELD DEFENCE CAMPAIGN NEWSLETTER P.O. BOX 246, SHEFFIELD S1 1GJ

Issue 3 1988 -

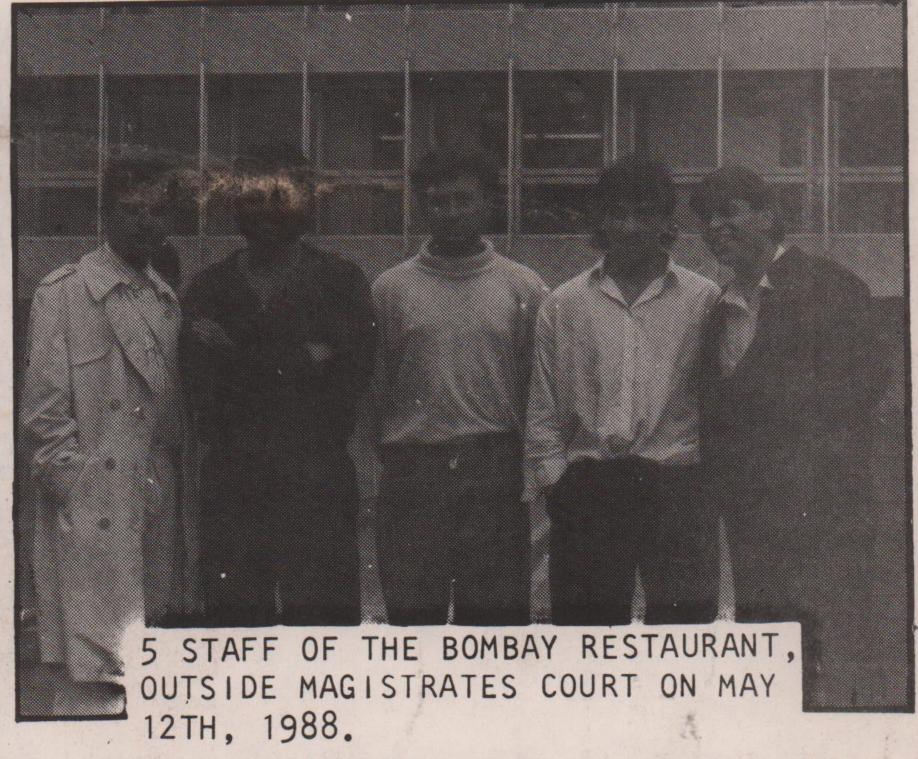
20 pence

# RAGISM THE POLICE THE POLICE THE STAR'

At approx. 1-45a.m. on Tuesday the 10th of May (88) 2 drunken white youths were refused service at the Bombay restaurant, off West St. in Sheffield. This was because the restaurant had closed and was waiting for the last 2 customers to finish their meal and leave. The drunken youths became angry and started to hurl a tirade of racist abuse at the restaurant staff. This was despite the fact, that members of the staff had pleaded to the chef for special consideration, on the late-comers behalf. The chef had replied that to prepare any food now would contravene the restaurant's licenseing hours.

The drunken white youths however, continued to taunt and racially abuse the restaurant waiters, who then asked them to leave the premises It is as the youths were leaving that one of them, in a fit of drunken stupor smashed his arm through the glass panels of the restaurant entrance doors. This vindictor and highly dangerous tantrum of bravado nearly blinded a member of the staff and also gashed the youth's arm. The restaurant staff immediately called the police, so that they could apprehend the troublemakers, before they could do any further damage to themselves or any other innocent people.

By the time the police did arrive, the two troublemakers had joined up with a group of about ten friends (in West St), whom they had been drinking with earlier in the evening.



The restaurant staff meanwhile had pursued the youths into West St., inorder to be able to identify them to the police, when they arrived. One of the party of approx ten was an off-duty police officer, who identified himself to the restaurant staff and tried to make a 'citizen's arrest' of one of THEM, even thouth he knew that the trouble was actually caused by his two drunken friends.

When the police did arrive, they took their version of events from the off-duty police officer and arrested eight members of the restaurant staff, one of whom was white. In short, the police were called by the restaurant staff, because of trouble caused by two white drunken youths, and the police actually arrested the victims of racist abuse and malicious damage and incredibly LET THE TROUBLEMAKERS GO SCOTT FREE! CONTINUED PAGE 8

BOMBAY RESTAURANT

RACIST ATTACK

# STATE RACISM VISA RESTRICTIONS

All the gutter press and even the so called 'quality papers' had plenty to say when these RACIST visa restrictions were introduced in Oct.86. Headlines from the Sun, such as, '1001 lies' of 'Immigrants' at Heathrow; the Mail, 'Immigrants paralyze Heathrow'; and the Mail also described the influx as a 'seige', and looked back to times when 'such seiges would have been repelled by armed force'. THE FACT THAT THESE WERE VISITORS AND NOT PEOPLE COMING TO SETTLE, was not mentioned at all by the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Express. But then ofcourse, massive screaming headlines like 'TOURISTS STILL FLOODING IN', would not have had the same effect - would they?

These visa restrictions against 5 countries
- India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria and
Ghana - all with black populations were
clearly racist. The fact that 17,830 \*
VISITORS have been denied entry, even according to the Home Office, in the last year
alone, TOTALLY VINDICATES our argument!
Naturally most of the gutter press and even
the 'quality papers' have not seen it fit
to mention the loss of these TOURISTS to
the British economy. We wonder why?
\*Daily Jang, London 29-12-87.

How would white people feel if their relatives and friends from Australia, Canada, America etc. were prevented from visiting them?

All black immigration was effectively stoped by the 71 Act. (See last issue) The only real FLOOD in the recent years has been the TORRENT of Immigration laws, Nationality and Visa restrictions etc. Amongst these was the 'registration' under the 81 Act, see last 2 issues.

#### VIRGINITY TESTS

The introduction in 83/84 of the 'Primary Purpose Rule' doubted the authenticity of black peoples marriages. This resulted in the horrific - VIRGINITY TESTS at Heathrow airport. WOULD WHITE WOMEN BE EXPECTED TO PROVE THEIR VIRGINITY BEFORE MARRIAGE?

OFCOURSE NOT! SO WHY EXPECT BLACK WOMEN TO?

#### FAIR BUT FIRM?

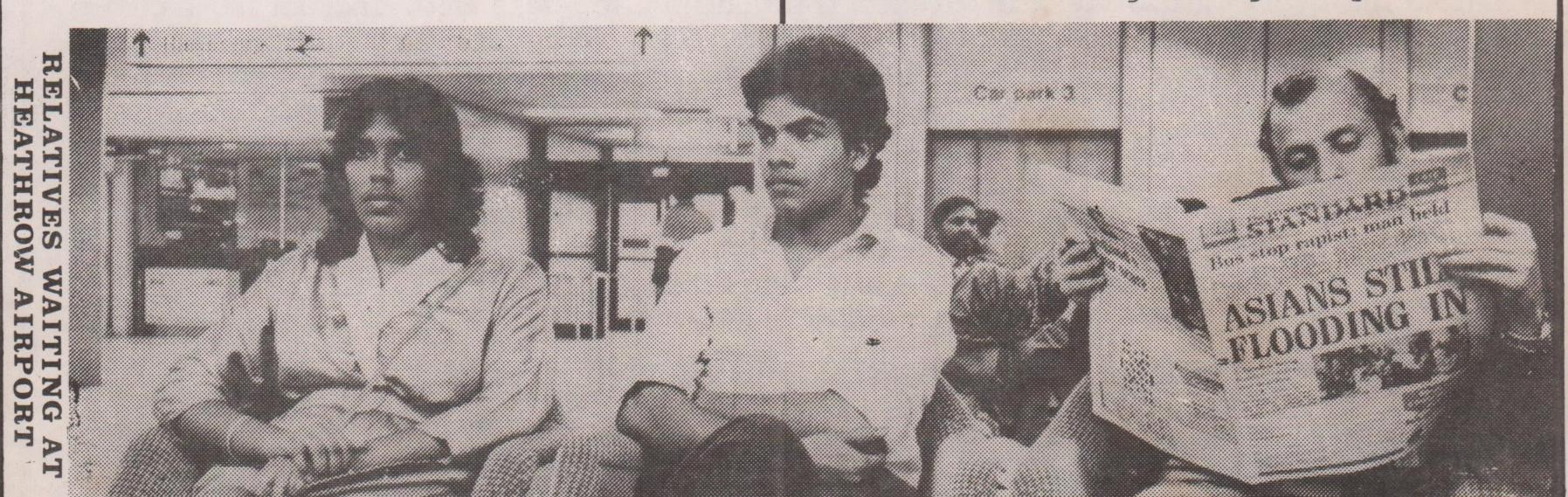
All British governments have claimed, that the Immigration and Nationality laws are fair but firm. THIS IS A FARCE!
Under British Naturalisation rules, it takes at least 2 years on average for black people to become British citizens. Plus they have to have been resident in Britain for 5 years before they can even apply! But Zola Budd, who had never set foot in this country, let alone run, managed it in just 12 DAYS. Those woolly-eyed liberals that think, the basic state institutions are not racist, should take careful note of the treatment of Zola Budd in comparison to black experiences of the Home Office.

#### REFUGEES

Refugees fleeing oppression have been refused entry! In Feb.87, the case of the 62 Sri Lankan refugees UNDRESSING on the tarmac at Heathrow airport, drew attention to the CAVALIER treatment of refugees in general, by Britain. The British government claimed they were 'bogus' because they did not have proper visas. It therefore denied them an Independent Review - which is allowed to all refugees - under the United Nations Convention on Refugees.(It only changed its mind after strong and concerted pressure by black people on the refugees behalf.)

In March 87, the British government announced the 'Carriers Liability' - whereby, an airline would be fined £1,000 for any passenger they brought to U.K. without the proper documents. One airline pilot made the comment on television:

"That they were being put in the position of train-drivers during Nazi germany".



#### STATE RACISM

### Burnage School: The Aftermath

Common sense reveals to us all (except the government ofcourse) that if you are a refugee, you are unlikely to have all the proper documents! Jews fleeing from Germany in Hitler's time very rarely had the proper documents, because Hitler's Nazi regime was hardly likely to oblige them.

Never let it be said though, that the British government can not have it both ways. In another case, of 16 Iranian refugees, Britain again refused them refugee status. the reason this time being, that—"since they had correct documentation, they can not have been in any danger in Iran".

Who says you ca'nt have your cake and eat it:

Plearly the only swamping in the recent ears has been the flood of vicious repressions by the RACIST British state against the black peoples!!! It is ofcourse no coincidence that Britain is the world's biggest collaborator with the South African APARTHEID regime. AMANDLA.

#### \*\*\* COMPETITION TIME \*\*\*

CAN YOU GIVE US THE ANSWER TO THESE SIMPLE QUESTIONS
IF YOU CAN YOU COULD WIN OUR FABULOUS BOOK PRIZE.

1. WHICH RIGHT WING NEWSPAPERS ARE OWNED BY RUPERT MURDOCH+

2. WHICH POLITICIAN, AND FROM WHICH PARTY SENT THE TROOPS INTO N.E. IRELAND. IN 1969

ANSWERS ON APOSTCARD TC S.D.C. P.O.BOX 246

THE SHEFFIELD DEFENCE CAMPAIGN STANDS FOR:

- (1) No platform for fascists and organised racists.
- (2) No to all immigration controls.
- (3) No deportations.
- (4) The right of black people to organise autonomously and the right to self-defence against all forms of racism.

We are committed to taking these demands into the wider labour movement.

#### Affiliations / Donations:

Organisations: £10-00

Name @ address of Sec:....

Individuals: Waged £1-50/Unwaged £0-50p.

Cheques to S.D.C.PO BOX 246 S1 1GJ.

Burnage High School For Boys

Manchester: SEPT.86.

AHMED IQBAL ULLAH MURDERED!

Darren Colburn, 13, was bullying Asian children. Ahmed attempts to stop him and is killed. The police deny any racial motive to the murder. The Education Authority see it as a racial murder, by a severely disturbed boy who had already burned down a part of the school.

The school forbids participation of any white students and many black students in Ahmed's funeral.

March 87 As a result of the polarisation of black and white kids, there are severe disturbances at the school.

Recently a report was compiled upon all of this and partially leaked to the Manchester Evening News. Following this report a number of attitudes have surfaced. The right and extreme right have jumped on the report, so as to charecterise all forms of anti-racism as necessarily flawed. Melanie Phillips in the Guardian sees the whole affair as extremist politics gone wrong. There is however another view to put.

The problems of Burnage could be seen as the failure of doctrinaire and institutionalised anti-racism. It can be said that it treated all of the ethnic groupings of the community in a mechanical way and did not allow the community to forge its own links through its own experiences and struggles. Criticism of Burnage, its headteacher and his deputies, has come from many quarters. The right critises to bury all anti-racism. Others, such as Gus John, saw how the school administration remained aloof in its implementation of anti-racsit policy and took no steps to involve the whole community actively in the process.

This latter view, that everyone should be actively involved; can be seen in such projects as Frontline Culture and Education, where a shoe-string operation is bringing the young, especially, to examine the whole basis of racism and their own experiences of it; in particular, the role of the police and authoritarian teaching methods.

The way forward is perfectly clear, the whole community-actively opposed to racism, actively involved in anti-racism, - NOT POLICIES GENERATED OUT OF IMPERSONAL THEORIES AND THEN IMPOSED FROM ABOVE.

## FIGHT RACISM!



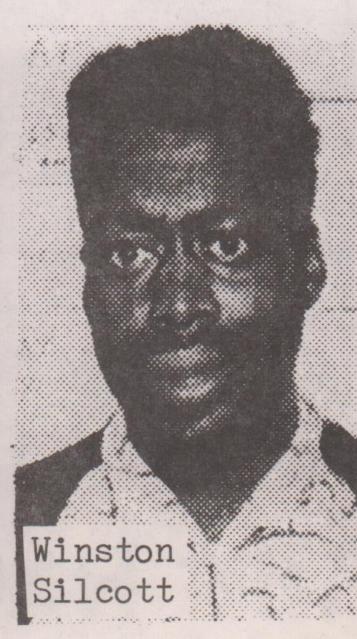
The 19th. of March, 87 concluded one of the biggest frame ups in British legal history. Three young men whose names are - Winston Silcott, Mark Braithwaite and Engin Raghip were convicted of killing P.C. Blakelock during the Oct. 8th. Broadwater Farm Uprisings. They each received life sentences with recommendations of 30 years minimum, 20 years respectively. Three juveniles were acquitted of the murder charge.

The Farm uprose in force after the callous killing of Cynthia Jarrett by police bursting into her home. And the results? Over 400 arrests and interrogations made, with the state making the utmost efforts to achieve convictions. Forensic teams, official cameramen taking thousands of shots and police calling at every dwelling on the estate seeking witnesses. All of this turned upnot a thing. In the end they had to resort to bribery, perjury, violence and systematic brutality.

The police dealt ruthlessly with the three juveniles. One was arrested from out of his E.S.N. school and denied a solicitor. A white youth was kept for over three days clad only in his underpants, and fantasised about the Press sensationalised 'Put Blakelock's head on a pole' story. A third juvenile had to contend against a police 'witness' who was given jobs, cash and rent paid flat. All were acquitted of murder when the judge said the police's methods were illegal and brutal.

#### FREE THE PRISONERS OF THE UPRISINGS

Mark Braithwaite





The adults were blasted with the full force of judicial repression. They underwent the same brutal treatment which had been employed against the juveniles and deemed unacceptable by the judge. But their tortures were ignored. Mark Braithwaite, now 20 was alleged to have confessed to hitting a policeman with a bar, though he consistently denied it. He suffered especially from his confinement being claustrophobic, tired and hungry. His alibi gave evidence to show that he had not infact been at the scene of the killing. Engin Raghip is 20 years old. Though he cannot read or write he is supposed to have read and signed a confession to being armed with a broom-handle in a crowd around Blakelock's body. He was subjected to 10 interviews over 5 days without solicitor. Like Braithwaite, his solid alibi proved that he was actually elsewhere at the time, which cut not ice with the judge.

The police were determined to frame Winston Silcott. 'Sticks' was 26 and a greengrocer. From the start of the trial the media swung into action levelling its guns at his person. The Sun and Star prblished large front page photographs and publicly branded him as the 'ringleader'. The police bribed a juvenile named Pyke to lie against Silcott - a ploy which collapsed. In the end they had nothingnot even a solitary photo. So they convicted Silcott on the basis of having a 'guilty posture' and that's all.

The state wants to crush black people.

Of course we are not the only victims. Take
the case of the Guildford 4 - four Irish
people scapegoated and framed for a pub
bombing. Here too, the court need no evidence
to reach a guilty verdict. Conversely in the
case of Cynthia Jarrett evidence was abundant and undeniable - and the police
MURDERERS GOT OFF. With Clinton McCurbin
they were not even brought to court.

In 88 the Campaign plans to step up its activities and secure an appeal and release. So if you want to play your part in this crucial work watch out for details. For further information write to:

Tottenham 3 Are Innocent Campaign: C/O Grassroots Storefront, 71 Golborne Rd. London W10 Tel. 01-969 0687

#### NO TO STATE MEDIA FRAME-UPS ORGANISE

Extracted from an article printed in Black Voice the Popular Paper of the Black Unity and Freedom Party, Vol 19 No. 1.

# RE-INSTATE TINA DADEY

The nightmare sequence of events that led to black midwife Tina Dadey's dismissal from the Sheffield Health Authority make shocking reading. This black sister has suffered gross injustice: from her employers, who she served with exemplary dedication for 6 years; from the South Yorks. Police, who conspired with racism in the Northern General Hospital (N.G.H.), to entrap Tina in a vicious under-handed way as well as assault her, and subject this single mother to much humiliation and anguish.

POLICE RACISM

Tina Dadey was made the scape-goat for 19 different thefts. The only 'evidence' the Hospital managedment produced was that Tina was somewhere in the Hospital' – at the time of these thefts. In the course of police 'investigations' Tina's house and car were searched. She and her children were locked in Eccelesfield police station for 9 hours, where she was slapped around and racially abused. Even after all this, the police could find no evidence and subsequently brought no charges – but still the Hospital management sacked her! Thefts continued to occour after Tina was suspended and after she was sacked and have continued ever since!

Tina Dadey has always protested her TOTAL INNOCENCE of any thefts or misdemeanours.

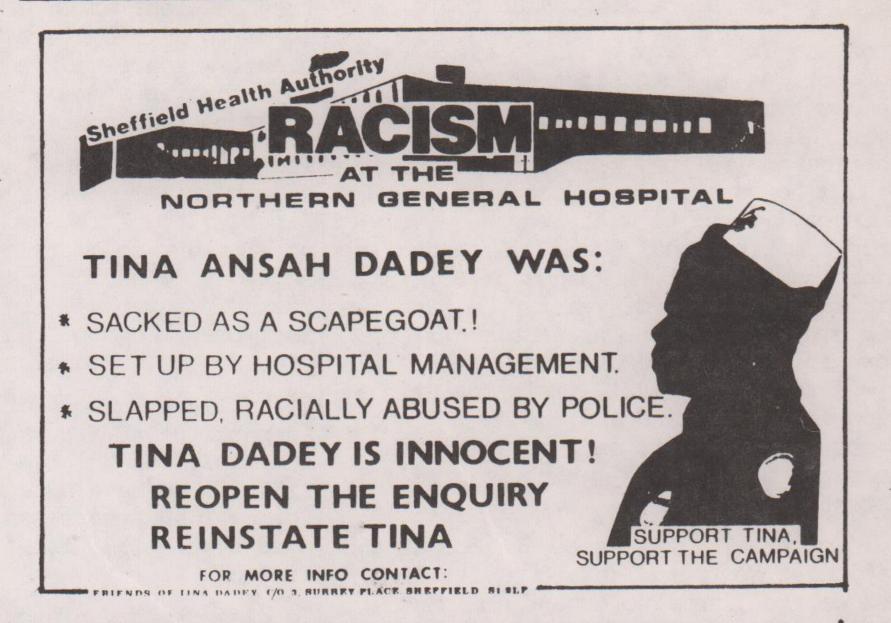
#### HEALTH AUTHORITY RACISM

Hearing of this horrendous RACIST treatment of Tina Dadey by the S.H.A., numerous organisations have already offered their support to RE-OPEN this investigation and to clear her good name. These organisations include: Sheffield Council for Racial Equlity, Sheffield and District Afro-Caribbean Centre Association, the Sheffield Law Centre and the Sheffeild Defence Campaign. Also, Tina has always had the full support of her union, COHSE, to RE-OPEN her investigation.

#### COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Following lobbies by these organisations, an ENQUIRY into the S.H.A.'s DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES was agreed on the 1st. of Feb.88. The 'chairman' (as he insists on being called) of the S.H.A., Stanley Speight, viewed this as a concession to Tina's supporters. Her supporters however, have always DEMANDED and continue to DEMAND a RE-INVESTIGATION of Tina Dadey's case, which we believe will undoubtedly lead to her total vindication and RE-INSTATEMENT!

Regardless of the findings of the Disciplinary Procedures enquiry, only strong support on Tina Dadey's behalf will force the Sheffield Health Authority to RE OPEN her investigation. SHE NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT TO CLEAR ER GOOD-NAME!



## JUSTICE FORYASMIN!

HOUSE STILL UNFIT TO LIVE IN!

The Akram family are now in the sixth year of having to endure extreme cold and damp conditions, in a house which is supposed to have had an improvement grant. (See last issue). They are STILL waiting to take their daughter Yasmin, a physically and mentally disabled person out of an institution and to have her live with them as a family.

The main idea of the improvement grant was to make the house suitable for Yasmin. With additional BASIC improvements to make it damp-proof and habitable for all members of the Akram family.

Over the six years countless reports and letters and now even a surveyor's report, have been sent in to the Sheffield City Council's Housing Dept. All graphically illustrating the deplorable conditions the Akram family are living in. Needless to say, the surveyor's report also vindicates the A.F.D.C.'s arguments of Council negligence and mis-management. The City Council should now stop stalling and agree to the Akram family's just and fair demands.

The Council have the surveyor's report. The ball is in their court. THEY SHOULD NOW ACT!

AKRAM FAMILY
DEFENCE
COMMITTEE

# IRELAND - THE MORAL QUESTION?

The following article has been sent in by a S.D.C. supporter, as a discussian topic.

The question of Ireland tends to evoke very strong emotions on both sides of the divide. Even among those who would agree that the only just conclusion can only be the reunification of Ireland, yet differences remain - as to how this is to be achieved. Namely by violence, if so, to what degree - or by strictly constitutional means? Although Ireland has suffered at the hands of British Imperialism for 100's of years, the particular circumstances of the present conflict are more related to the political settlement which was reached in 1921. This established the Republic of Ireland and the division of the 6 counties from it, on the basis of an undemocratic head-count - which secured a Protestant majority.

The role of the I.R.A. has been aimed at the liberation of Northern Ireland (N.I.) from British control, and Protestant dominance. The IRA's policy and view is that violence is the only means by which liberation will occur. This is based on the belief that the constitutional road is not open. This rejection is based in turn, on the British government's policy of guaranteeing the Protestants in N.I. of remaining British, so long as

they so wish. Which effectively means forever. It is in this context that the policy of violence was arrived at - with the full knowledge that an accommadation with the British government was not possible.

The moral arguments therefore for the IRA and their policies are that:

Firstly, the Irish people as a whole have a moral right to their country and to their self-determination.

Secondly, that any constitutional settlement is impossible, so long as the British guarantee to the Protestants remains.

Virtually the whole of Irish politics, and in particular, N.I.'s politics are the direct results of British immorality and illegality. These have punctured Ireland's history for over 400 years, and were further conpounded by the 1921 artificial division of Ireland.

To claim that violence is unacceptable, is to weaken your ability to change anything, and perhaps more importantly, it represents an unrealistic assessment of the situation.

We would welcome your views on this article, or any other topic that you feel merits a serious public discussion.



# Institutionalized Racism At City Colleges

Some racism is obvious and direct, easy to see for the whole community - scars are easy to see when worn on the outside.

Overt and loudly vocal racism is easy to hear. What is more difficult to find, unless you experience it - or unless you are connected with those who experience it. Institutionalised racism, especially that which is imformal but buried within various institutions - often local government bodies is less known by the general public and produces scars more difficult to find.

Education is one particular and very disturbing area in which both institutionalised and informal racism occours. It is interesting to note that while our 'caring' local authority may have 'guidelines' concerning racism, anti-racism and equality of opportunity, the overall practise and experiences of courses run in local colleges comes far short of any ideal, either of equal opportunity or of real anti-racism. Countless black people upon Further Education courses (where they can actually get on those courses), find a monolith of patronising staff, outright prejudice in the actual teaching of courses, or further, discrimination in their assessments.

Guidelines mean nothing! Racists declared or undeclared work in these colleges. Nothing is being done, the administration and the local authority have done nothing so far. Strange isn't it that where supposedly anti-racist institutions are in operation such things should happen? What do you think?



# VIRAJ MENDIS WILL STAY!

Viraj Mendis is fighting a deportation order which would send him to his death in Sri Lanka. He has lived in Britain for 15 years and since December 86, he has been in sanctuary, in the Church of Ascension in Hulme, Manchester.

#### SRI LANKA

The situation in Sri Lanka is very dangerous for Viraj, who is a communist and a Sinhalese. He supports the Tamil peoples' cause -17,000 of whom have been killed since 1983. There are neo-fascist death-squads and extreme oppression for anyone who opposes the Sinhalese ruling regime.

#### HOME OFFICE

It is now more dangerous than ever to deport Viraj Mendis to Sri Lanka. This is the view not just of Viraj's supporters but also of Amnesty International and the world Council of Churches. Despite the evidence of his almost certain death, the Home Office is more determined than ever to deport him. The Home Office only gave 4 days notice, of Viraj's Appeal Hearing (Tues 10th. May), trying to undermine his Defence Campaign. The V.M.D.C. however are leading a strong fightback with mobilisations and vigils outside both the Home Office in London and the Church in Manchester. If the Appeal goes against Viraj, his supporters believe the Home Office has planned to raid the sanctuary and deport him to his death. The V.M.D.C. in turn, have made preperations to defend the sanctuary.

#### Sheffield Support Group

A V.M.D.C. Sheffield Support Group has just been established, to generate and mobilize support for Viraj in Sheffield. A coach has been booked for the V.M.D.C. National Demonstration in Manchester on the 28th of May. The Sheffield Support Group consists of various individual peoples and groups of many differing backgrounds, who have all come together to stop Viraj's deportation and to fight against RACIST IMMIGRATION laws in general.

#### No to Death in Sri Lanka! No to Deportations!

Further information about the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign: SHEFFIELD SUPPORT GROUP From P.O. BOX 246 Sheffield S1 1GJ

# TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND! NO TO ORANGE MARCHES!

ON SATURAY 18th JUNE THE EXTREME
RIGHT WING 'ORANGEORDER' ARE TO
MARCH THROUGH CHESTERFIELD WITH
THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE LABOUR
CONTROLLED BOROUGH COUNCIL.



THAT THEY ARE NOT WELCOME.
WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT, ASSEMBLE
11 mm, TOWN HALL STEPS, ROSE HILL,
CHESTERFIELD, FOR MARCH AND RALLY.
TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!
NO TO ORANGE BIGOTS!

National Counter-Demonstration SAT. 18TH JUNE CHESTERFIELD



## NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

SAT. 28th. MAY
12PM ALBERT SQ. MANCHESTER

#### STOP THE DEPORTATIONS

Coaches from Paternoster Row. Leave 10-00a.m. Nr. Sheffield Polytechnic and B.R. Stn. Tickets: Waged £3-00 Unwaged £2-00 Available from Independent Book Shop in Surrey St. in Sheffield.

#### RACISM-THE POLICE AND THE STAR

including the main perpertrator of the trouble who had slashed his arm as a result of breaking the glass panels in the restaurant doors.

If the racist actions of the police were not bad enough, the Sheffield Star in turn, made out this drunken troublemaker to be the victim of a 'meat cleaver attack', thus further compounding the racism of the police, by adding its own version of the events. The Shefield Star's racist perspective was clearly evident in its recent (11-5-88) 'expose' of Dr. Zaman. Let us make our position perfectly clear. We categorically and unreservedly condemn the greed and malpractises of Dr. Zaman. But we also utterly and totally condemn the gutter-press RACIST tactics of this article by the Star. Which was clearly written from a racist perspective. We simply ask:

Would the Star have been so hysterical had it have been a white doctor?

The racist perspective of the Star is not a new phenomenon, but one which has been consistently evident over many years. A prime example of which appeared in May 85. This concerned a series of articles loosely entitled 'the Heroin connection'. In these articles a clear suggestion was made that ALL of the Asian community were involved in trafficing Heroin. Equally in turn, the same racist perspective of the Star has consistently portrayed the Afro-Caribbean community of Sheffield as traffikers and dealers in marijuana. The results of these gutter-press tactics is to use an issue - to criminalise the whole of the black community. The drugs issue is a classic and fundamental example of racist stereo-typing, which the so called 'free press' in this country is so fond of propagating, by the page full, on a daily basis. The Star has consistently sunk below the gutter-press and is happiest when wallowing in the sewer.

Inorder to gauge the real depth of the Star's racism, the former articles need to be contrasted with the ambivalent reporting of racist attacks on black people by racists. In these incidents, the racist thugs are persumed to be innocent until proven guilty. And even when found guilty, the Star has treated them very mildly or even sympathetically. Such as: 'Jail terms for 2 young men following violent pub attack' (Star 27-4-88) The Star refused to identify it as a RACIST attack, even though the judge had clearly identified it as a racist attack, when he told one of the men, Martin Dixon:

"This was a gratuitous act of violence for no more reason than the man was a coloured man and who happened to be staring at him".

On these occassions, the Star is fond of citing both sides of the argument. Even when there is irrefutable evidence of a racially motivated attack, as in the case of Martin Dixon above, the Star refused to say so either before or after the trial - Hiding behind the cloak of 'sub-judicy'. This would be a good principle, if they practised it both ways. Which was singularly not the case, with the Star's reporting of the RACIST attack on the Bombay restaurant on the early hours of 10th of May. It openly LIED, when it printed that a youth had been struck by a meat cleaver. When in actual fact his wounds were the result of his own drunken stupidity and also of his malicious and racist behaviour.

Had the Star bothered to check their facts out, they would have learned that it was the Bombay restaurant and its staff that were attacked, by these two drunken youths and not the other way about. The Star in this incidence, like many others displayed its RACIST motives and its scant regard for the truth with the racially inflamatory headline of "curry attack" (12-5-88). In turning the truth on its head, the Star flouted 5 of the 12 parts of the N.U.J.'s Code of Conduct. (Parts 1,2,3,9 and 10). It also contravened ALL FIVE of the N.U.J.'s 'Guidelines on Race and Journalists'.

The Sheffield Defence Campaign, on behalf of the victims of the Star's racist reporting of the Bombay restaurant incidents of 10-5-88, DEMANDS that the Star immediately complies with part 4 of the N.U.J. Code of Conduct. Namely, that it makes a PUBLIC APOLOGY - giving it the same prominance as the original LIES and racially inflamatory remarks that it printed. Secondly, that it gives the victims of its RACIST outrage - A RIGHT OF REPLY!

That is if the Star wishes to save, even a semblance of impartiality within the minds of the black community of Sheffield. The Star may choose to ignore its obligations to objectivity - after all Murdoch gets away with it every day - and look at howmany papers he sells. In the latter case however, the Sheffield black community will judge the Sheffield Star with the contempt it deserves.