

Police officers in the process of carrying out a conspiracy to murder a man called David Martin mistake another man, Stephen Waldorf, for him. They shoot and pistol whip Waldorf in the street. Officers involved allowed to get away with saying that they did it in self-defence.

Newham 8 supported by thousands on national march.

Thatcher Tories win massive majority in parliament as SDP splits the votes.

Thatcher Tories bring back Police Bill and Data Protection Bill.

Thatcher Tories bring forward proposals for more restrictions on trade unions.

New Prevention of Terrorism Bill proposed. Existing Act agreed by all to be 'draconian' and Labour Party withdraws support for it. The new Act will run for periods of 5 years at a time and be usable against 'foreign terrorists' as well as the Irish. Under the existing measure more than 5700 Irish people were detained for questioning for periods of up to 7 days without charge. Of these less than 60 have been convicted of any offences and many of these, most clearly a family called the Donlons, have been framed.

Sir Kenneth Newman targets the black community and leads drive to involve teachers, social workers, health workers, local authority workers in police spying operations (multi-agency policing). Community also asked to spy on itself (neighbourhood watch). In his first annual report he says militants are conducting anti-police campaign and that public must accept that police cannot either stop or solve 'crimes of opportunity'.

Home Secretary promises Tory party conference new repressive approach to sentencing.

Repressive approach to censorship extended under the pretext of protecting children from 'video nasties'.

Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice, says supporting the police is supreme duty of citizen.

Attacks on peace movement by the police and the courts—especially against the Greenham women—intensify.

Newham 8 trial ends. Four are acquitted and four are found guilty of 'Affray' and sentenced to hours of 'community service'.

Systematic and brutal police attacks on pickets during NGA strike in Warrington. Courts order union funds to be seized for alleged contempt.

## 1984

Use of police and the new labour laws against trade union action now the order of the day.

Right of civil servants at GCHQ to join unions taken away with threat of dismissal without compensation for non-compliance.

Miners struggle to defend jobs.

Kwame Ture (the former Stokely Carmichael) banned from the UK.

Miners' strike in defence of jobs. 10,000 strong police operation co-ordinated by Scotland Yard. Nottinghamshire sealed off and pickets illegally stopped and turned back under threat of arrest 150 miles away. Operation commended by chairman of Association of Chief Police Officers, notorious for its right-wing views.

### INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

I wish to join the National Campaign Against the Police Bill.

I enclose ..... for membership (£1) and ..... as a donation towards the Campaign's running costs.

NAME(block capitals) .....

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SIGNATURE .....

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The ..... (name of organisation) wishes to affiliate to the National Campaign Against the Police Bill.

I enclose £5 affiliation fee.

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Send to NCAPB c/o 50, Rectory Road, London N16 7QY

# NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE POLICE BILL BULLETIN 2



## NO POLICE BILL! NO POLICE STATE!

50p



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Gay Icebreakers

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Northamptonshire Campaign Against the Police Bill  
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Bootee Federation for Joint Action  
Hyndburn Trades Union Council  
Huddersfield Campaign Against the Police Bill  
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Sheffield University Students' Union  
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Lewisham Police Monitoring Group  
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British Union of Social Workers  
NUPW (Bristol)  
Birkenhead Trade Union Committee & Unemployed Resource Centre  
Westminster North Constituency Labour Party  
Blackbrook Labour Party  
Sunderland Women's Aid  
NAPO (North East London Branch)  
Hampshire Council Labour Group  
Black Women for Wages for Housework  
English Collective of Prostitutes  
Wages Due Lesbians  
Wages for Housework Campaign  
Women Against Rape  
Fylde Constituency Labour Party  
Irish Republican Socialist Party  
Kingston Polytechnic Marxist Society  
National Association for Multiracial Education  
Nottingham East Constituency Labour Party  
Communist Party of Great Britain (Crouch End)  
Basingstoke Constituency Labour Party

# The Police Bill and the NGA and NUM Dispute

Almost every new industrial 'dispute' these days, from Warrington to Nottingham, meets the same response from the ruling class and its state: increased reliance on the courts, the police and the fears which spring from mass unemployment to break the fighting spirit of workers. All this brings experiences which have hitherto appeared marginal right to the centre of things. For example, those opposed to the Police Bill may no longer have to scream at the labour movement using the experience of state repression of the black communities (SUS, SWAMP '81, police brutality, racist sentencing policies, Brick Lane, Southall '79, racist immigration laws, etc.) or of Irish nationalists both in Britain and the North of Ireland (internal exile, the PTA and Special Powers Act, Bloody Sunday, plastic bullets, the 'shoot to kill' policy, the well documented tortures of suspects in Omagh, Castlereagh and Gough, Diplock no-jury courts with their paid perjurers). Now the labour movement has its own experiences to draw upon. So, too, do those who protest to survive, who camp at Greenham Common, who organise on any of the many fronts against growing state repression. Even those who sit innocently, unsuspected themselves of any criminal offence, in homes that were once castles will shortly have experiences akin to that of the elderly black couple, the Whites, to whom the courts were obliged to award £50,000. The invasion of their home by the police in which they were brutalised will become a commonplace practice with officers looking for evidence of 'serious arrestable offences'.

## NGA/Warrington

The NGA dispute at Warrington already seems further away than late '83. For have we not since had the GCHQ outrage, contempt orders falling like confetti on trade unions who dare to defend their members' rights by blacking or the use of occupations (£75,000 each against the NGA and SOGAT 82). Against such unions crippling fines are imposed by the same courts which rule that employers including Area Health Authorities have the right to tear up nationally negotiated contracts in order to force down still further wages of school dinner ladies—already among the worst paid in the land. All this and the fight by the NUM.

We forget at our peril that on hundreds of picket lines up and down the country ignored by the national news media, police power is being ruthlessly deployed to intimidate picketing trade unionists. Codes of conduct totally devoid of the force of law are being used to engineer obstruction charges and ordinary workers are being steadily criminalised in the manner once virtually the preserve of black youth.

## Police Violence

Despite this we must not forget Warrington. There the NGA and its supporters on the picket line faced the new formations of the police evolved in the aftermath of the 1981 Uprisings and, despite the warnings from the black communities, largely ignored by the labour movement. The essence of these new formations is their willingness to use violence against the civilians, their high level of mobility, their interchangeability between force areas, the potentiality of (eventually at least) all police officers to serve in them, their high level of co-ordination locally and nationally, and the considerable physical protection afforded to individual officers by concealed body armour, helmets etc. Gratuitous violence against the picket characterised the police operation. Helmeted police heads were liberally used to butt people. Boots were equally freely used. A van, the property of the NGA and being used wholly legally to

co-ordinate picketing was invaded by the police and wantonly smashed. We saw such violence at 6 Park View Road, Southall in 1979. We saw it, too, against a van on one of the Colin Roach marches in Hackney. And in what a national newspaper called a 'dress rehearsal for a riot' in Notting Hill in April 1982, when in the words of an eye witness "they came in with their black uniforms and helmets—no numbers on them—and started bashing people up". A squad showing some hesitancy about entering a black-owned take-away food shop were ordered to beat up people by Superintendent Moore. When they came out after carrying out their violent attacks on unarmed and non-resisting people, Moore—who shortly afterwards was posted to Bramshill to participate in the training of junior officers—was heard to say, "See how easy it is?"

## Anti-Union Laws

The NGA also faced the courts in which the judges are showing a historic readiness to dispense class law. Not only are they armed with Thatcher's 1980 and 1982 so-called Employment Acts, the fruits of almost a decade of ruling-class thinking and scheming against trades unions. But the courts' leading personnel are now overtly right-wing politicians. Master of the Rolls Donaldson is the Tory lawyer who in the late 1960's and early 1970's advised Edward Heath on his anti-union legislation and was rewarded with the lounge-suited post of Chairman of the Industrial Court. Ten years later, after he had been elevated to his present position by Thatcher, one of those Tisdall-type leaks showed him to be still advising the Tories on these matters. And if Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice, lacks so fully politicised a past, he is showing himself by his speeches and judgements more than willing to make up for it in the present. The object of the law these men are now in charge of manipulating is to destroy the immunities from civil damages for action done in furtherance of industrial disputes. Such immunities were first obtained in 1906 and were the fruit of the struggles and suffering of workers—including such women as the heroic matchgirls—and their families in the final decades of the 19th century. Sympathy actions and picketing other than at one's immediate place of work are especial targets. This is because in the 1970's the miners made creative use of them. What Warrington therefore showed was not merely that ruthless riot squads were to be used to defeat the mass picket technique rightly deployed against the worm Shah. It also showed that a new weapon had been put into the



Four into one... Ever mindful of the very few cameras which show what really is taking place, police in one of their gentler handlings of a miner.





hands of the bosses: in addition to civil damages, which of course would need to be assessed on some rational basis, contempt orders could also be sought and all to easily obtained from the courts. And once such orders are made, trade unions can have unlimited fines and sequestration of assets enforced against them. Warrington showed, finally, that where a trade union such as the NGA is prepared to carry the fight to the state and the ruling class by using the weapon of a general withdrawal of all its members' labour, a backward TUC formally committed by special conference resolution to precisely such a fight, would hide its unwillingness to act behind talk about 'staying within the law'.

## The NUM Dispute

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the 1984 dispute between the NUM and the NCB for the working class in the United Kingdom. Quite simply, defeat for the workers here would be a disaster of truly historic proportion. The ruling class, having picked this fight, has convinced itself that nothing less than victory will do. One of its media agents, ex-M.P. Brian Walden, has made himself the one who most clearly advocates it publicly. "British capitalism", he says, "no longer has the resources to buy social peace. It is struggling for its life and must face [and fight and win against] its adversaries head-on". Another reason why the dispute is important lies in the lessons it gives the labour movement a new opportunity to learn or relearn.

## Road Block I

The first of these lessons is that if the labour movement fails to fight police lawlessness and state repression against, say, black or Irish people, it will before long be itself the victim. The road checks and road blocks which the Police Bill will legalise—on the basis that a 'serious arrestable offence' is suspected to have occurred or to be likely, given 'the pattern of crime in an area'—have long been familiar to black people. Our complaints and fears were effectively ignored by the labour movement. Events have not waited. The labour movement has been made to feel the weight of this practice before the Bill becomes law—and in much more blatant ways even than the Bill appears to intend. Thus, an attempt was made to place a road block around, not Notting Hill, Brixton, Moss Side or Liverpool 8, but the entire county of Kent. Not because of an actual pattern of crime in Kent, but because of an alleged pattern of crime some hundred

miles away in Nottinghamshire Derbyshire and Leicestershire. It did not appear to matter to the miners stopped in the famous Dartford Tunnel incident were on their way to those counties but to Barnsley—in Yorkshire. It does not appear to have mattered that by no stretch of the imagination could any criminal intent be inferred even had the miners been on the way to Nottingham. For to picket is as yet not a crime. And even to picket en masse is not illegal, though a failure to obey the instruction/request of a police officer on the spot not to do so might result in the minor offences of 'obstructing a police officer in the execution of his duty' or 'conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace'. No 'serious arrestable offences', these. This means nothing less than that in practice, in the context of the class struggle, workers have no more civil liberties, no more democratic rights than do black and Irish people.

## Road Block II

This oppressive and lawless use of the road block against the miners did not end at the Dartford Tunnel. A smoke-screen of class law was instantly thrown up. The Attorney-General, one of the principal so-called law officers in the land, released the main canister with the claim made on 16th March that:

*"There is no doubt that if a constable reasonably comes to the conclusion that persons are travelling for the purpose of taking part in a picket in circumstances where there is likely to be a breach of the peace, he has the power at common law to call upon them not to continue their journey and to call upon their driver to take them no further."*

The law is that "the reasonable belief that the constable must have is that a breach of the peace is 'imminent'". But this was not to be allowed to stand in the way of the ruling class and its agents in government or the police. The section of the working class which had won the 1972 battle of Saltley was going to be shown that the 'mass picket' technique could be directly defeated. Accordingly, although an injunction against it was secured from the court by the NCB, no move was made to enforce it. 'Later for that', as they say.

And so an unprecedented police operation was mounted in Nottinghamshire. In the process some 800 miners were to be arrested. Their treatment shocked not just them but their representatives in Parliament. It led to observations such as:

*"It is no joke for those men, sitting a police van waiting for transport, to hear the remark. 'It is not full. Hold it up for a while, while we go back and get some more.'"*

And to questions like:



Photo by John Harris (IFL).

*"Is it right that our constituents should be handcuffed, photographed, fingerprinted and placed in cells? Those men are not common criminals. They are not bank robbers, but good honest men."*

It is well known that people were stopped a long way from Notts mines. They were questioned by police officers about voting behaviour and political beliefs. Driving documents and the state of vehicles were perused in detail. A Kent miner recalls being told, following such a scrutiny, that his insurance certificate was not in order. It covered his car for private use only, which picket duty allegedly assisted financially by the union was not. And there is the serious but somewhat amusing case of Father Marshall, the vicar of Goldthorpe parish church. He had gone along with some of his parishioners to see what was happening on the picket line. They were stopped by police on the A1 Blyth. The driver of the car in which Father Marshall was travelling said to the police, "Do you honestly believe we are going picketing with a priest?" The officer said, "That dog collar does not mean a thing to me, it could be miner in disguise." It seems that that police officer has seen Joe Orton's "Loot" once to often.

## Preventing Peaceful Picketing

Closer to the picket lines the police showed time and again whose side they are on. No question of here of traditional—and of course always somewhat illusory—police 'even-handedness'. Eye witnesses, including Members of Parliament, recount instances of police officers directly preventing clearly peaceful picketing and failing to protect pickets:-

*"A picket line asked the police 'Can you let three people go in to talk to the men involved?' That request was refused. Verbal abuse was thrown by the crowd at the people going through the picket lines. The police said 'If you do not shut up, we shall arrest the lot of you for shouting.' To add insult to injury, when the picket line was attacked by people coming from a public house and throwing half-pint glasses, little action was taken against the offenders."*

The MP for Doncaster, North reports:

*"I visited a picket line a week ago last Thursday and the police would not allow a peaceful picket of six. The rest would have withdrawn and gone home to bed. I visited three different pickets where conditions were the same. I asked the police if they would allow just four pickets and told them that I would ask the rest to go home. I wanted just four pickets to stand there and speak to the Nottinghamshire miners, but the police said that none of them would be allowed to stand there." "I saw Neil Wilkinson of Houghton Main Colliery arrested on the picket line at about 4.30 am on Friday 23 March. He was complying with the police instruction that 2/3 people could stand near the gate and speak to Notts miners as they came through for work. His voice was one of the 2/3 which shouted up as a miner went through and all he said was 'support your union'. He was immediately set upon by two police men and carted off in the van."*

Even men actually wanting to work against the interests of fellow miners found cause to protest publicly against police action. One of them wrote to his local paper:

*"As a mineworker still working at Bevercotes Colliery, I am getting increasingly worried at the activities of the Police force in Nottinghamshire although I respect the right of any member of the public to attend his place of work, and I have been thankful to the Police for getting me through the Pickets when things have got out of hand."*

*"It has got to the situation where we are being issued with identity cards by our union (for our own protection)."*

*"I have been stopped by the Police from lawfully talking to the pickets at the colliery entrance when there were only 10 pickets and about 130 police."*

*"On Sunday night whilst travelling on the A1 I was stopped twice and asked to produce identification."*

*"On the Monday afternoon shift I was stopped from going into the colliery premises by some eighty police and was asked to produce identification. They also refused my request to stop and talk to the 'TWO' Pickets who were on the entrance."*

## Police Use Casual Violence

Eye witnesses and victims, again including Members of Parliament, recount acts of the sort of casual, somewhat mindless, violence against pickets with which black people have grown familiar over the years:-



*"Dave Stubbs, when doing his picket duty, suffered an angina attack. Permission to take him into the ambulance room and into hospital for medical attention was refused until the colliery manager came to ask for permission."*

*"When pickets arrived at the colliery they found that there were only five policemen and no pickets. They went across and said 'Good morning,' to the police and were shuffled on to the causeway so that they would not obstruct the highway. That is the reason that the policemen gave them."*

*"The first line of men coming to work said that they would not cross the picket line. The police came across to the pickets immediately and shuffled them down the road in the opposite direction to their car. Mr. Glover alleged that he felt a blow on his back. He protested and said he already had an injury to his back. He received another blow. He was then summoned for obstruction and taken to the police station."*

The MP for Barnsley, East, told the House of Commons: *"I am not sure how unique I am in the House, but I have experienced being on a picket line. Like many miners, I never intended to do anything but peacefully picket. However, I was struck and assaulted by the police on at least one occasion for no reason whatsoever. Let no one try to whitewash the problems."*

Following the NUM executive meeting which decided to call a national delegate conference to settle the issue of a national ballot, police officers in Barnsley drew truncheons and laid into miners returning to their coaches. This attack caused many injuries among the miners. Many eye witnesses confirmed what had happened. An MP reported his attempts to restrain the police violence and he complained. Before any investigation a senior police officer rushed out a statement exonerating the police, saying the eye witnesses were lying and accusing the miners of causing the police to attend the scene to protect a member of the public.

## Scales from Their Eyes

In the process of the NUM dispute country-wide, more than 1000 miners and their supporters have been arrested. Many of these have been banned from returning to picket lines. The dispute has given us some glimpses of illusions falling from peoples' eyes. Thus police bully-boy tactics caused one Geoff Sellars to return to the police a commendation he received a few years ago for his assistance in helping a police sergeant who was being violently abused by a number of youths.

One former special constable discovered the limits of providing free assistance to the state. He was stopped on approaching a colliery. Because of his experience in the special constabulary, he told the police that he wished to proceed peacefully to picket peacefully and that he wanted no problems. Again, freedom of movement was curtailed. He produced his driving licence for identification and it was checked. When the policeman came back, he was told, "You will not be able to proceed any further. You must not come into Nottingham again. If you do, your car will be impounded and you will be arrested."



## Agents Provocateurs

There have been many reports of the presence of police agents provocateurs operating within pickets. One of the clearest cases was that of a Notts police sergeant, Mr R.A. Lake, who spent weeks on plain clothes duty posing as a miner. His role has been the subject of a complaint to the Notts police.

## The State within a State—the National Reporting Centre and the Association of Chief Police Officers

Despite the fact that the Tory Employment Act of 1980 categorically states in paragraph 28 that "The police have no responsibility for enforcing the civil law" the massive national police operation, aspects of which are touched on above, has been mounted. It is being co-ordinated from Scotland Yard by a shadowy body called the National Reporting Centre.

Even the notorious Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, James Anderton, expressed doubts about this operation. Or, at least, about those elements of it involving restrictions on 'freedom of movement' and the imposition of 'a kind of curfew on the community as a whole, not just the miners'. But who authorised, who set up, who controls the operation? Certainly not the MPs in the House of Commons. Home Secretary, Brittan, denies that he did and does. Apparently, the National Reporting Centre is sort of, well, sort of self-activating. It came into existence in 1974, the year of the second great miner's strike, but MP's were not told about it until 1981, when William Whitelaw mentioned it. Not a word from the Labour Governments of 1974 to 1979. Why not? The question is not meant to be innocent. The answer is that they approved of this new instrument of class rule and have been party to its use. Former Foreign Secretary David Owen was the person the ruling class fronted recently in the Commons to explain that in his view there isn't anything sinister about the centre. He told MP's 'toughly':

*"It has been in operation since 1974. It has been called into action on four occasions. The first occasion was the mining dispute in 1974. It was next called into action on an occasion when the police had to provide prison cells, and it was called into action during the Toxteth riots, and the papal visit. It has, therefore, been demonstrated that the centre deals with a whole range of issues, and not just industrial disputes."*

Now the Centre is ostensibly concerned with 'operational' matters. These, we know, are virtually what Constables say they are. And in respect of them Chief Constables are notoriously 'autonomous'. It is, apparently, the Chief Constables' club, the Association of Chief Police Officers, which controls the National Reporting Centre and activates it. There is a constitutional fiction that the activation is done without prompting from the 'politicians'.

So what is this Association of Chief Police Officers (the

ACPO) which can decide at will to mount national policing operations against the working class? This is the body of which E P Thompson observed in 1979:

*"There is a very powerful institution of this country which writers of our constitution have insufficiently regarded. This is known as the ACPO ... in this high chamber the Duke of the Metropolis, the Baron of Manchester, and the Earl of the Marches of Marseyde consult. Their decisions are sent down to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure and to Parliamentary Committees. Home Secretaries attend on them. The ACPO does not attend on governments; governments attend on it ... It is becoming clear from which quarter the wind is blowing. It is blowing from the quarters of the ACPO and from the barracks of the law-and-order brigade."*



Bilston Glen Colliery

The wind is now a tornado. Only a strong and united working class will weather it and defeat the forces which unleashed its power in the first place.

The NUM must be supported by all means, political, financial and above all industrial. If in Nottinghamshire it is temporarily wounding itself, be sure the wound will heal. Mr Kinnock by joining in the cry for a 'national ballot' harmed the cause. This is now being made good, in part, by the call from Labour's NEC for financial support from its members. The immediate struggle is to mount a political campaign to persuade other workers to strike in support of the miners.

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Erratum: p.6, col.2, last but one para., should read:

"What price then the traditional division of labour in the working class movement: the Labour Party for political activity (parliamentary-style, of course), the trade unions for industrial activity, and - slightly to one side - the professional civil libertarians for "law and order" questions? The TUC's timidity....."

## Reporting Centre and the Association of Chief Police Officers

Despite the fact that the Tory Employment Act of 1980 categorically states in paragraph 28 that "The police have no responsibility for enforcing the civil law" the massive national police operation, aspects of which are touched on above, has been mounted. It is being co-ordinated from Scotland Yard by a shadowy body called the National Reporting Centre.

Even the notorious Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, James Anderton, expressed doubts about this operation. Or, at least, about those elements of it involving restrictions on 'freedom of movement' and the imposition of 'a kind of curfew on the community as a whole, not just the miners'. But who authorised, who set up, who controls the operation? Certainly not the MPs in the House of Commons. Home Secretary, Brittan, denies that he did and does. Apparently, the National Reporting Centre is sort of, well, sort of self-activating. It came into existence in 1974, the year of the second great miner's strike, but MP's were not told about it until 1981, when William Whitelaw mentioned it. Not a word from the Labour Governments of 1974 to 1979. Why not? The question is not meant to be innocent. The answer is that they approved of this new instrument of class rule and have been party to its use. Former Foreign Secretary David Owen was the person the ruling class fronted recently in the Commons to explain that in his view there isn't anything sinister about the centre. He told MP's 'toughly':

*"It has been in operation since 1974. It has been called into action on four occasions. The first occasion was the mining dispute in 1974. It was next called into action on an occasion when the police had to provide prison cells, and it was called into action during the Toxteth riots, and the papal visit. It has, therefore, been demonstrated that the centre deals with a whole range of issues, and not just industrial disputes."*

Now the Centre is ostensibly concerned with 'operational' matters. These, we know, are virtually what Constables say they are. And in respect of them Chief Constables are notoriously 'autonomous'. It is, apparently, the Chief Constables' club, the Association of Chief Police Officers, which controls the National Reporting Centre and activates it. There is a constitutional fiction that the activation is done without prompting from the 'politicians'.

So what is this Association of Chief Police Officers (the

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Bilston Glen Colliery

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searching for illegal immigrants under the 1971 Immigration Act, together with the repeated sealing off of areas such as All Saints Road in Notting Hill, betray the Government's intentions only too clearly. The new powers could also be used in industrial disputes to block the approaches to workplaces being picketed

## Assault

L, a black man, was assaulted by Hackney police in May 1982. He was held in police cells and then taken to Hackney Hospital. His wife knew nothing of his whereabouts until 16 hours later. When he returned home, she took him to Mile End Hospital and he was kept in for four days. One witness said she saw him lying on the ground and the police kicking him, then she said that she saw them beating him up even more and throw him against a wall. When she saw them lifting him into the police van she said, "I thought he was dead. I didn't think he could survive the beating they gave him".

L was charged with A.B.H. He was acquitted at Snaresbrook Crown Court in February 1983. The jury was out for 20 minutes only. L was the subject of a BBC Panorama programme in July 1983.

and to gather information on demonstrations. In March of this year, thousands of police cordoned the whole of Nottinghamshire during the miners' strike, and pickets from Kent were stopped and turn back as they attempted to cross the Thames—over 100 miles away!

## 'Serious Arrestable Offence'

A number of powers in the Bill rest upon the police suspecting that a 'serious arrestable offence' has been, or is likely to be, committed. In particular, 'a serious arrestable offence' is the basis for extended detentions.

A number of crimes are listed in the Bill as being 'serious arrestable offences'. They include rape, murder and kidnapping. A number of other offences can be determined by police officers to be 'serious arrestable offences' if they have led or are likely to lead to any one of a set of consequences listed in the Bill. Ominously, right at the top of the list of consequences is the following: 'serious harm to the security of the State or public order'. There are obvious applications of this to people expressing their opinion on the streets, in marches, sit-downs, pickets or whatever.

Another consequence mentioned is 'serious financial loss to any person' which is followed by a new part in the Bill which makes matters worse than before. A loss is defined as serious if it is serious for the person who suffers it. It is, therefore, defined subjectively, an entirely new departure in criminal law, which normally has to define crimes according to objective criteria. In fact, a double subjectivity is involved, as a police officer has to make a subjective decision as to whether a victim feels they have suffered a serious loss. This opens the door for the police to use the huge powers contained in the Bill against people suspected of petty offences.

On top of this, conspiracy to commit a serious arrestable offence is itself a serious arrestable offence. In other words, the police do not even have to suspect you of committing an offence to invoke many of the draconian powers contained in the Bill. They can do this if they believe that you merely talked with some other people about committing a serious arrestable offence. The political uses of conspiracy are well known for example, the cases of the Shrewsbury pickets and the Bradford 12.

## Extended Detention

The Police Bill states that the police cannot hold a suspect for more than 24 hours without charging them unless a serious arrestable offence is suspected. In that case, with the approval of a Magistrate's Court, a suspect can be detained for 96 hours (4

## Search of premises

Mr and Mrs S had suffered continual harassment by two officers of Division since Mr S was released from prison in late 1982. They were being stopped, searched, and abused several times a week. During one of these incidents Mrs S saw her mother, who was in their car with her, assaulted by these two officers. At no time were any charges brought against them other than minor traffic violations. Mr and Mrs S made a complaint against these two officers, and Mrs S also made a complaint against two CID Officers who had attempted to make her give them information while Mr S was in prison. Finally, in July 1983 the police took advantage of a raid they were making on Mr and Mrs S's neighbours to search their house as well. Although the warrant they used said it was to search for 'electrical goods', the only things the police took any interest in was three car wheels. (It was for stealing car wheels that Mr S had been in prison in 1982.)

Mr and Mrs S's relationship came under considerable stress, predominantly due to the continual pressure the police were keeping them under. On the 8th July Mr S was walking over . . . . . thinking, after a row with his wife. Two young plain clothes policemen came up and arrested him for 'interfering with two motor vehicles'. Mr S pleaded not guilty to this at court, but was convicted by the magistrate in spite of major flaws in the prosecution evidence. His sentence was short and suspended however, and since this last episode the police have apparently decided that now Mr and Mrs S are taking action against them when necessary it is no longer 'safe' to continue to abuse them.

days) without being charged. While sub-clause 52(1) of the Bill states that 'a person arrested and held in custody. . . shall be entitled, if he so requests, to consult a solicitor privately at any time', 52(5) allows the police to delay such a consultation for up to 36 hours where a 'serious arrestable offence' is involved and the police decide that it might impede or harm their investigation. In other words, if they don't feel like letting you see a solicitor, they won't.

This power in the Bill makes a mockery of a suspect's right to silence. Research has shown that only a strong willed person or someone who has been specially trained will be able to stay quiet during four days of interrogation. There have been many documented cases of people confessing to offences they never committed while under interrogation in extended detention (the Confait case in 1978 and the case of Errol Madden last year, for example).

The dangers of the extended detention provision becomes clearer when they are seen in conjunction with the grounds on which confessions are admissible as evidence in Court. It is extremely unlikely that any confessions by a person while in police custody will ever be rejected by the Court unless it can



Police escort the National Front through Lewisham, 77

be shown that it a) was secured by 'oppression of the accused' or b) is likely to be 'unreliable'. The central problem is that the Bill defines the term 'oppression' to mean 'torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, and the use of threat of violence (whether or not amounting to torture)'. This leaves a whole range of brutal interrogation techniques available which can be used by the police.

It is worth recalling here that the definition of oppression is virtually the same as that in the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act, 1973. This definition was used in the Bennett Report on the treatment of suspects in custody in Northern Ireland in the late 1970's to say that there had been 'maltreatment', but not sufficient to call oppression. This 'maltreatment' was later condemned as torture by Amnesty and the European Court of Human Rights.

The power of extended detention means that many suspects who have committed no criminal offence will be found guilty by courts on the basis of self-incriminating confessions.

K was returning home one evening. As he drove down his street he saw a WPC and a PC stopping motorists (seemingly randomly). He drove past slowly and caught the PC's eye. He turned into his flats and went upstairs for his tea. Half an hour later he saw the PC and WPC in the street opposite his flats. He saw them notice his parked car and come across into the flats' car park to look at it more closely. He went out on to the landing and called down. He agreed to go down. His wife came out and watched him go down. According to her and to two independent witnesses who were just going out to post a letter, K appeared to attempt to put his car key into the driver's door in order to open the car (K explains that he told the PC that the documents relating to the car were in his jacket which was in the car) at that moment the PC grabbed his wrist, pulled his arm up behind his back and pushed him against the wall. The WPC grabbed his other arm. He protested that he wasn't going anywhere, and that his three year old daughter was watching. The WPC radioed and within minutes there were policemen running everywhere. K was assaulted by one of these policemen (kneed in the groin) he was then dragged to the police car with his head pulled right back, his arms up his back and in considerable pain. His girlfriend and several neighbours tried to intervene and were told different stories, explanations, lies, etc. by the police. He was released four hours later and charged "threatening words . . . etc".

Legal Aid refused. Saw a CAPA solicitor on Green Form. Brief to be paid for out of Defence Fund. Witness statements to be taken by CAPA worker. A week before 2nd appearance, K decides to plead guilty to stop the continuous police harassment he had received since his arrest.

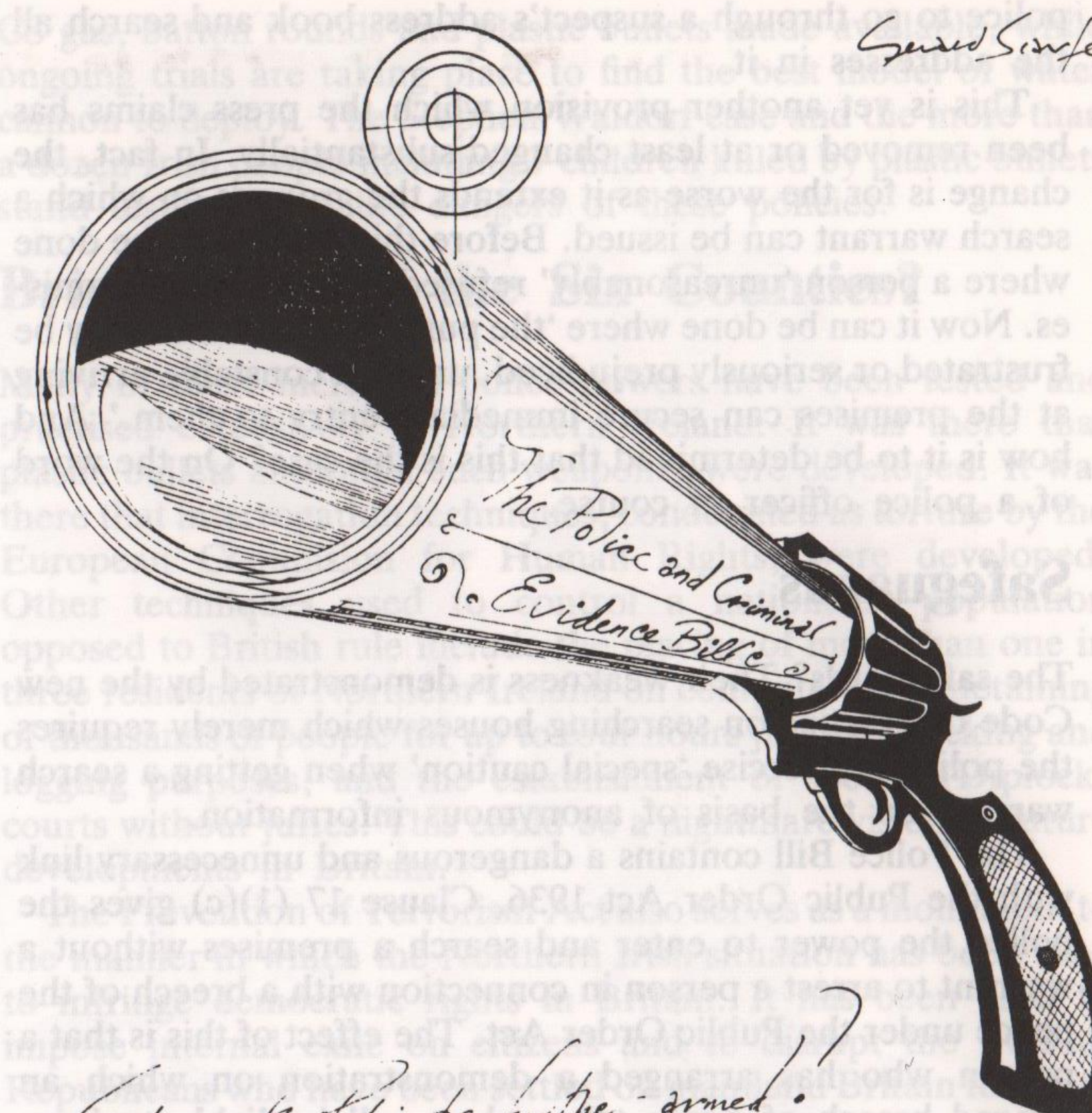
K is 25, white and unemployed. This happened in August 1983.

## Strip and intimate body searches

The Bill continues to allow the police to strip-search a suspect if they see fit. This technique has been used in many cases to frighten and humiliate suspects.

Furthermore, the new Bill still contains the power of the police to conduct an intimate body search, defined as 'physical examination of any person's orifices (eg the mouth, anus or vagina). While this is supposed to be carried out by a medical practitioner, if 'an officer of at least the rank of superintendent considers this is not practicable' a constable of the same sex may carry out the task.

The impression given in the press before the new Bill was published was that this provision had been dropped. It has not. All that has happened is that the grounds for ordering



intimate search have been slightly restricted. A police officer 'of at least the rank of superintendent' has to suspect that an article which could cause harm is being concealed. Grounds for this suspicion are not defined in the Bill and the search does not require the suspect's consent.

The British Medical Association has rightly condemned this provision and stated that doctors should not conduct intimate body searches without the suspect's consent. There can be no justification for this physically dangerous violation of a citizen's person and personal liberty.

## Fingerprinting

The Bill will also allow the police to take fingerprints without obtaining a suspect's consent. Even ten-year olds could be fingerprinted with their or their parent's consent. It is not hard to imagine this power and the power to search suspects being used to explain away the beating up of suspects in custody. A detained suspect refuse to be fingerprinted and

## Fingerprinting of Juveniles

M is a 15 year old juvenile. He is black and has recently been in various bits and pieces of trouble. All very minor. His mum is extremely worried. Recently he was arrested for "Obstruction of the Highway". When his mum arrived at the police station she refused to allow them to take his fingerprints or photograph him, but they did so in any case.

gets hurt when the police carry on the fingerprinting regardless—the police involved could say they were only doing their job. . . or what the Police Bill says is their job.

## Extension of powers of entry, search and seizure

The Bill contains dangerous new extensions of the power to enter and search people's homes and workplaces. If it is passed the police will be able to search anyone's home or workplace even if that person is not suspected of any offence. All the police have to do is to convince a justice of the peace that a serious arrestable offence may have been committed and that there are grounds for believing there is evidence relating to the offence on the premises. The reasons for believing this could be an anonymous source which the police do not have to disclose in court. It will be very easy for the



police to go through a suspect's address book and search all the addresses in it.

This is yet another provision which the press claims has been removed or at least changed substantially. In fact, the change is for the worse as it extends the grounds on which a search warrant can be issued. Before this could only be done where a person 'unreasonably' refused entry to their premises. Now it can be done where 'the purpose of a search may be frustrated or seriously prejudiced, unless a constable arriving at the premises can secure immediate entry to them.' And how is it to be determined that this is the case? On the word of a police officer of course.

## Safeguards

The safeguards? Their weakness is demonstrated by the new Code of Practice on searching houses which merely requires the police to exercise 'special caution' when getting a search warrant on the basis of anonymous information.

The Police Bill contains a dangerous and unnecessary link with the Public Order Act 1936. Clause 17 (1)(c) gives the police the power to enter and search a premises without a warrant to arrest a person in connection with a breach of the peace under the Public Order Act. The effect of this is that a person who has arranged a demonstration on which an alleged breach of peace takes place will be liable to have his/her premises searched.

The Police Bill would also allow the police to search the home of any person who they have arrested for any offence and to do so before the citizen has even been taken to a police station (NB. Strictly speaking under the Bill, being in custody does not start until a suspect is taken to the police station, yet the Bill does not require him/her to be taken straight to one). The restrictions on this power are more apparent than real. It is wholly wrong that in all circumstances following an arrest the police should be able to dash off to the home of a person and make a search of it.

Some changes have been made in the clause dealing with police access to confidential information when conducting searches. It was this area which created the biggest hue and cry last time round and now certain types of information are to be exempt from police investigation. These include material collected for social work/information on physical or mental health or responsibility for personal welfare, and 'journalistic material'. But the state will be allowed to define who is a 'bona fide' journalist, social worker etc. To quote a 'Guardian' editorial of 30-8-83 'People who look at the global problems of press freedom know that the hoariest most dangerous gambit in the book of repression is a legal definition of journalism and journalists.' Many other records, such as school records, may still be searched by the police if they so desire.

When the police search anyone's home, they will not be restricted to seizing evidence relating only to the offence specified on the search warrant. Any other evidence of any other offence can be seized. Active trade unionists, for example, could have their homes searched because they know someone who has been arrested for a serious arrestable offence, and then find the police picking up overdue library books and threatening to charge them with theft.

## Powers of arrest

The Bill contains new police powers to arrest and detain people in cells for even minor offences such as dropping litter or parking on a yellow line if the police decide they do not believe the name and address given by the offender. These grounds have already been discussed in this bulletin. They will allow the police to harass and arrest people handling out leaflets, demonstrating or picketing on the pretext that they are 'obstructing the highway'. They will allow the police to harass and arrest gay people on the grounds that they may cause 'an affront to public decency' (by holding hands, say)—which is not a criminal offence.

If the bill is passed, the police will be able to arrest any

person who has been convicted of a criminal offence in the past solely for the purpose of being fingerprinted at a police station.

## Arrest

Mr. L is a Bengali man in his 40s. He is a shopkeeper and well known in the community. He was stopped in September for not displaying a tax disc in his car. He then explained that he had all his documents and had merely allowed his tax to run out (by a couple of days) because of the pressure he was under opening a new shop. He offered to take the police to his home (just round the corner) or to bring his documents to the police station later that day. Although the normal procedure would be for him to be asked to produce his documents, he was arrested. He was later told that he was being held as a suspected illegal immigrant. This is almost certainly untrue, but we are checking (via Peter Shore) whether there is a person of the same name, age and description as Mr. L. wanted as an illegal immigrant. Mr. L intends to sue the police for unlawful arrest if it turns out that there is no second person and that they had no reason to arrest him. Either way, the arrest was overtly racist in nature, Mr. L was subjected to much racist abuse, and he intends to complain.

## Arguments for the bill

What arguments can there be for such a terrible Bill? The government says that its provisions are based on the *Report* of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure. This is not the strictly so since the alleged 'safeguards' proposed by the Royal Commission are not provided for in the Bill. But, more importantly, even were the claim correct it should carry no force with those genuinely interested in civil liberties. Quite simply, the Royal Commission sold the pass on civil liberties: the rights of suspects cannot be casually exchanged for so-called 'safeguards'.

One set of 'safeguards' comprises provisions for a new Police Complaints Authority and so-called 'arrangements for obtaining the views of the community on policing'. The ideological role of these proposals cannot be under-estimated. The planned restructuring of the Police Complaints System is not by any means far-reaching enough to convince the public, since the police will still be largely investigating themselves. The state is therefore going out of its way to set up 'consultative' machinery, in Lambeth (Brixton) like the liaison committee which agreed to the police bulldozing in the Frontline in 1982.

From the standpoint of working class people or black communities the proposals will make no difference to their experience with the police. They are carrots designed to make the Bill appear more acceptable, but they are totally useless. All they do is involve so-called leaders of both black and white communities, the police and other local state agencies in collaborating to control protest and resistance.

Another argument put forward in support of the Police Bill is that it is no more than a somewhat elaborate tidying-up operation. There is an element of truth in this claim. The issue, though, is not how much tidying-up, but rather in which direction it is proposed that it should take place. In the Police Bill the state takes the opportunity to 'tidy up' in the direction of the most rather than the least reactionary legal procedures. Thus, the oppressive stop and search powers for long available to London's and a very few other police forces will be made national. All such developments are retrograde.

The clinching argument for the state is that these powers are required to stop crime. We have already seen that these powers are not very effective in doing this and instead greatly increase the chance of an innocent person being wrongly convicted. Rather than stop crime, the Police Bill will be added to the range of old laws which are used to harass certain groups. The 'SUS' Act, now replaced with the Criminal Attempts Act, was used against black people. The conspiracy laws have been used both

against black people and labour movement militants. 'Affray' was revived largely for use against black people in situations of police or civilian racist-provoked violence. Even the blasphemy laws, dating back almost to the middle ages, have been wheeled out and used against gays. Special laws, of course, operate against black people, the most notable of which is the 1971 Immigration Act under which every black person is suspect as an 'illegal immigrant'. Individuals and large groups have been hauled into police custody and made to prove their right to reside here. Many have been kept in prison for periods lasting in some cases for more than a year which even the basic right of habeas corpus being denied them.

## Long-term Police lawlessness

It would be a mistake to think that the powers in the Police Bill are completely new. Many have for years been used illegally by the police against black people and political activists. This was admitted by none other than the head of London's police force, Sir David McNee, in his 1978 evidence to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure. The declared objective was then and has remained, not to put a stop to such police malpractice, but to retain it while changing the law to make it legal. The Police Bill is a giant step in this direction.

Even were it no more than this, the victims of current police lawlessness should resist it. By legalising current abuses the Bill provides a new baseline for further abuses.

## Search

Mrs. T was awoken by several policemen busting into her bedroom at 6.30 in the morning in July 1983. Her husband had just left for work, he is a long distance lorry driver, and one of her sons had heard the knock on the door and opened it to find the police there. The police had pushed past him and were all over the house in seconds. (One plain clothes and 4/5 uniformed.) Mrs. T got out of bed and asked what they wanted — "Shut your fucking mouth," is the only reply she gets. It subsequently turns out that they are looking for her eldest son, who is found a few minutes later on the settee in the living room having fallen asleep there while watching a video the night before. Once he is found, he is pounced on and taken off to the police station. However the police then proceed to tear the house apart. They damage furniture, break the side of the bath. They destroy one of the younger brother's models, they turn out Mrs. T's handbag, in fact they turn the whole house upside down while refusing to say what they are looking for and refusing to speak at all except to tell Mrs. T to "get out the fucking way".

The son has subsequently been charged with Conspiracy to Rob and Mrs. T has lodged a complaint against the police about the manner of the search, the abusive language and the refusal to tell her what they were looking for.

The Police bill must not be looked at in isolation. It is part of a whole series of moves over the past two decades to increase police powers and limit democratic rights within the criminal justice system in order to control social unrest caused by the increasingly serious economic crisis. We have seen attacks on the jury system (majority verdicts, reduction of defendants' rights to challenge potential jurors), reductions in the right to elect for trial by jury, advance notification of alibi defences giving the police/prosecution ample and unfair opportunity to harass and discredit witnesses.

There has been a massive growth in the numbers, use of technology and centralisation of the police. The paramilitary operation mounted in Nottinghamshire during the March miners' strike shows how far the process has already gone. They are being militarised with groups of (often armed) police officers patrolling the streets in specially reinforced carriers (SPG/Istant Response Units/District Support Units, call them what you will),

CS gas, baton rounds and plastic bullets made available, while ongoing trials are taking place to find the best model of water cannon to deploy. The Stephen Waldorf case and the more than a dozen Irish people including 7 children killed by plastic bullets stand testimony to the dangers of these policies.

## Bringing home the Six Counties?

Many of these increased police powers have been tested and practised extensively in Northern Ireland. It was there that plastic bullets and other such weaponry were developed. It was there that interrogation techniques, condemned as torture by the European Commission for Human Rights, were developed. Other techniques used to control a nationalist population opposed to British rule include the placing of more than one in three residents of Northern Ireland on computers, the detaining of thousands of people for up to four hours just for checking and logging purposes, and the establishment of special (Diplock) courts without juries. This could be a nightmare vision of future developments in Britain.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act also serves as a monument to the manner in which the Northern Irish situation has been used to infringe democratic rights in Britain. It has been used to impose internal exile on citizens and to disrupt the lives of Republicans who have been settled on mainland Britain for up to twenty years by simply ordering them back to live in Ireland. Between 1974 (when the PTA was introduced as a 'temporary provision' for six months) and 1982 over 5,500 persons, mainly of Irish extraction, have been detained under it. Of these only some fifty-five have been found guilty of any offence. This act which started life 9 years ago as a Bill that was so dangerous that it needed to be renewed every six months is now to be made renewable every five years and it is to be extended to cover other foreign communities living in Britain so that they too can be subjected to the forms of harassment the Irish have suffered.

The relevance of the Irish struggle was clearly understood by the Home Office when it appointed Sir Kenneth Newman, the current Commissioner of Police in London. He was the officer commanding the Royal Ulster Constabulary during the period when the torture of suspects under interrogation was an everyday occurrence. Later he was put in charge of Bramshill, the training school for senior British police officers on the mainland before being moved to London.

He has brought with him not only the so-called 'hard policing' methods used in Ireland but also a whole clutch of techniques known as 'community policing' involving spy networks in the community, surveillance and making all local services and government agencies take on a policing role.

The moves towards policing by coercion, towards increased police control of all aspects of our lives and towards suppression and criminalisation of opposition to government policy are ominous. If the Police Bill of 1983 is not to become the Police Act of 1984 and take us another step closer to a Police State, then we must act now to stop the Bill.

**Kill The Police Bill**





● A selection of the weaponry now available to police forces. But are guns issued too often?

# Machine Guns in the Hands of the Police or the Yard's Enforcers

A great deal of publicity was recently given to a Home Office decision to allow the Metropolitan Police to buy up to a dozen 9mm Heckler and Koch MP5K compact sub-machine guns. The request was made by the police. This new police toy spits out bullets with a range of one mile at the rate of 900 rounds per minute. The Met went for this gun after 'experimenting' with a number of other machine guns.

Given the case of Stephen Waldorf there must be considerable alarm at the thought that police officers protecting VIPs may in future be carrying such guns. The presence of VIPs after all usually means crowds and very rarely attracts 'terrorist' attacks. One needs only limited imagination to see that when these four (MP5K, VIPs, crowds, 'terrorists') come together much innocent blood will be spilt. There must be real concern too that the MP5K will find itself in the hands of police officers who are not guarding VIPs on one-off visits but regularly protecting diplomats. Watch out West End shoppers.

When the news of the authorisation of the purchase of the MP5K by Tory Home Secretary Leon Brittan broke, objections mounted. Tory leader Margaret Thatcher came forward with a well-tryed defence of the decision at question time in the House of Commons. She said there was nothing new about the purchase of machine guns for the Metropolitan Police. After all, the previous Labour Government under Jim Callaghan had also in 1976 agreed to the purchase of deadly machine guns for the Met. This claim produced a reaction which was as revealing as it was comic.

Thus former Labour PM Callaghan was reported to have been 'astonished' by Thatcher's revelation. He could not remember. But the problem was not that old Jim's memory is not what it was. Rather Callaghan was told that the decision had never been referred either to the then PM (himself), the Cabinet or the relevant Cabinet committee. That other old sweetie Roy Jenkins confessed that it was he who had authorised in 1976 the purchase

of "a limited number of such weapons to be held against the need for use in terrorist situations". Incredibly he claimed to have been prompted by the Balcombe Street and Spaghetti sieges.

Callaghan's request for a sight of the official papers not only revealed the above background. It also forced Mrs Thatcher to admit that her original claim, far from being based on official papers, rested on "a report in the *Daily Mail* on February 16 1979". Here the plot thickens. A careful reading of the *Daily Mail* report does not in fact confirm that Jenkins had authorised the purchase of machine guns. Under the title 'The Yard's Enforcers' some eight (8) guns, then said to be in use by the yard, were discussed. At least two of them, the Heckler and Koch 5.56mm self-loading rifle and a version of the Remington pump action shotgun, were said to be like or capable of being mistaken for machine guns. Since the *Times* reported on April 6th 1984 that Scotland Yard "confirmed yesterday that a small number of conventional sub-machine guns were bought in 1976" this leaves an open question about what machine guns the Met and other British forces have in their stores. It is also interesting that the *Sunday Times* in its own follow-up story on police arms identifies a Heckler and Koch sub-machine gun as the one purchased on Jenkins' authority in 1976.

## Sub-machine guns for police 'horrendous'

By Stewart Tendler  
Crime Reporter

An expert on the police use of firearms yesterday attacked the Home Office decision to allow Scotland Yard to buy sub-machine guns for body-guard duties during the economic summit conference in London this summer.

Mr Colin Greenwood, the editor of *Gun Review*, a former police superintendent and author of works on police firearm tactics, said: "I find it horrendous that a police force should have sub-machine guns in the centre of London. Are they expecting the Russian infantry to come en masse?"

Mr Greenwood was commenting after the Home Office confirmed yesterday that up to a dozen 9mm Heckler and



The sub-machine gun chosen by the Yard.

Koch MP5K compact sub-machine guns are being bought at the request of the Yard. The Home Office said that the guns were needed before the conference, to be attended by President Ronald Reagan and six other leaders.

But Mr Greenwood said: "Terrorists won't come in dozens. The only reason for having sub-machine guns is

that you can spray a whole area. We are going to have another situation where the Metropolitan Police are more dangerous than the terrorists."

Made by a West German company at £400 to £500 each, they were the most expensive and sophisticated sub-machine guns on the market, he said. Each bullet has a range of a mile and the gun can fire at a rate of 900 rounds a minute from 15 to 30 shot magazines. The Yard had experimented with a number of other sub-machine guns, Mr Greenwood said.

Another critic yesterday was Mr David Winnick, Labour MP for Walsall North. He said that Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, might have agreed to the guns after

pressure from American authorities worried about the President's safety.

But the Home Office denied there had been any external pressure. A spokesman said: "A limited number will be bought. We are talking about them being used as back up for protective duties in guarding VIPs."

Authority to issue them would have to be given by one of the Yard's four assistant commissioners, compared with that of a commander required for the issue of other guns. The Yard had asked for them, he said.

They would be issued to special protection teams and were required because of the changes in the nature of international terrorism, the Yard said.

## Shock tactics for armoured riot-beater

By Rodney Cowton  
Defence Correspondent

A formidable new vehicle for controlling riots will soon go into production in Britain. It is being promoted in the Far East and South America, but not in Britain nor, at present, in Europe.

It will be equipped with an intimidating array of defensive and offensive systems, including:

- 16 grenade-launchers;
  - 18 gun ports;
  - A 7,000-volt electrical charge running through the bodywork's external skin;
  - Armoured bodywork;
  - High-pressure water cannon capable of knocking over a vehicle and also able to spray dye so that suspects can be identified;
  - Searchlights and flood-lights;
  - Infra-red camera.
- The vehicle is equipped with other facilities. The armoured bodywork is claimed to be waterproof and airtight and can be closed down, allowing the crew inside to survive for more than an hour using the air-conditioning and oxygen supplies. It has a chemical lavatory.

The windscreen-washers can dispense white spirit for removing paint or other materials thrown at it, and the windscreen-wipers are fitted with what are described as "heavy-duty household brushes", also for removing paint and other materials.

The vehicle has a "cow-catcher" on the front for pushing aside barricades and other obstacles.

The AMAC-1 as it is known, will be built on to a heavy-duty Bedford chassis.

The bodywork fabrication will be carried out by Hampshire Transtech, of Southampton. The vehicle will be marketed by the AMAC Corporation, a British company based in London.

Mr Paul Latham, AMAC's marketing director, said: "It is not an aggressive vehicle essentially. It is designed to avoid people killing each other. It is intended to look and be frightening."

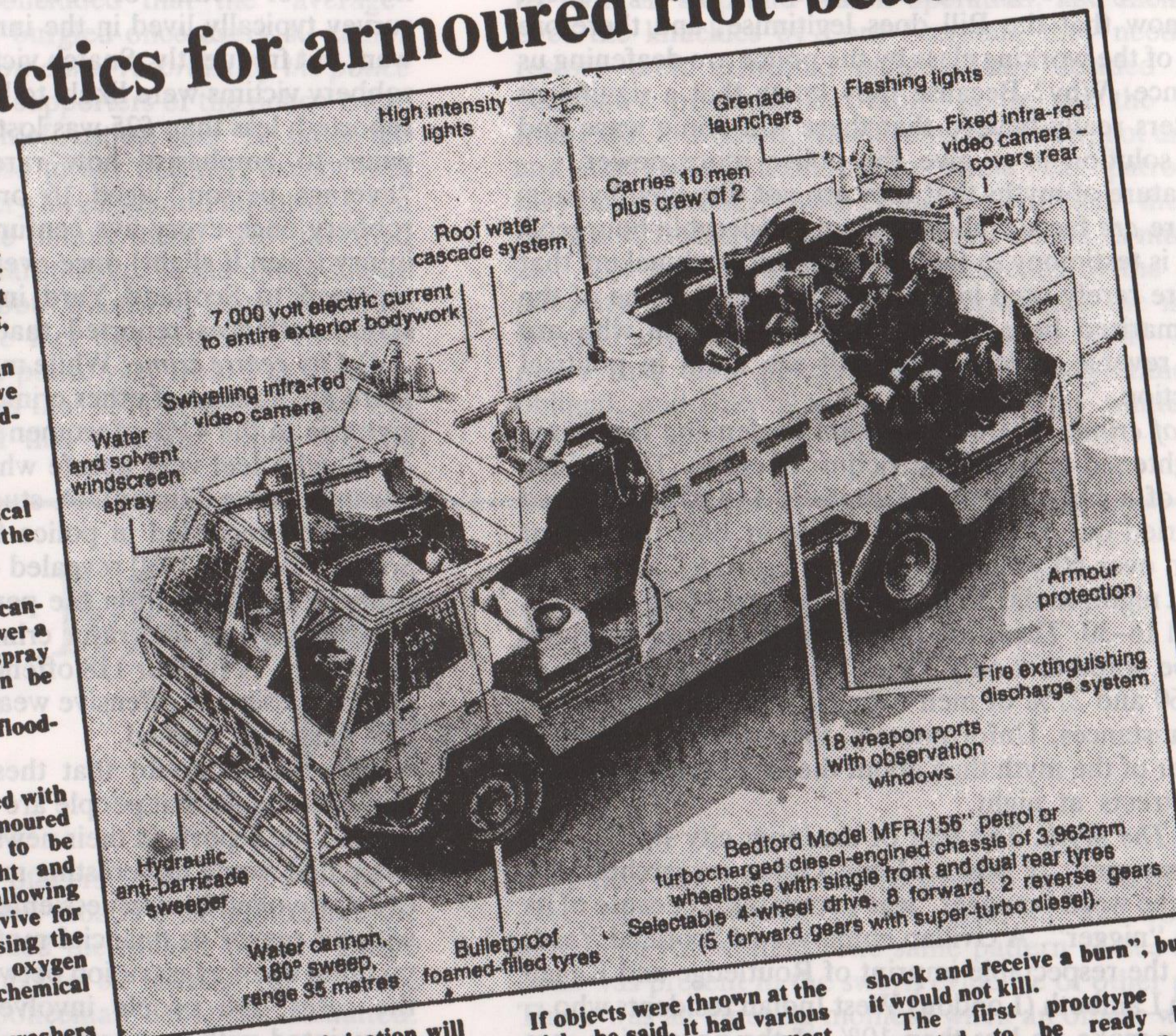
If objects were thrown at the vehicle, he said, it had various levels of defence, the most important being its armour protection and bullet-proof tyres.

Mr Latham said the 7,000-volt charge in the exterior of the bodywork, when switched on, would deliver a 2-amp shock to anyone touching it. This would be enough "for people to get a bit of a nasty

shock and receive a burn", but it would not kill.

The first prototype is expected to be ready by Christmas, and production is hoped to be running at five a week by 1985.

Mr Latham said his company was close to agreement on a first order for 20 vehicles on a Middle East country. It is also being promoted in Pakistan, India, Indonesia and parts of South America.



GENERAL COMPUTERS	
Number of individual files	
DHSS	51,000,000
Vehicle owners	32,800,000
TV licences	18,600,000
Blood groups	11,000
IMMIGRATION COMPUTERS	
Landing and embarkation	1,500,000
Refugee index	15,000

POLICE COMPUTERS	
Number of individual files	
Criminal names	4,800,000
Fingerprints	3,300,000
Probation records	400,000
Prison records	300,000
Disqualified drivers	290,000
Wanted or missing persons	107,000
M15 Suspect index	18,000

TOTAL 113,141,000 Individual files





# The Crime Wave: Racist Mythology Working Hard for the Police

The postcard which depicts Mrs Thatcher waving her hand captioned "the crime wave" is a fine piece of political propaganda except that it shows no-one in the background. Anyone concerned about the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill must be equally concerned about the use of crime statistics in the mass media as a tool of the law and order brigade. The fact is that the media began constructing the present crime wave in the 1960's and 1970's during Labour governments, and Labour politicians did more to encourage than to counter it. But it is important to realise that the mythology was first constructed around *white* people: the mods and rockers and skinheads of the 60's and 70's. The seeds were planted for the Great Black mugger myth.

It is this myth which has made it so hard to bring the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill into its true focus. Now that the bleating about confidential records has died away and the Bishops have exhausted themselves with sincere but ineffectual cries about damaging race relations (they at least showed some concern with life in the communities), we are left with a Mark 2 Bill passing quietly through Parliament. Those few prominent leftists who know that the Bill does legitimise, and therefore worsen, abuse of the working class by the police are deafening us with their silence. Why? Because they know that a significant number of voters really believe that there is a crime wave and that the only solution is to give the police more power.

It is in the nature of myths that they are not dispelled by facts alone. But there *are* facts available, from impeccable bourgeois sources, and it is testimony to the power of the mythmakers that these figures are rarely used in the political arena. Some of the facts are summarised here in the hope that people who are attempting to reverse police power will use them in political debate and action.

1) *The fear of crime*: There is no point in denying that some people are frightened of being the victims of crime. The British Crime Survey of a representative sample of 11,000 in England and Wales carried out by the Home Office in 1981 found that 60% of women over 60 years old felt "very unsafe" walking in the inner city at night, as did 38% of women aged 31-60 and 28% of women aged 16-30. These are important, and worrying data. But it should be noted that only 3% of men aged 16-30, 11% of men aged 31-60 and 27% of men over 60 felt "very unsafe" in the same circumstances. Unfortunately, these feelings say more about the power of the myth than about the true risks of walking in inner city streets at night.

2) *Mugging. The Myth*. The fear of the inner city street is the fear of being mugged. It was a Home Office researcher who suggested that the word "mugger" was popularised because of its resonance with "nigger". A civilian employee of Scotland Yard, in a book with the respectable imprint of Routledge and Kegan Paul, writes "in Lambeth (London) West Indian residents who... almost certainly make up less than 10% of the population, are thought to be responsible for something like 50% of the known robberies". To boost the myth the press gave vast attention to Scotland Yard's 1981 mugging figures (released on 10.3.82): 18,763 recorded offences. Pretending to placate liberal opinion, the Yard did not release its figures according to race the following year. It waited until the racist Tory MP Harvey Proctor extracted the figures in Parliament in March 1983 to reap its sordid harvest. "Black Crime Shock", screamed the *Sun*. "Of 19,258 street crimes in London 10,960 were by blacks" (23.3.83). The *Mail* helped us out with percentages: "The percentage of such (street) crimes committed by people identified as coloured rose from 55.42% in 1981 to 57% in 1982, when the non-white population of London amounted to 13.8%".

3) *Mugging: The Facts*: First of all, what is mugging? The

press and politicians are deliberately misleading on the definition. It is actually defined as "robbery in the open following sudden attack", which involves the use of force. The figures quoted above, which are used in the press, do not refer to muggings alone. They refer to "robbery and other violent theft"—which includes "snatches" where there are no threats and no violence, robberies from open business premises and "other robberies". The actual figure for muggings, properly defined, for 1981 in London was less than one third of the figure so extensively used in myth building—5,889. (GLC Police Committee 23.3.82).

Second: what are the actual risks of being mugged? The Home Office's British Crime Survey "uncovered so few robberies that little can be said about the offence with any statistical precision except to emphasise its rarity. The findings suggest rates of around 20 robberies and 20 attempted robberies per 10,000 adults a year". As for snatches, which, the Home Office emphasises, it is "misleading" to link with robberies, "a rate of 112 per 10,000 adults" per year is suggested (p17). The tiny number of victims of both these offences uncovered by the survey typically lived in the inner city, were aged under 45 and went out frequently. Snatch victims were likely to be women and robbery victims were likely to be men. In two-thirds of the cases reported, less than £25 was lost. The Home Office goes to some pains to emphasise how rarely these incidents occur. The "average person" aged 16 or over, it states, can expect "a robbery once every five centuries" and "an assault resulting in injury (even if slight) once every century" (p15). The muggings reported to Scotland Yard in 1981 represented 0.9% of the serious offences reported that year.

4) *City centre crime*: While mugging grabs the racist headlines, there are a range of other crimes which people are aware of and give rise to the 41% of women over 60 and 21% of women aged 31-60 who feel very unsafe when walking in city areas at night (British Crime Survey). A study of all crimes of violence and disruption recorded in police files which took place in central Southampton in 1980 revealed 439 serious crimes, ranging from robbery and theft from the person, criminal damage, rape and indecent assault and rarer crimes such as administering poison and affray. A further 118 offences including breach of the peace and possession of offensive weapons was added, giving a total of 557 incidents studied.

There is no doubt that these are serious matters and it is understandable that people are alarmed when they witness them or read the reports in their newspapers. But when the details are examined, some interesting modifications of the popular image of unprovoked lawlessness emerge. Of 156 incidents of violence without sexual or financial motivation, only 13 took place with no build up of aggravation between both parties, and in over half the cases, the people involved in the fighting were already acquainted with each other—and they almost always involved young unmarried males who drank heavily. 377 of the 557 incidents arose at a club or similar institution, and only 135 took place at random in the street. A further 258 incidents involved customers who were behaving maliciously or out of exasperation at some other commercial establishment. There were 20 sexual attacks and 24 attacks for gain.

These bare figures point to a view of city centre crime involving a relatively small number of people, largely young men, which can be quite easily avoided in most cases by most of the population. This study has, of course, many limitations. It only covers crime recorded by the police, and ignores the routine harassment of black people and women which is rarely reported. And there is some point to the argument that 557 incidents is 557 too many—but, as the study (in the Home Office's Research

Bulletin) states "the scale and nature of crime, as reported to the police, is still limited rather than extensive, isolated not universal".

5) *Burglary*: the other crime which winds people up is having their houses burgled. Our house has been burgled seven times and we're not pleased about it. And it is one of the crimes which police statistics show to have grown most alarmingly over the past 10 years. But here again popular myths need to be dispelled.

The Home Office has found, by studying the burglaries reported in the national household surveys between 1972 and 1980, that the actual number of burglaries has not increased significantly. It said that there were about 3 offences per 100 households (Criminal Statistics 1980). The British Crime Survey found there to be 4 offences per 100 households in 1981. But during this period, the police statistics showed a steady rise of 4% each year. The explanation appears to be that more people took out private household insurance during this period, and so reported more burglaries in order to claim on their insurance: they paid out 30% more in 1982 than in 1981, for instance (Guardian 11.6.83).

Secondly, while you read about people losing the entire contents of their homes, the British Crime Survey found that takings were pretty small. 39% of burglaries reported to the researchers resulted in no gain at all to the criminals. In 16% of cases they got less than £5, and in only 9% of cases did they get more than £500. In only 1% of cases was any violence used. And while everyone has heard of something unmentionable being deposited on the record player's turntable by a burglar, the British Crime Survey found not a single instance of "soiling" in its 11,000 households which were questioned.

The British Crime Survey concluded that the "average" person over 16 can expect to be burgled once every 40 years.

6) *The limitations of the statistics on crime recorded by the police*

There are very few enthusiastic supporters of the police crime statistics. Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice, said "So far as the statistics are concerned, I propose to say nothing, except that they are mostly misleading and very largely unintelligible." Even the Police Federation's magazine damns them: "No informed person regards the existing criminal statistics as the most reliable indicator of the state of crime" (both quotes in Times 26.8.83). One reason for scepticism is the fact that estimates of crime which is not reported at all to the police vary from 5 to 15 times the recorded rate. Some have said that 95% of crime might not be reported. A vast amount of this "hidden" crime will be

offences which are trivial, but it also includes those serious offences (eg husbands beating up wives) where the police usually refuse to intervene.

But the defects in the police's own recording systems have been frequently exposed, and it can have a significant effect on the figures which finally get released, and which help create the headlines. For instance, a new system for categorising crimes was introduced in 1980 and so "figures for 1980 (and onwards) are not comparable with those for previous years because of changes made by new counting rules" (Criminal Statistics 1980, p38). As one study stated:

"Part of the problem lies in the fact that the legal and statistical categories used for official purposes have a vagueness and ambiguity which renders them open to misunderstanding on the part of the general public and allows a measure of flexibility to the police in allocating a particular incident to an official category." (Bottomley and Coleman).

Finally, whatever the distortions in the figures themselves, what influences public opinion is the way they are translated by the media. Often the police themselves deliberately shape the media's approach. In 1981, when Scotland Yard fuelled the mugger myth by stating the number of black people involved, it failed to draw attention to an important *drop* in its figures for perhaps the most important crime of all—murder. Comparing 1980 with 1979, there was a fall in homicides of 36% (from 130 to 74). There was no significant increase in assaults over those years, and there was a slight drop in the number of serious crimes recorded between 1977 to 1979. *Drops* in crime only seem to become newsworthy when it suits the police. After building the mugging myth, provoking the April '81 uprising in Brixton by its mass stop and search operation, and then getting a rap over the knuckles by Lord Scarman, they needed to try and restore their tarnished image. They decided to implement Scarman's proposal for more police on the beat, and by mid-1983, L division, which covers Brixton, got an extra 93 men and others were transferred to "home beat" patrols. Even when they lump "robbery" with "other violent theft" they were able to show a 40% drop in what the media define as muggings (Times 26.8.83). It was obviously advantageous to the police to gain publicity for this drop—not to erradicate the mugging myth, because any such headline promotes the myth—but to try and prove that their policies were containing crime. The media obliged, and they got the headlines they wanted.

## Mozart 7 Trial Outcome

In July of 1981 a mob of police officers—many of them young and all very vengeful—from Harrow Road Police station and the local District Support Unit invaded the nearby Mozart Estate (see Bulletin No.1). They claimed to be looking for a young black man by whom a young policeman had been assaulted.

During the invasion a middle-aged black woman was assaulted and her house broken into by the police. The officers vandalised the house, damaging furniture and other personal belongings of the owner and leaving the place in a total shambles.

Seven black women were arrested. These included the owner of the house and three of her children. All were assaulted on and after the arrest. Inevitably they were charged variously with obstructing the police and assault occasioning actual bodily harm on police officers. How else can police violence be legitimated?

The sisters who could elect trial by jury. Hence a trial of three of them took place a Knightsbridge Crown Court starting on 6th February 1984.

The first person to give evidence was PC Evans, a 20 year old probationary policeman from Harrow Road. It was clear from

the outset that Evans was prepared to lie his head off but he was eventually out-witted by the skills of the woman barrister defending the women. The same pattern of lies and contradictions was present in the sworn evidence of other police officers. There was an amusing moment when an officer who had copied his notes verbatim from a colleague slipped up and reproduced a first person reference when he was talking about something that colleague had done ('I did' instead of 'PC Bloggs did'). The crossing out in his pocket-book could not be explained. No civilians were called by the police.

On the first day of the trial a jurymen had to withdraw when it was revealed that he was a close associate of one of the officers in the case. The proceedings lasted five days at the end of which two of the sisters were found not guilty and the other guilty. She was given a two month prison sentence suspended for two years.

The four sisters who could not elect trial by jury are still waiting for their case to be heard before the bench at Marylebone Magistrates Court.



# Policing Strategies in N. Ireland

## Introduction

Between 1922, when the Northern Ireland statelet was set up, and 1971, successive Unionist governments used special legislation and a high degree of policing to suppress political opposition. Since Britain once again took over direct rule of Northern Ireland in 1972 it has continued to try to police that opposition away rather than deal with the underlying political problem. With a succession of laws such as the Emergency Provisions Act (EPA), the Repayment of Debt Act, and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), Britain has attempted to put a judicial front on its strategy of imprisoning political opposition. At the same time it has developed a system of widespread intelligence gathering and combining civil, police and military authorities to contain that opposition.

Now the policing strategies developed in Northern Ireland have become the dominant ones in Britain as well. The new Police and Criminal Evidence Bill contains many of the provisions of the EPA. The Prevention of Terrorism Act introduced as emergency legislation has become permanent. Community policing is being widely trumpeted as the way forward for Britain's police. This article, by the Troops Out Movement, looks at the development of policing strategies in Northern Ireland.

## Special Powers

Right from the start, policing and special legislation have been central to Unionist political strategy in the Northern Ireland state—the 'normal' course of law has never applied. In 1922 the Special Constabulary numbered 44,000—1 adult male Protestant in every 5. The Specials' lack of discipline and open sectarianism bitterly alienated the minority Catholic community and paved the way for their intense distrust of the RUC today.

The Specials played a crucial role in the establishment and maintenance of the Northern Ireland government,—backed legally by the 1922 Special Powers Act (SPA) which gave the Home Affairs Minister the power 'to take all such steps as may be necessary for preserving peace and maintaining order'. In effect this meant widely used powers of arrest, search, questioning, detention and internment without any requirement to give a reason. The minority community's bitterness towards the forces of law and order was exacerbated by distrust of the judiciary and juries. Of 20 High Court judges appointed since 1922, 15 were publicly associated with the Unionist Party. Because of property qualifications, juries were mainly Protestant and therefore open to loyalist bias.

This system of repressive, institutionalised and unashamedly sectarian law and order was operated by the Northern Ireland Government for half a century. When British troops first went on the streets in 1969, it was in response to widespread civil rights unrest which had shown that the systematic discrimination against Catholics could not continue. Following televised police brutality, the Hunt Committee was set up by the British Government to advise on policing in Northern Ireland. As a consequence the RUC was disarmed and made responsible to an appointed Police Authority, and the Specials were disbanded and replaced by a new force (later name the Ulster Defence Regiment—UDR) under the control of the British Army. Meanwhile, equal voting rights were extended to all, and housing, education, planning, health and social services were reorganised with centralised management to distance them from the discriminatory practices of local authorities.

These reforms were too late and came too slowly, and the situation gradually became a guerrilla war between the IRA and the Army ... The RUC soon rearmed, and the UDR became a new heavily armed version of the Specials with over 97% Protestant membership including close links with and infiltration by loyalist paramilitary groups. As the conflict became more bitter and violent, the Unionist Government followed tradition

and re-introduced indefinite internment without trial in August 1971. In the first 6 months, 2,300 people were arrested, all Catholic. The blatant political nature of internment, and the violence with which it was implemented, incensed the minority community and contributed directly to the escalation of the guerilla war on the streets. Internment also brought down the Unionist Government of 50 years, to be replaced by direct rule from London, though internment lasted as a policing tactic until 1975.

## Total Policing

During the 60s there was a major rethink in Western Capitalist countries about policing and the security of the state. One of the principal proponents of the new methods was Brigadier Frank Kitson, appointed army commander of the Belfast area in 1970. Although he only spent 18 months in Northern Ireland, the theories outlined in his 1971 book *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency* gradually became the dominant ones. Kitson's analysis is based on social and anti-social division in society, between those who support the government and remain within the law, and those regarded as undemocratic and outside the law. He stressed the need for co-ordination of the legal, civil, military and police authorities and for rigorous collection of basic intelligence data on the population. (In July 1982, Kitson became C-in-C UK Land Forces.)

Northern Ireland was a perfect arena for practising this total approach to policing. The old system of blatant oppression wasn't working, the army had considerable autonomy, and although not as far away as Kenya, Northern Ireland does not come under the same scrutiny as, say Merseyside. In each area, civil representatives were appointed to co-ordinate housing improvement, street maintenance, etc. with army policing operations. A 'hearts and minds' offensive was launched, with community projects, sports facilities for young people, meals-on-wheels for old people in Derry—all with army involvement. A massive system of intelligence-gathering was started. Computer-based, it was fed by random identity checks (P-checks), detention without charge and house searches.

Police involvement with civil administration was increased—police now sit on and have a veto on all major planning developments. Housing estates are now built with a limited number of exits; factories, warehouses and new roads are placed in areas to act as barriers; at police request pavements in the Poleglass housing development were reinforced to take armoured vehicles.

This enrolment of all state functions to the service of policing was further illustrated by the 1971 Repayment of Debt Act, introduced as a direct response to the 26,000 strong rent & rates strike by the Catholic community against internment. The Act empowers housing authorities, gas and electricity boards, etc unilaterally to deduct any debts at source from people's benefits or wages. The Act's use is primarily political and takes no account of individual circumstances—it remains on the statute book and is used to counter political protests over housing and poverty.

## Legal Framework

### Emergency Provisions Act

Kitson laid out the bones of the policing theory, but further legal refinement was required because counter-insurgency techniques evolved in the Empire since the War were too crude for domestic use. In *Low Intensity Operations* Kitson states: 'the law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal, and in this case it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the

disposal of unwanted members of the public—for this to happen efficiently the activities of the legal services have to be tied into the war effort in as discreet a way as possible'. In 1972 the Diplock Commission was set up to devise a more judicial manner of containing the continuing opposition to government policies in Northern Ireland, and its recommendations became the 1973 Emergency Provisions Act (EPA).

The Diplock Commission never visited Northern Ireland and the mainly oral evidence was from legal administrators and the civil and armed services. The Report took no account of the political reasons for the conflict, focussing instead on the maintenance of law and order, i.e. the status quo. Basic civil rights central to any notion of justice, such as the admissibility of statements, became technical details secondary to the proposed law and order strategy.

In effect the EPA was an updated version of the 1922 SPA:

- power of stop and search with detention for up to 72 hours on suspicion of being a 'terrorist'—no grounds of reasonableness needed.

- extensive powers of search of person and property.
- trial before single judge with no jury.
- acceptance of hearsay evidence with no right of cross-examination.
- assumption of guilt in alleged arms possession cases with onus of proof on the accused.
- amended rules on the admissibility of confessions—making them more difficult to challenge in court.

This wholesale suspension of centuries-old civil liberties was a major step towards the present Police Bill, justified by the Labour government at the time because of the 'nature of the emergency'. The EPA has formed the basis of army and police operations since 1973, and immediately caused a massive increase in arrest and search for purposes of harassment and intelligence gathering. In 1971 17,000 houses had been searched. In 1973 75,000 houses were searched—one fifth of all houses in Northern Ireland. To implement the policing strategies a London police commander, Kenneth Newman, was appointed as Deputy Chief Constable of the RUC. He immediately began organising the RUC—re-arming it, expanding its information gathering capacity and setting up specialised units.

## Prevention of Terrorism Act

In 1974 the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) by the Labour government consolidated the measures in the EPA and extended the maximum detention period from three to seven days. The then Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins described it as a temporary and draconian measure. Nine years later it is still law, and because of PTA exclusion orders the UK remains unable to ratify Protocol 4 of the European Human Rights Convention which protects the rights of citizens to freedom of movement within their own country. The Act allows

internal exile from one part of the UK to another, detention for up to 7 days with charge, and denial of the rights of Habeas Corpus, a court hearing or an appeal. The open decision of a court is replaced by the secret decisions of police, civil servants and governments ministers—legally defined and protected rights are replaced by arbitrary executive powers.

Only 100 of the 5,600 persons detained in Britain have been charged with offences under the PTA, and virtually all those detained are Irish. PTA detention is used for purposes of harassment and information-gathering, rather than for the investigation of acts involving 'the use of violence for political ends'. The effect of the PTA in Britain has been to discourage political activity around Irish matters and to allow the police, especially in London and Liverpool, to gain useful experience in psychological interrogation techniques during extended detention. It also created the precedent for the 96 hour detention clause in the Police Bill.

See TOM publications for a more detailed look at the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

## Criminalisation

In May 1976 Kenneth Newman was appointed RUC Chief Constable. In an interview with the *Irish Times* he stressed the importance of combining civil, military and police authorities, and said he viewed his stay in Northern Ireland as experience which would be needed for policing British streets in the future.

In July 1976 he issued a directive stating he was taking full personal control for interrogation at the new centralised detention centre at Castlereagh, later extended to Gough Barracks because of the volume of business. In September 1976 Roy Mason arrived as Northern Ireland Secretary, the month the European Commission on Human Rights found the British government 'guilty of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment' of internees in 1971. Special category status had been withdrawn from March 1976, and henceforth the political aspects of the conflict were to be ignored. The 'problem' was presented as one of law and order, to which the 'solution' was to get tough, because you don't look for political solutions to a 'crime wave'.

The new strategy of criminalisation filled the gap left by the ending of internment in 1975—it depended on the conveyor-belt system of justice made possible by extended periods of detention, and the ready admissibility of confessions as sufficient evidence to convict in the no-jury courts. The 1972 Diplock Report stated that the jury system in Northern Ireland had not broken down but might break down in the future. The Report also recommended accepting confessions as admissible evidence 'unless obtained by the use or threat of physical force'. Crucially, no such qualification appeared in the EPA.

Soon there were complaints of confessions being obtained by physical abuse—simultaneously the rate of conviction by self-incriminating confession rose dramatically. The conviction rate in the Diplock courts was an incredible 94%, with 70-90% of the convictions based wholly or mainly on confession under interrogation.

Disquiet about interrogation methods formally surfaced as early as April 1977 when the Police Doctors' Association complained to the Police Authority.

In April 1978 the Police Authority expressed their serious concern to N.I. Secretary Roy Mason—police doctors were now continuously documenting





physical abuses during interrogation. Both Mason and Newman still publicly denied that any such activities occurred and expressed their faith in the system (Newman was knighted in 1978).

In 1977 Amnesty International had begun an investigation and in June 1978 parts of its report were leaked before publication. The IBA banned a *This Week* TV programme on the Amnesty Report, but *Nationwide* exposed it. The Report concluded that 'maltreatment of suspected terrorists by the RUC has taken place with sufficient frequency to warrant the establishment of a public enquiry to investigate'. An international outcry followed—the Callaghan government responded by setting up a commission under Judge Bennett to consider interrogation procedures.

Meanwhile, the maltreatment continued—in March 1979 a Castlereagh police doctor stated on TV that he personally had seen evidence of assault on 160 detainees, such as punctured eardrums and broken bones. A week later the Bennett Report was published and in effect corroborated the allegations of systematic torture under interrogation.

The EPA and the juryless Diplock Courts remained unscathed, however, as did Newman. By the time he moved on in January 1980, the RUC had recovered the prime policing role from the Army, greatly increased their intelligence gathering capacity and gradually increased in numbers. Newman massively re-armed the RUC with machine-guns, rifles and armoured cars and created a paramilitary force rather than the civilian one recommended by the 1969 Hunt committee.

His reputation not at all dented by the exposures of RUC brutality, Newman went on to become London Metropolitan Commissioner in October 1982. To this day he denies that any systematic maltreatment occurred in the interrogation centres.

## 'Supergrasses' and Psychological Techniques

The Bennett Report resulted in a dramatic drop in lodged complaints of assault during interrogation and simultaneously the number of confessions, and convictions, fell. The new safeguards introduced did stop routine physical abuse, but silent video-cameras left one avenue open. Psychological pressure is the heart of the interrogation process, and was increasingly important with the growing use of seven-day detentions under the PTA.

At the end of 1980 a meeting was held, attended by M16 intelligence chief Maurice Oldfield, Attorney-General Michael Havers, the Director of Public Prosecutions, senior RUC



personnel, Northern Ireland judges and legal advisors. This meeting marked the official green light for the use of 'super-grasses' in the Diplock courts, and the strategy was later approved at Cabinet level. The intelligence services provided the necessary know-how and resources—psychological techniques of coercion for the recruitment of 'super-grasses', and safe houses in Britain and abroad (Cyprus) for 'protective custody' to allow uninterrupted schooling of the 'super-grasses' testimony.

The carrot-and-stick technique of coercion involves inducements of life-long immunity from prosecution or a reduced sentence and threats of a lifetime in prison following certain conviction, backed up by bribes of £100,000 or more with promises of a new identity in an English-speaking country such as South Africa. The immunity is ratified by the Attorney-General, the money comes from the Northern Ireland Office and MI6 looks after the international end.

The whole system is now in full swing: scores of people have been sentenced to thousands of years' imprisonment on the uncorroborated testimony of paid perjurers. Over 400 people, facing 700 charges on the word of 30 'super-grasses', are effectively interned on remand awaiting a show-trial (some for up to two years).

To concentrate exclusively on the use of uncorroborated evidence in the show-trials is to not see the wood for the trees, for nearly all the cases brought to the Diplock courts after PTA detention lack supporting evidence. It is the use of psychological techniques of coercion and control that is the central feature of the strategy, made possible by extended periods of detention under the PTA and in 'protective custody', and unquestioned in court because of the absence of a jury.

See TOM's leaflet 'Informers and Show Trials' (10p) for a detailed look at this strategy.

## Silencing Dissent

### Bloody Sunday

The methods of imprisoning dissent have always been accompanied by the routine use of violence by the Crown forces to silence dissent directly. Three such uses are described here: Bloody Sunday, plastic bullets, the shoot-to-kill policy.

On 30 January 1972 a large civil rights march against internment took place in Derry, one of several which were exerting pressure on the Government at the time. Northern Ireland Army Commander General Ford was present—unusual in itself—and overruled the advice of the local RUC chief that the 15,000 marchers be allowed free passage. The Paratroop Regiment opened fire on the march—sustained, deliberate, methodical, aimed gunfire—and killed 14 people. Despite the outcry, the killings meant there were no large street demonstrations for the next 9 years in Northern Ireland—in fear.

### Plastic Bullets

A plastic bullet is a 4-inch hard PVC cylinder, which along with its forerunner the rubber bullet, was introduced as a 'minimum force riot control weapon'—they are used in Northern Ireland to keep people from protesting in the streets. Of the 14 killed by these weapons, only 2 were in the vicinity of riots and 7 were young children. As well as deaths, these bullets have caused countless horrific injuries—brain damage, blindness, shattered bones, etc.—and have terrorised the minority community.

Between 1973 and 1980 28,485 rubber or plastic bullets were fired. Then, in response to the first large demonstrations since 1972 (in support of the hunger strikers), 29,665 were fired in 1981 alone, with an incredible 16,656 in the month after the death of Bobby Sands MP. Although the use of plastic bullets has become a sensitive issue, they are still routinely used in Northern Ireland, and the Royal Ordnance factory in Enfield is now testing a riot machine-gun capable of firing alternate rounds of plastic bullets and CS-gas.

The Crown forces appear to be legally immune—no-one has

been convicted for any of these killings, nor for the plastic bullet deaths. This apparent immunity is evident elsewhere—the Bennett Report noted that of 19 RUC interrogators charged with offences against detainees between 1972 and 1978, only two were convicted and both these convictions were set aside on appeal.

Invariably, when Crown personnel are brought to court the charges are relatively minor and the prosecution is weak with relevant evidence not presented. In May 1981 an Army land-rover drove at high speed into a Derry crowd—two youths were killed. The driver and co-driver were charged with traffic offences and acquitted. Two years later the youths' families won their fight for an inquest, which then clearly showed that the state's case in the trial had been inaccurate and underprosecuted, altering or ignoring important facts. These findings would have led to an inquest verdict of manslaughter or unlawful killing, but ever since the Bloody Sunday coroner returned a verdict of 'sheer unadulterated murder', inquests in Northern Ireland have not been allowed to reach a verdict.

The last 14 years in Northern Ireland have seen the emergence of total policing (Newman's 'community policing'), with the recruitment of all state agencies, civil, legal and welfare, to service the policing effort. Increasing police powers have been mirrored by decreasing local government.

## A Summary of the Policies to Deal With Political Violence in Northern Ireland

Period	Policy	Abuses
1969-1971	Joint control by Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). B Specials replaced by UDR.	Army presence mainly in Catholic areas. Increasing harassment. Falls curfew. Discriminate treatment of those involved in riots.
1971-1972	Internment without trial.	Indiscriminate arrest and internment of Republicans. Use of five techniques of interrogation.
1972-1975	Internment and the use of radically modified criminal courts. (Called Diplock courts)	Differential policing. Mass screening and harassment in Catholic areas.
1976-1980	Ulsterisation and criminalisation. Expansion of RUC control. Ending of internment. All tried as criminals in Diplock courts. Phasing out of Special Status Category.	Beating during interrogation. Use of arrest and detention for intelligence gathering. Disputed army killings. Trial outcome wholly or mainly based upon defendant's confession.
1980-1981	No concessions to political prisoners.	Numerous disputed incidences in prison. Disputed plastic bullet deaths. Increased use of Diplock courts for ordinary crime.
1982-	Use of 'supergrasses'.	Bribery of suspects and reliance on evidence supplied bribed accomplices. More disputed RUC/Army killings.

Adapted from *Fortnight*, September 1983

'Emergency' laws have become the norm. Legal measures have been developed through internal executive review in conjunction with police and army chiefs—the public are not consulted, merely presented with formulated policies. Just as the 1973 EPA was based on and went beyond the 1972 Diplock Report, so the Police Bill includes and exceeds the recommendations of the 1981 Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure.

The EPA and the PTA have completed the shift from policing crime to policing politics. This is seen most clearly with the present 'super-grass' strategy, with cases of the same person being held successively on the word of up to 5 'super-grasses' for different alleged offences until one charge sticks and the person is convicted. The dominant form of policing is not arrest followed by prosecution for a specific offence, but regular questioning on the street or in extended detention of those listed on the RUC's 500,000 computerised file as 'suspects' or 'potential terrorists'.

While Britain remains in Ireland, political conflicts in Britain will be defined as 'problems' of law and order, and there can be no reversing of the trend in policing typified by the Police Bill.

For further information or a speaker contact:

**Troops Out Movement,**  
PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH  
Tel: 01-250 1293

## Powers of Arrest and Search in Northern Ireland

### PTA

- sec. 12 (1) A constable may arrest without warrant a person whom he reasonably suspects to be -
- a person guilty of an offence under section 1, 9, 10 or 11 of this Act;
  - a person who is or has been concerned in the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism;
  - a person subject to an exclusion order.
- (2) A person arrested under this section shall not be detained in right of the arrest for more than 48 hours after his arrest; but the Secretary of State may, in any particular case, extend the period of 48 hours by a further period not exceeding 5 days.

### EPA

- sec. 11: (1) Any constable may arrest without warrant any person whom he suspects of being a terrorist.
- (3) A person arrested under the section shall not be detained in right of arrest for more than seventy-two hours after his arrest.
- sec. 13: (1) A member of Her Majesty's forces on duty may arrest without warrant, and detain for not more than four hours, a person whom he suspects of committing, having committed or about to commit any offence.
- (3) For the purpose of arresting a person under this section a member of Her Majesty's forces may enter any search any premises or other place -
- where that person is, or
  - if that person is suspected of being a terrorist or of having committed an offence involving the use or possession of an explosive, explosive substance or firearm, where that person is suspected of being.
- sec. 15: (2) Any member of Her Majesty's forces on duty authorised by a commissioned officer of those forces or any constable authorised by an officer of the Royal Ulster Constabulary not below the rank of chief inspector may enter any dwelling-house in



which it is suspected that there are unlawfully any munitions or that there is a transmitter and may search it for any munitions or transmitter with a view to exercising the said powers.

(3) Any member of Her Majesty's forces on duty or any constable may -

(a) stop any person in any public place and, with a view to exercising the said powers, search him for the purpose of ascertaining whether he has any munitions unlawfully with him or any transmitter with him; and

(b) with a view to exercising the said powers, search any person not in a public place whom he suspects of having any munitions unlawfully with him or any transmitter with him.

## Use of Powers of Arrest

Arrest power used *Diplock Court Survey Jan-March 1981*

PTA sec 12	9.5%
EPA sec 11	56.8%
EPA sec 14	1.8%
CLA sec 2	10.1%
Other/Unkown	21.8%

Source: D Walsh (forthcoming)

## Number of persons arrested and not charged and persons charged as a % of arrests

	EPA		PTA		TOTAL		Persons not charged as % of arrests
	No arrested	No not charged	No arrested	No Not charged	No arrested	No not charged	
1977	2814	1870	162	81	2976	1951	66
1978	3070	2741	155	81	3225	2822	86
1979	4607	4081	162	107	4769	4188	88
1980	3348	2927	222	117	3570	3044	85
1981	4548	3775	495	337	5043	4112	82
1982	1967*	1813	828	489	2795	2302	82
Total	20354	17207	2024	1212	22378	18419	

\* RUC arrests only to 31.5.82

Sources: Hansard  
Northern Ireland Information Service

If one assumes that the total number of people arrested and released without charge for the period 1977-1982 was the same for the period 1972-1976, the total number of people released after a period of detention between 1972 and 1982 would be approximately 40,000. This is the equivalent to arresting, detaining for more than four hours, and releasing without charge, 50% of all Catholic males aged between 16-24 in Northern Ireland.

## Official Figures on House Searches

1971	17,262
1972	36,617
1973	74,556
1974	71,914
1975	30,092
1976	34,939
1977	20,724
1978	15,462
1979	6,452
1980	4,106
1981	4,104
1982	4,045
1983*	878
Total	321,151

\* Until June 1983

Source: Northern Ireland Information Service

There are only 471,391 houses in Northern Ireland. The total number of house searches therefore represents 68% of the total stock. But as the majority of house searches have been in Catholic areas, which on a rough estimate contain 160,000 houses, the total figure for house searches is the equivalent of searching every Catholic house twice or 50% of Catholic houses on four or more occasions.

# NO POLICE BILL! NO POLICE STATE!

## Gays Against the Bill

As a response to the attacks on Lesbians and Gay people that the Police Bill represents, a Gays Against The Bill group has been formed and is now on its fourth meeting. It was initiated by the already existing Gay London Police monitoring group, and is part of the national campaign.

Its activities so far have mainly been around building the national demonstration and publicity, and production of 100,000 leaflets. We've also been making contact with other organisations' mailing lists.

It is the latest in a long line of essentially defence campaigns set up by Lesbians and Gays, the most well known of which was the defence of *Gay News* against the attacks of Mary Whitehouse and others.

Lesbians and Gays have always been the subject of harrassment not just by the police but by the 'general public' as well (Queer-bashing).

Our oppression runs so deep that a lot of Lesbians and Gays actually turn it in on themselves and blame themselves for society's problems: Homophobia. Anti-Gay attitudes by the Police only mirror those of society (though they're probably worse).

The Bill itself legitimizes current police practice. Lesbians and Gays are already considered an 'affront to public decency', for instance. This clause will not, of course, just be used against us but can be used against anyone offending against the 'norm'. Lesbians, especially those with children, already suffer at the hands of a largely male force insulted by their very existence.

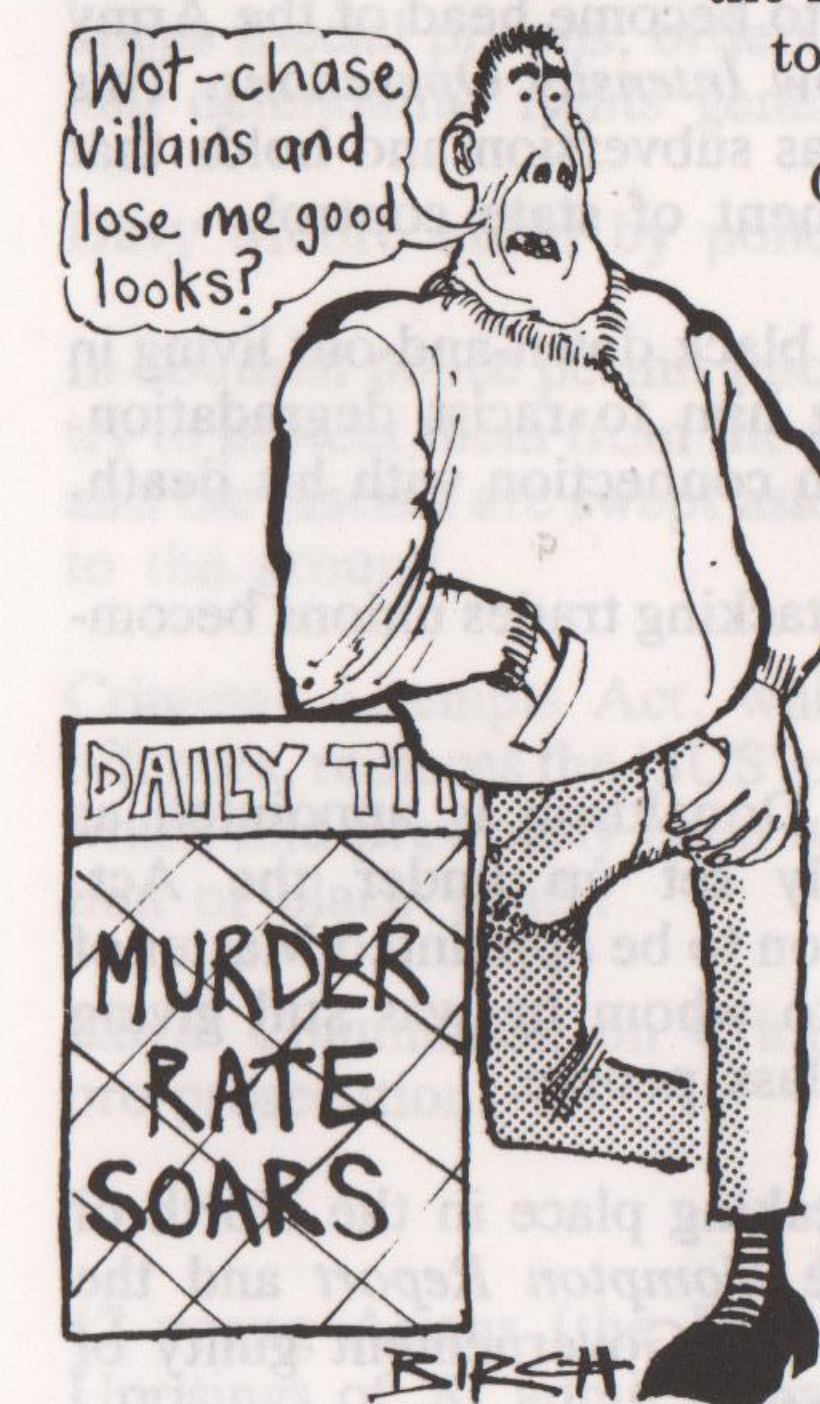
Another clause likely to be used to harmful effect is the obtaining of intimate body samples. Gay men under the age of 21, the Gay male age of 'consent', are likely to be routinely harrassed in this way. A whole number of other clauses will affect Lesbians and Gays in specific ways.

## Earls Court support group

Over the past seven or so months a campaign has been waged in the Earls Court area of London by local police against Gay men, particularly those using one local gay pub, the 'Colherne'.

The men are entrapped by Police "agents provocateurs" dressed in ripped jeans and leather jackets, after the pub closing time. They are charged with 'persistently importuning for immoral purposes'. In fact, although the very reverse is the case, the men nearly always plead guilty due to the very real threat of losing their jobs through adverse publicity.

Gays in Earls Court have formed a support group for those arrested, and the Group is seeking help from all quarters. You can contact the group via The Gay London Police Monitoring Group, 38 Mount Pleasant, WC1 (01-278 6215/286 9692)



## Calender of Repression and Resistance

### 1962

First Commonwealth Immigration Act comes into force. Racist in intent and operation it greatly restricted the entry of black people (especially African and Asians from the Caribbean) into the UK.

### 1965

Metropolitan Police (the Met) forms the Special Patrol Group (SPG).

Labour Party, having failed to fulfill its promise to repeal the Immigration Act, introduces an Immigration White Paper which further controlled the entry of all black people into the UK. Labour thus adopted the policies of rightwing Tories like Peter Griffiths of Smethwick.

Robert Mark grabs national press attention leading campaign using manipulated figures in order to show that serious criminals are being let off by Crown Court juries.

### 1966

Important move towards a unified police force with the amalgamation of many existing police forces throughout the UK.

### 1967

Juries no longer required to reach unanimous verdicts in trials.

A crucial black organisation, the Universal Coloured Peoples' Association (UCPA) formed. It was Afro-Asian in membership

and nationalist in politics. Leading activists of the key black organisations of the late 1960s and early 1970s (the Black Panther Movement, the Black Liberation Front and the Black Unity and Freedom Party) emerged from this formation.

*In Place of Strife*, the first legislative proposal attacking trades unions to come from a major political party since 1945, put forward by Harold Wilson's Labour Government.

Enoch Powell makes infamous 'rivers of blood' speech saying that black people are taking over the cities and are a menace to the British nation.

Second Commonwealth Immigration Act—first devised by Roy Jenkins—put through Parliament by James Callaghan. Its purpose was to deprive Asian holders of United Kingdom passports of their right to enter the UK. They were subjected to a quota system. Both the Act and its operation were found to be violations of human rights by the European Court.

### 1969

British army sent—yet again—to occupy the Six Counties of the North of Ireland.

### 1970

Use of conspiracy law reintroduced against students in the Cambridge Garden House affair resulting from a demonstration against the Greek junta.

### 1971

Third Commonwealth Immigration Act brought in by Heath



Government. It tried to solve the problem of its own racist basis by relating right of entry into the UK to patriality i.e., having a grandfather born in the UK, which few black people did.

The Met attacks a black demonstration in Notting Hill and later tried to frame 9 black activists. This resulted in the *Mangrove 9 Trial*.

Police given new *stop and search* powers under the Misuse of Drugs Act.

Internment without trial reintroduced in the Six Counties under the *Emergency Powers Act*.

Brigadeer Kitson (who is to go on to become head of the Army in the '80s) publishes his book *Low Intensity Operations*. This treats strikes and demonstrations as subversion and holds that law should be used as an instrument of state control.

Leeds police kill David Oluwale, a black down-and-out living in that city after years of subjecting him to racist degradation. Police officers actually convicted in connection with his death.

Heath's Industrial Relations Act attacking trades unions becomes law.

Tory right-wing lawyer Sir John Donaldson is appointed as 'chairman' of the Court specially set up under the Act. Donaldson (now a Lord) was to go on to be appointed Master of the Rolls by Margaret Thatcher to whom he was still giving advice on how to fight working-class people.

Torture of suspects confirmed as taking place in the North of Ireland. This is confirmed by the *Compton Report* and the European Court later found the UK Government guilty of 'inhuman and degrading' treatment.

Sir Robert Mark appointed to head the Met and starts a new campaign using crime statistics. This time his object was to find ways of using these to convince the public that black street crime was a major menace to the whole of British society.

Bloody Sunday in Derry. British Soldiers of the Parachute Regiment murder thirteen (13) Irish people in cold blood for peacefully demonstrating on the streets. Cover-up organised using soldier who had become a judge. Not a single charge was laid against any member of the security forces.

Anti-mugging 'scare' in full swing. A black youth in Birmingham sent to jail for twenty (20) years for a 'mugging'.

Eleventh Report of the Criminal Law Revision Committee proposes shifting criminal justice system strongly against suspects, many of whose rights, including the right to silence during questioning by the police, it said should be abolished.

Miners defeat the Heath Government by industrial action. Earlier his Industrial Relations Act had been undermined by mass strike action by workers.

The oppressive and discriminatory state of protestant Stormont abolished. Westminster took direct responsibility for increased oppression while claiming to reduce discrimination.

## 1973

SPG shoot dead without giving any proper warning two Pakistani youths armed with toy guns in India House. Police officers later given medals.

Juries abolished in the North of Ireland. Judges act as judge and jury in new 'Diplock' courts.

Sir Robert Mark uses BBC's Dibley Lecture to open new campaign against suspects' rights. Now he says that Judges Rules and 'bent' lawyers are causing 'clever' criminals to escape justice.

Defendants' rights to question those about to go on juries trying them about relevant matters restricted.

## 1974

Miners again defeat Heath government by strike action despite declaration of state of emergency and 'three-day week'.

Student Kevin Gately killed by police in anti-National Front demonstration at Red Lion Square. Scarman investigates; he finds that Kevin had a thin skull; he recommends that such disturbances should not be subject to public inquiries, though the police must review each of them from the public order point of view and take steps they find appropriate.

Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act rushed through House of Commons by Roy Jenkins. Agreed by all to be 'draconian' and therefore to be reconsidered for renewal every six months.

Police attack Carib Club, Cricklewood. They force black people to run the gauntlet of truncheons and police dogs. *Affray* charges brought against twelve black youths out of more than 140 detained. All twelve eventually acquitted despite efforts of trial judge using distortions and misdirections to obtain convictions.

## 1975

Black young people resist police aggression on Leeds Bonfire Night.

Three black young men in armed siege in London (Spaghetti House). Two are politicians. They claim that the robbery they had attempted was intended to secure funds for political ends.

## 1976

Kenneth Newman becomes head of Royal 'Ulster' Constabulary. He makes distinction between 'interview' and 'interrogation' of suspects, facilitating torture and inhuman treatment of suspects under interrogation.

Gurdip Singh Chaggar murdered by racists in Southall street. Southall Youth Movement (SYM) formed.

Black people resist oppressive policing at Notting Hill Carnival in August defeating the Met in pitched battle.

Prevention of Terrorism Act—still agreed by all to be 'draconian'—made renewable every year and no longer six months.

## 1977

Asian women workers conduct heroic strike at Grunwicks, London. SPG deployed ruthlessly against labour movement solidarity pickets. Courts used against other forms of trade union solidarity action. Black worker framed for attack on SPG officer cleared after campaign.

Black people and the Left (under banner of the Anti-Nazi League) oppose police on the streets at Lewisham and Ladywood as they openly support the National Front by active protection of marches which they refuse to ban.

Police officers of the Met deployed with riot shields for the first time during the Lewisham action.

The National Security Committee established to prepare the state for more effective class war against working people.

Further black resistance at Notting Hill Carnival.

Youths charged following previous Carnival (the Islington 18) subjected to treatment identical to those used in the North of Ireland in 1972.

Defendants' right to peremptory challenge to jurors reduced from 7 to 3.

## 1978

Police support National Front at Digbeth, Birmingham and are resisted by black people and the Left.

Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure set up.

The Home Office, the Police and the Director of Public Prosecutions all ask the Royal Commission to recommend increased police powers.

Torture and inhuman and degrading treatment of suspects by Kenneth Newman's RUC at Castlereagh and Gough Barracks now widespread. Medical officers do their best to stop it as they examine suspects with injuries including perforated ear drums. Kenneth Newman does everything in his power to ensure that such torture is not stopped. He uses the DPP's statements that police officers are unlikely to be convicted of these crimes to say that complaints were without foundation. He says that injuries are self-inflicted to undermine his force. Amnesty International investigated: not given evidence accumulated by the medical doctors, yet found evidence of extensive mistreatment of suspects. Newman part of plot to discredit Amnesty Report despite the medical evidence which he knew about.

Bennett Committee set up to help cover up the tortures. Has access to the medical evidence and has to issue *Report* which confirms it.

Kenneth Newman knighted.

Jury vetting by the state legalised.

New style police operation by the Met at Notting Hill Carnival involves sophisticated use of cordoning and street-clearance against the community.

## 1979

Police again give public support to National Front, this time at Leicester where black and Left forces again resist them.

The Met uses the guise of the Representation of the People Act to support the National Front in Southall, London, a key area of Asian settlement. The Met meets community opposition supported by certain Left forces with the techniques perfected the previous August at Notting Hill backed up by thousands of officers including the SPG. They murder Left teacher, Blair Peach and inflict terrible injuries on members of the community. Over 700 people, mainly members of the local community, arrested; over 300 charged; community centre at 6 Park View Road attacked by the Met who beat up those there including medical doctors running a first aid post and solicitors observing and giving legal advice. Resistance to the Met is strong enough to put one of its SPG units out of action.

## 1980

There is an Uprising in the St Paul's district of Bristol. It was provoked by the police who were then forced to flee the area for many hours during which time only police property and banks were attacked.

## 1981

A fire in Deptford (the Deptford/New Cross Massacre) kills 13 and maims many more black youngsters.

The Met investigate. It says massacre not racial. A key technique of its 'investigation' is to detain black youngsters for long periods to get them to sign statements confirming the police view of the matter. The Met thus contributed to a mounting tide of black anger.

A Black Peoples' Day of Action is called for 2nd March and 15,000 take to the streets. Police try to stop procession half way through agreed route but were swept aside by the determination of those present.

Met mounts Swamp '81 Operation in Brixton. More than 2000 mainly young and black people illegally stopped and searched in 5 days of early April.

Brixton Uprising follows. Disorganised and illprepared, the Met is humiliated.

Lord Scarman is brought in to provide the official gloss.

The Home Office Working Group on Protective Clothing and Equipment for the Police speeds up its work.

Country-wide Uprisings take place in July and the state orders police tactics of "mobile and positive public order policing", opens special prisons, orders magistrates to ignore the Bail Act and defendants' rights generally.

Davy Moore killed by police in Liverpool.

In Southall police permit fascist white youths to gather and then try to protect them from the fight-back of the community. Police and the fascists are swept aside and the haunt of the latter burnt to the ground.

Criminal Attempts Act, which creates a whole range of new offences, replaces the 'SUS' provisions of the 1824 Vagrancy Act which had previously been used to criminalise a whole generation of black youth.

Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure reports. Its line is pro-prosecution.

## 1982

12 young Asians (the Bradford 12) arrested during the July Uprisings of '81 admit to having prepared petrol bombs to be used in defence of their community against widely rumoured impending fascist attacks. Jury acquits them all after campaign.

A new Criminal Justice Act is introduced. This abolishes statements from the dock (effectively used by Bradford 12), allows magistrates to use curfew orders against young defendants and forces parents to pay childrens' fines.

New style youth custody prisons ('Short Sharp Shock Centres') opened.

Lords Denning and Hailsham lead state attack on jury system. Denning takes his to the limit of suggesting that black people are unfit to serve on juries; in the process he libels those who served in the trial of those framed following the Bristol Uprising. He is forced to apologise, withdraw a section of a book he had just published and resigns.

Sir Kenneth Newman becomes head of the Metropolitan Police.

Police and Criminal Evidence Bill published. Its line is strongly against democratic rights and civil liberties seeking to legalise long-standing police excesses.

Data Protection Bill published. Its line is pro-state.

The Thatcher Government's second anti-trade union law comes into force (the Employment Protection Acts 1980 and 1982).

8 Asian youths (the Newham 8) are arrested for the self-defence of their community and charged with conspiracy. Hundreds of Newham school pupils strike in their support.

## 1983

Young black man Colin Roach dies in Stoke Newington Police Station, notorious for its racism over the years. State says suicide. Key struggle on the street for truth of his death. Inquest jury supports complaints against police who investigated his death. The struggle continues, led by Roach Family Support Committee and Hackney and Stoke Newington Defence Committee.