



EUSTACE

Yet again the racists striking
 Yet again dem come and kill,
 Bureaucracy get the job done cheaper
 Handing out convenient bill's.

Eustace we will ever remember
 Eustace you still give us reason,
 And anywhere this evil lurks
 We'll fight it down with truth and rights.

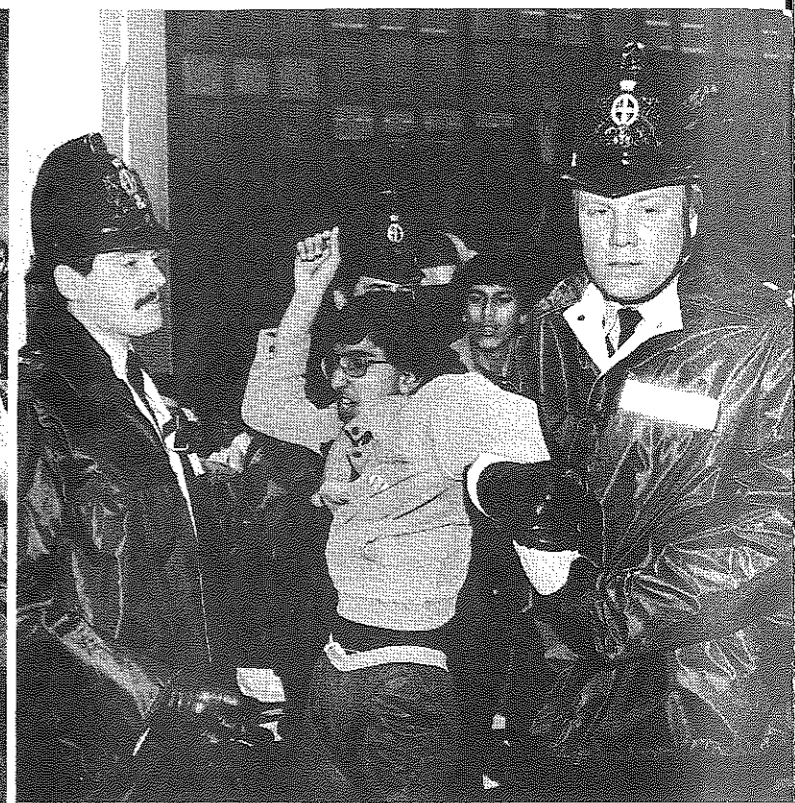
Oh you cover's-up of crime
 How long can you sit there,
 Providing all your media lies, oh how you dare.
 Destroying any glimmer of trust existing in ones mind
 Leaving sadness leaving pain
 Where happiness was strong.

Oh Eustace though we never met
 We stood on common ground,
 As members of one planet
 Our brotherhood was sound,
 And voices scream for justice
 To which ears cannot close for long,
 No more we stand to be victims
 You have made a new freedom song.

Dedicated to EUSTACE PRYCE
 And all victims of racist & fascist thugs whatever
 disguise they come in.

Tippa Naphtali

RACISM AND RESISTANCE



NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT ANNUAL REPORT 1985

School book withdrawn
 A book which features a poem which refers to an Asian boy as a 'Paki' is to be withdrawn from library shelves in Newham. The book, Swings and roundabouts, published by Collins, was discovered by local teacher D.S. Bawa. Collins now intend to delete the poem from any future editions. (Newham Recorder 17.1.85.)

Police protection needed
 Newham Police Committee have asked police chiefs to step up patrols near a Muslim religious and community centre following a spate of arson attacks. A report to the Committee says that attacks on the Canning Town Muslim and Religious Centre are racially motivated but local police say there is little to support this allegation. (Newham Recorder 19.9.85.)

Canning Town

An east London family take it in turns to stay up all night in case of racial attacks. Already the Rebeiros' home is boarded up and they keep buckets of water handy in case of arson attacks. The family have been set upon in the street, their windows have been smashed, their door kicked in and their dustbins set alight. Most of their neighbours have been moved out and the family are wondering why it is taking Newham Council so long to rehouse them. (Newham Recorder 17.1.85.)

One in four Asians attacked

One in four Asians in the London boroughs of Redbridge, Waltham Forest, Tower Hamlets and Newham have been racially attacked — one in ten seriously, according to a poll conducted for London Weekend Television's London programme. (Guardian 26.10.85.)

Race attacks in Newham increase

In the first three months of 1985 there were 43 reported cases of racial attacks on Asian people in Newham — more than twice as many as for the same period last year. Police and local community leaders believe the real number of attacks is much greater. A spokesman for the GLC-funded Newham Monitoring Project said that the police have not yet had much success in catching the people responsible for the violence against Asian people in Newham. "The attacks go on because no one is caught". (Sunday Telegraph 5.5.85.)

EDITORS VIEW BY TOM BUNCE

THE internal row of one of Newham's leading community relations organisations emphasises the frailty of such bodies to carry out the tasks they were established to perform.

They have no authority other than that generated by the willingness of people to seek and support the truth.

Too often, they are found wanting in that area every incident that seems ripe for exploitation becomes a cause celebre.

The trouble with promoting too many causes celebre is that they cease to have credibility.

When a justified cause does arise, its effectiveness is lost because most people regard it as another red herring.

Let's throw back the red herrings...

The Kenneth Singh and Eustace Pryce campaigns were evidence of that. More recently, action groups have become involved in the deaths of a mother and her children in Seven Kings. Although arson is indisputable, there is no evidence to support the claim that it was a racial attack. On the contrary, most of the information gathered points away from that.

Yet it has been bracketed with

so many others of equally dubious origin. There are none so blind as those who will not see, none so deaf as those who will not listen.

The hearts and minds of people will never be won by groups interested in only one side of the story. Peter Cartwright, the man who put prejudicial views on paper would not comment further this week. Which was a pity.

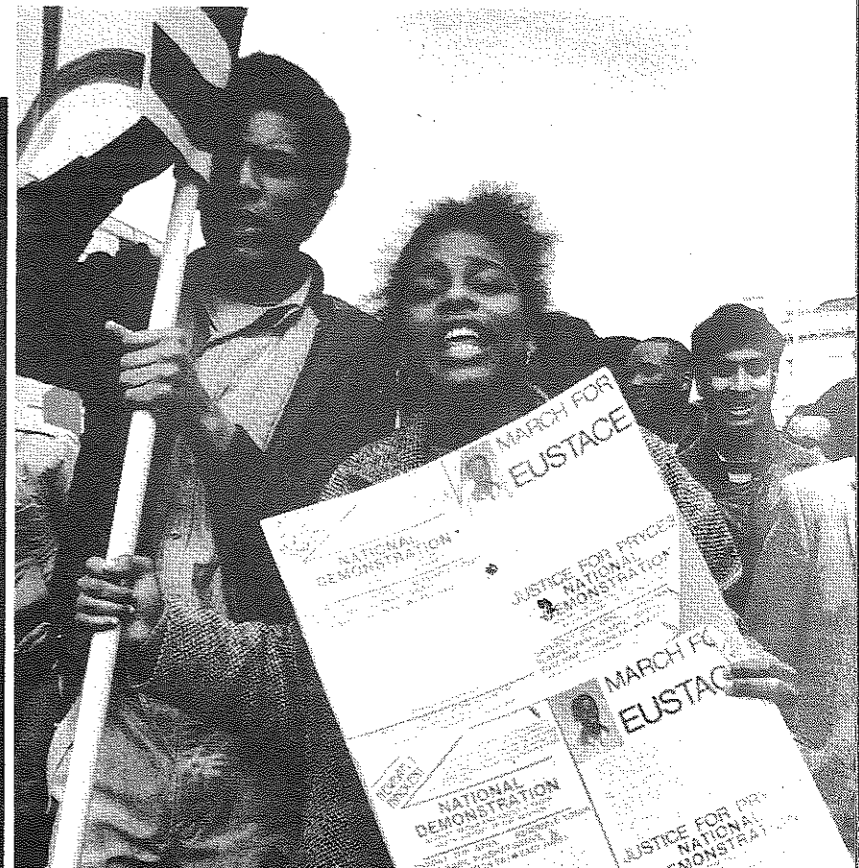
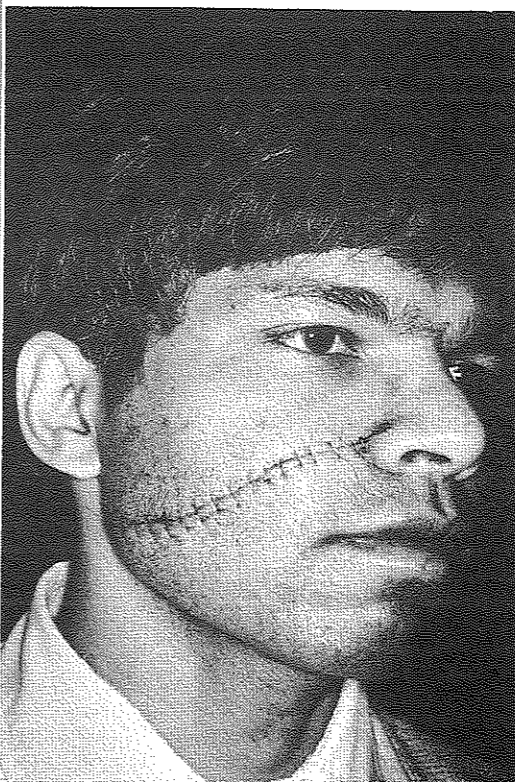
It was somewhere close to showing that the race relations industry can take an objective view of incidents.

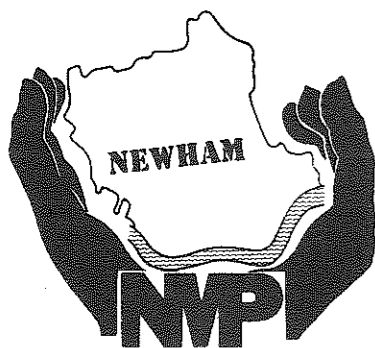
It is a sign that most people, black and white, will welcome

THE DAY that more are prepared to admit that certain incidents are as plotted in the days when others will start to actively support their cause.

THE DAY that the race relations industry admits that it can be even headed by condemning ALL

Hear no evil
 See no evil
 Speak no evil





NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT

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CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Casework	5
Racial Attacks & Harassment	6
Police Harassment	10
Housing	15
Education	19
Police & Racism	21
Self Defence is No Offence!	24
Justice for the Pryces?	39
Racism – the Fascist Connection	45
Financial Statement	48
S.N.A.R.F.	49
Issues of Concern	51
Outreach & Development Work	57
Work with other groups	60
NMP & the Media	61
NMP Past & Present	67
Affiliate Groups	70
Management Committee	72

FOREWORD

The year ahead is probably the most crucial year NMP has faced since its formation in 1980. On March 31st the Greater London Council will be abolished, and the future funding of this Project is by no means secure. And this comes at a time when the work and activities of the Project have reached a critical point.

Throughout 1985, the volume of our work has vastly increased — 305 families have been at the receiving end of racial thuggery, police inaction and malpractices. A growing willingness on the part of local black people to approach us and ask for help, has been more than matched by an enhanced confidence on the part of local black people to resist, attack, organise and demand their rights, as the Newham 7 and the Justice for the Pryce Family campaigns so vividly illustrate.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM UNDER REVIEW

Many cases we have dealt with over '85 reveal not just police racism but the bias of the entire criminal justice system, from the point of wrongful arrest, to the failure of police to prosecute racist attackers seriously, if, that is, they ever appear before the courts at all. For instance

A young Asian man received stab wounds to his head when he was attacked by two white men on High Street North. One of the men rushed into a nearby supermarket, handing over a knife to his mother who happened to work there.

Despite this, the police proceeded to detain the Asian youth and question him in an openly hostile manner. Although he was eventually released without charge, so were the white attackers. It was only after NMP brought pressure to bear that the white man who actually attacked the Asian youth was charged at all — and then the charge of actual bodily harm did not match the seriousness of the offence.

When the case finally came to court, the police did not take the prosecution seriously, and as a result the attacker walked free. During the entire case, the police made no attempt to place the attack in its proper context or indeed to see it as a racial incident at all.

Throughout '85, hundreds of similar cases have been reported to the Project, forcing us to reappraise our role. It has now become impossible to monitor racist attacks, or campaign against the naked racism of the

police, without questioning the entire criminal justice system which locks black people in a vicious circle, either criminalising or neglecting them. The failure of police and courts alike is not as some people might patronisingly claim a matter of black 'perception' — for the representatives of the 1,200 cases NMP has been involved with, it is a fact of life. And given this, it is small wonder that black people are increasingly turning towards community organisation as the only means of self-defence.

BLACK COMMUNITY UNDER THREAT

The past year has witnessed both violent physical and sustained political attacks. This assault on the black community was led by the police whose actions precipitated the 'riots' in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham but was also backed-up by media and politicians alike. The police offensive was matched by an increase in racist attacks, with murderous fire-bombings occurring in Walthamstow and Ilford. Sir Kenneth Newman, who had previously made racist attacks a priority for 1985, argued in his statutory report to the Home Secretary that racism was really a question of black people's perceptions and aspirations. Nevertheless 'what can be viewed as a lack of trust and understanding of the police now, could be translated into institutionalised political hostility in the next decade'.

Newman's belief that enhanced methods of social control are needed to quell the increasing dissatisfaction of black people has been translated locally in a number of ways. The *Newham Recorder* launched a campaign against the Newham 7 and the Justice for the Pryce Support Committee, but this was hardly surprising. However, when a senior officer from Newham Council for Racial Equality joins the affray local black people should seriously consider those people in positions of power who quite hypocritically purport to be working in our interests but who are really a part of the problem we have to overcome. Our message to them is that in racist Britain those who turn a blind eye, or worse still side with those who oppress us, are a part of the problem we face, no matter what their intentions.

From NMP's inception we have strove to maintain a non-sectarian approach, to build alliances with all groups across the borough who are genuinely committed to fighting racism, and to criticise only when criticism is due. We are saddened and angered by the actions of a senior community relations officer, and forced to remind those in similar positions that they have obtained their jobs not through any special merit of their own but on the backs of black people's struggles.

MONITORING THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

It is obvious, from even a cursory reading of this Report, that NMP continues to maintain a critical stance vis a vis the local authority. Contrary to much opinion in this borough, we do not like to 'shout' or 'make trouble' — if we criticise it is because we are genuinely concerned and cannot turn a blind eye to racism. We do not set out to be destructive; on the contrary we seek to act as a 'watchdog', putting forward positive measures for alleviating injustices whenever they occur. Over the past year the Project has actually extended its links with the local authority, particularly the Housing Department, and many positive changes are occurring there. However, we believe that the Housing Department is something of an exception and would hope that in the coming year the situation in other departments is improved. New innovations such as the Housing Department's decentralisation plans, the Education Department's anti-racist/multi-cultural and community education

policies will also be monitored closely to ensure that they have a beneficial effect upon the black community as a whole.

On March 31st the GLC is to be abolished, putting under threat the very future of the Project. On the same day, we will finally find out whether or not Newham Council will commit itself to funding us as part of its overall strategy for fighting racism in the borough. On behalf of NMP we would like to thank the GLC who have supported the Project not only financially but politically over the years and hope that Newham Council follow their lead.

In conclusion, we do hope that our Annual Report backs up our view that 1985 has been yet another year of expansion for the Project. This was made possible by the support and limitless energy of those individuals, whether they be emergency service volunteers, project workers, past management committee members of the community, who have given of their valuable time to the project.

NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

1986 is, in many respects, a critical year for the Newham Monitoring Project. The demise of the GLC means that we are faced with a possible loss of funding. Despite this threat, we need to ensure that the excellent anti-racist work that has gone on in the borough over the past five years continues unhindered. A quick look back at the history of the Project over this period — its many achievements and its role in the community — will show how vital the Project has been in the formation of a militant anti-racism in Newham.

THE BIRTH OF NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT

Throughout the '70s, racial harassment and violence grew. In '80, Akhtar Ali Baig was stabbed to death in broad daylight on High Street North, East Ham. The Project was formed in response to Akhtar Ali Baig's brutal killing, and in an attempt to harness the protest of all concerned individuals to the intolerable level of racist violence across the borough.

COMMUNITY TARGET INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

It is important to note that the Project arose from the local community — they literally built it up from scratch. And it is precisely this community-face, that

has given us the strength, over the past five years, to develop strong anti-racist programmes and strategies to such an extent that we have now become one of the foremost anti-racist campaigning groups in the country. In the initial stages, the concern of the community was directed towards three specific problems which have formed the basis of our long term work:

- (a) There was no organised agency or group that people who were racially attacked could turn to for help, advice and support
- (b) The response of the police to racial violence was totally inadequate. In the overwhelming majority of cases, victims complained bitterly about the police, who, instead of helping black people, were openly hostile to those who dared report racist violence
- (c) The response of the local authority to racial violence left a lot to be desired

NMP — A RESOURCE TO COMBAT RACISM

The Project was thus set up with the specific brief of monitoring racism and racist attacks, and in particular police and local authority response to racism. The monitoring of cases did not just mean making records and filing them away to gather dust — it involved giving help, advice and practical support to victims, and using information gathered in this way to press the local authority to improve their response both at an individual and institutional level.

But above all, the Newham Monitoring Project was a group created by black people, and white anti-racists, as a resource to actively combat racism. As the first monitoring group of its kind to be set up in London, it was utterly unique, and represented a watershed in the fightback of black people. Throughout the '70s, wave after wave of racist activity had been met with persistent anti-racist struggle. In Newham alone, the '70s had witnessed the case of the Virk brothers ('71), the Ahmed case ('78) and many others that raised issues of racist attacks, police response, and self defence — issues which remain as pertinent today as they did then. The creation of the Newham Monitoring Project was a kind of culmination of these struggles.

POLICE RACISM GROWS

Soon, it became obvious that the overwhelming majority of people coming to us for help, were not only bitterly critical of the (non) response of the police to racist activity, but were angry about increasing police racism, malpractices and abuses of their power. Because the work of the Newham Monitoring Project has always been based on the needs of the local black community, *we increasingly came to take on cases of police harassment and actively campaign against the growth of police racism.* We also realised that if we were ever going to achieve any lasting changes *we needed to identify issues raised by the cases we were handling and get people to act upon these issues themselves.* Thus, the demands of the community meant that police racism was placed firmly on Newham Monitoring Project's agenda.

PROJECT TAKES ON CAMPAIGNING ROLE

The Project consequently adopted a heavy campaigning role, highlighting the potential of community organisation to fundamentally alter institutional responses to racism. **At the end of the day, we believe that racism can only be altered by community self organisation and action.** As a practical result of community action and campaigns, institutions and agencies have been forced to respond to racism and racist attacks in a serious, non-tokenistic way.

NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT GROWS

In June '82, GLC funding enabled us to employ a full-time worker. Further funding in '83 has allowed us to build up our capital resources and expand our work by employing two more full-time workers. Then, in 1985, with the help of Newham Council (and alongside two other organisations, Eastward Trust and NISAS) we secured premises at 382 Katherine Road, which, for the first time, gave us an adequate and independent base from which to work.

This further expansion of the Project has allowed for the development of the following resources:

- A 24 hour emergency service (set up in 1983) giving practical legal aid and support to the victims of racial harassment and anyone harassed by police on racial grounds. The Emergency Service is run by volunteers, and

provides an excellent means of channelling community support to the victims of racial and police harassment.

- NMP takes up individual cases, both of racist harassment and police harassment on racial grounds. We collate information on a borough-wide basis about racism and racist attacks, and through our casework we monitor the response of local voluntary and statutory agencies to racism. We also monitor policing practices (in particular police response to racist attacks) and how they affect the black community.
- We attempt to mobilise support both for individual cases and for campaigns from as wide a cross-section of people as possible — local councillors, MPs, and various interest groups
- We attempt to put pressure on local voluntary and statutory agencies to take a positive anti-racist stance. The Project has set up sub-groups to monitor racism in education, housing and policing
- We liaise with other organisations in the field, map out joint anti-racist strategies, in order to develop an active and unified community response
- We give talks and lectures as part of our ongoing educational work
- The NMP is a resource centre to service anti-racists in Newham

THE AIMS OF THE ANNUAL REPORT

In the following chapters we attempt to describe the work of the Monitoring Project, and in particular document our involvement with the Newham 7 and the Justice for the Pryce Family Campaign. 1985 has been a year of continual expansion for us. The growth in racist and fascist activity has been met by a corresponding fightback on the part of black people, and the creation of new organisations such as Anti-Fascist Action, is an important and welcome development.

As we stated in the introduction to our 1984 Annual Budget, we see the report as a welcome opportunity to put on record the experience of black people in Newham. Even if our power to do anything about racist attacks and police malpractice is limited, the very least we can do is document black people's experience and ensure that it is not swept under the carpet.

We feel very strongly that the media, and the local paper in particular, has failed miserably to deal with black people's issues in an honest, decent and intelligent way. In fact, they seem to find any attempt by black people to organise against racism and fascism deeply threatening. It is in an attempt to correct the distortions of the local paper, and to fill a void created by the absence of any positive presentation of the struggles of black people, that we recommend our 1985 Annual Report to you.

CASEWORK

NMP was set up with a specific purpose — to give 'help, advice and support to the victims of racial attacks and police harassment. In doing this, we always assume the person who makes a complaint is telling the truth. Black people's experiences at the hands of both individual racists and racist and uncaring authorities, well documented over at least the last thirty years, is bad enough, without us adding to their problems by demanding that they prove the validity of their case.

The 'needs' and 'wishes' of the person attacked defines the approach we take to their case. The 'victim' knows best the kind of practical help they need to resolve their predicament. It would be arrogant for us to believe otherwise.

The majority of cases of racial harassment take place on council estates. As long as the 'victim' wishes we:

- Put pressure on the police to respond seriously
- Demand an adequate response from the relevant statutory agencies.

When the perpetrators can be identified, an 'adequate response' entails confronting the perpetrators — but in other cases it also means transferring the person who has been attacked. If an attack occurs in or around schools or youth clubs, we inform the education authorities and school teachers, and encourage them to discipline the students responsible.

We are not merely a social advice agency. Where facilities allow, we publicise pertinent issues thrown up by a case in the community. Through campaigning work, we hope to involve the 'victims' of harassment and other members of the community in our work.

BREAKDOWN OF CASES

In 1985, 305 cases were brought to our notice.

Racial harassment	166	(55%)
Police harassment	133	(43%)
Other	6	(2%)
	305	(100%)

Over 1985, as compared to 1984, there has been a 69% increase in the number of cases brought to our attention as compared to 1984. The figures would have been higher if we had classified repeated attacks on whole families over numerous years as separate attacks — as it is we treat them as merely one instance of harassment. Although casework is our main source of information, information is also obtained from press cuttings and community papers. We still believe that these high figures represent only a small proportion of the real number of attacks occurring in the borough.

A large number of cases of police harassment arose from the Newham 7 Defence Campaign during which over 70 people were arrested and mistreated by police. We made sure that everyone arrested received proper legal advice and support. Many victims of racial attacks have also found themselves abused and arrested by the police, simply as a result of making a complaint.

HOW WE HEAR ABOUT CASES

Cases are referred to us from a variety of sources:

Direct appointments	209	(69%)
Emergency Service (nightline only)	13	(4%)
Others (NRC, advice agencies, NISAS, doctors and others)	83	(27%)

Interestingly enough the police, who themselves took no action, referred two cases of racial harassment to us, confirming our argument that police refuse to treat racial attacks seriously.

THE EMERGENCY SERVICE

Throughout 1985, many emergency calls were received during office hours. However, the fall in night-line calls is obviously cause for concern. In the New Year, we hope to launch a major publicity drive in youth clubs and other social centres using revised emergency service materials. It should be noted that as the NMP office is usually open till very late in the evening, calls that usually should be dealt with by emergency service volunteers are often handled by the workers. Additionally we have also found that people often do not use the service when they should, for a number of reasons e.g. ignorance, preferring to wait until the morning, not having access to a phone.

During 1986 we also hope to be able to increase the responsibilities of our sixty emergency service volunteers by training them to follow up cases and maintain regular contact with people suffering racial harassment. With only three full-time workers, it has been impossible to visit people as regularly as we would have liked.

As a result of two major campaigns, we have drawn a whole host of new people into the Project and the level of commitment they hold means we do not consider them volunteers, but as workers, just like ourselves. Many of them come in on a regular basis, and at present we are attempting to reorganise the Project so that we can work more efficiently. They are also helping to build up a resource centre for the community, with audio-visual materials, literature, archives, printing equipment etc.

RACIAL ATTACKS & HARASSMENT

This year the Project has recorded 166 cases of racial attacks and harassment, including continued incidents of verbal and physical abuse, broken windows, rubbish and lighted pieces of paper put through letterboxes, and excretia daubed on windows and front doors.

But the most disturbing feature of this year has been the increase in violent attacks, with weapons like knives, hammers and ammonia being used. Arson attacks on people's homes, halal meat shops, and places of worship have occurred in Newham as they have across the whole of East London. The Ordnance Road Mosque, London E16 has again been singled out for attack.

In December, an Asian man was attacked by four white men who drove up to the front of his home in Manor Park and fired a shot-gun through his downstairs window.

Thankfully, neither he nor his young son were injured. NMP are presently pressuring the police to use the evidence passed on to them to find and prosecute those responsible.

Earlier this year in North Woolwich, an Afro-Caribbean woman was jumped upon and violently beaten by four white men. They did not take money,

but when Mrs B. staggered home to her flat it was ransacked and threatening letters signed the 'Black Exterminators' were found. The CID never traced the four men.

HARASSMENT ON COUNCIL ESTATES

Excluding cases of reported incidents only, of the 107 cases dealt with, the majority dealt with people living in council property. In most cases the perpetrators were also council tenants.

Attacks on people living in council property	56
Attacks on people living in private property	19
Other attacks (streets, pubs, schools and colleges etc)	32
	107

Harassment on council estates is still concentrated in areas like E16 and 12, parts of E6, Plaistow and Stratford, The Warrior Square and Snowhill estates (E12) still remain a problem, as do the Rathbone estate (E16) and Memorial Avenue (E15).



Arson attack on halal meat shop, Newham

PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

NO-GO ZONES FOR BLACK PEOPLE

The problems in some of these areas have deteriorated this year because the housing department has had difficulties implementing their racial harassment policy, and have failed to deal with known racist tenants who carry out persistent campaigns to terrorise black families on certain estates. As a result, 'no-go' areas for black people have been created, so that in parts of E16, for example, black people still fear to walk the streets, even in the day-time!

FAMILIES MOVED TO WORST AREAS

Despite this record, in 1985 we have still encountered instances where housing officers have removed a family already suffering severe racial harassment and transferred them to areas like E16.

Mrs K. and Mr S. were transferred from E15 as a result of continual racial attacks and allocated a brand new property in E16. When the couple initially went to look at the house they were very frightened about moving in. But when they expressed fears to a CRO they were told that if they did not accept the property they would get nothing else. In desperation, the family moved in, within two months they were back on the transfer list — the complaint being racial harassment.

The housing department created this situation, but they were reluctant to accept the blame and were far from sympathetic. In fact they came up with all sorts of excuses, even attempting to argue that they should not be transferred again, even though Mrs K. had been seriously assaulted and had to endure racist abuse, even stoning, every time she ventured out. We sent a letter to senior officers pointing to the failure of the police to provide basic protection to people in E16, and the need to develop some sort of community support for such families. However, Mrs K. and Mr S. only received a transfer after an article appeared in *The Guardian*. Happily, they have now been rehoused in an area where many of their neighbours are Asian and they have no difficulties.

TREATMENT OF SINGLE BLACK WOMEN AND THE DISABLED

What is so exasperating is that the council not only treat families in this way, but particularly insensitive and intolerable treatment is given to single black

women and the disabled. Unless people are in a position to create a fuss about racial harassment, they are totally overlooked.

Mr K., who suffers from multiple sclerosis, was moved to an estate in Manor Park two years ago. The council took advantage of his position by not allowing him to examine the area and his property thoroughly when he went to view it. Although, within months of moving, he and his family were subject to racial harassment, the council defined the problem as an 'environmental' one. As he was confined to a wheelchair, disability was exploited by the council who ignored pleas for a transfer.

Mr K. only got attention after he made a complaint to the Newham Recorder, but once things died down, he was forgotten. He was only offered a transfer after complaints to the Director of Housing, demonstrating again how the council only helps at the point at which the victim is in a position to embarrass them.

'SAFE' AREAS UNDER ATTACK

Many more attacks this year have taken place on council estates in Forest Gate. The area behind Forest Gate railway station, previously considered one of the 'safest' parts of the borough, has witnessed three serious cases. In one of them the family requested a transfer.

The rise in attacks in so-called 'safe' areas has certainly brought into question the transferring of victims of harassment from areas with a prominent black population. On the one hand, we want to abide by the feelings of the family, but at the same time we have to recognise that unless the safety of such areas is guaranteed by ridding them of racists, black people will never be able to live in peace, in any part of Newham.

RACIST ACTIVITY AROUND PUBS

The problem of attacks in and around schools, pubs, social centres and on the streets is growing at a rapid pace. As a result of the Newham 7 case, the Duke of Edinburgh pub on Green Street has been the main focus of this year. However, other pubs, including the Cock, the Denmark Arms (East Ham), the Avenue (Manor Park) and pubs in the Stratford and Plaistow area have also been brought to our attention because of racist activity attached to them.

On 13th June, the night of the Newham 7 rally at East Ham Town Hall, two Asian men who went into the Cock Pub for a drink were beaten and badly slashed with beer glasses. Two of them suffered severe bruising and one needed stitches to his forehead and below his eye.

The men responsible have been identified by the police and are now facing charges of grievous bodily harm. We are awaiting the outcome of the case.

Whispers Wine Bar is another club notorious in Newham. Earlier this year a group of black men were racially abused and beaten before they even had time to buy a drink. The people responsible were identified as the bouncers, yet the manageress denied knowing them. One of the black men had his nose broken — the attackers were never caught.

As we state every year, unless strong action is taken by the authorities to discover and prosecute perpetrators and to discipline landlords by removing their licence, the attacks will certainly continue. The stark reality is that black people cannot use the overwhelming majority of centres, pubs and youth clubs in this borough because they are marked 'unwelcome' there. No wonder we have been forced to set up our own autonomous centres, like Stardust Youth Club.

THE POLICE RESPONSE

Whatever the nature of the attack, the extent of injury to the victim — even death — the police response is always the same: the presence of black people is seen to be the root cause of the violence directed against them.

In his 1984 annual report Sir Kenneth Newman said:

'Some police officers have failed in the past to recognise the extent and degree of racial harassment; some members of minority groups see racial affront where simply crime or aggressiveness have struck at random. But perceptions are critical and commanders of areas with a significant minority ethnic group population have left no stone unturned to reassure, react and anticipate the sensitiveness of such groupings. It is not intended that there should be a uniform approach across London, but rather that initiatives should be adopted which are relevant to conditions and pressures that exist locally' (Policing London No. 19 — June/July 1985).

In the early part of 1985, Newman announced that he had made 'racist attacks' a 'policing priority'. However, as the statement above indicates, individual commanders will have the power to decide whether

or not racial attacks are made a priority in their particular division.

In May this year Superintendent Peters, head of 'J' Division CID, commented on the Eastern Eye programme that racial attacks were not on the list of priorities that he had been given for his district:

'Our resources are stretched, there are many demands on police time and the Commissioner's policy is to concentrate on burglary, street crime, auto-crime and drugs — there are areas — these are areas where we are mainly concentrating our resources.'

Commander Allaine of 'J' division recently described the remarks as 'a slip of the tongue' and then he went on to say that 'the six top priorities are clearly listed and racial incidents is one of them'.

Our experiences show that the comments expressed by officers at the top of the police hierarchy have not been reflected in action by officers at a local ground level. Out of 166 cases brought to our notice in 1985, the police response was as follows.

Cases where the police took action	7	(4%)
Cases where no action was taken by police	100	(60%)
Cases merely reported to us for our information	59	(36%)

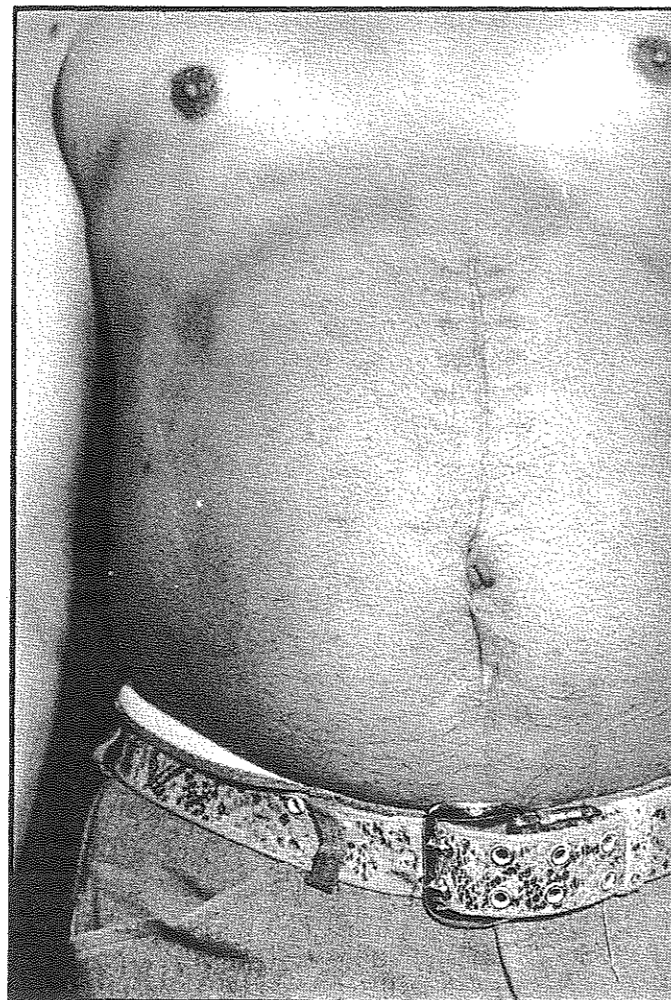


PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

Scars of Racism

POLICE FAILURE TO PROSECUTE ATTACKERS

Of the majority of cases reported to us for our information, there was no response from the police whatsoever. However, even if those incidents are excluded from our figures, the police failed to respond in 96% of the cases actually handled — an appalling figure considering the so-called assurances we have had from senior officers at various local police stations.

This year we have only been directly involved in one case, involving racial harassment on a council estate, where the police actually bothered to twice prosecute the perpetrator of an attack for criminal damage. Usually officers don't pursue a prosecution saying 'it's just kids', or they advise the victim to 'take out a private prosecution', knowing that this is far too expensive for most people. Anyway, if there are grounds for a private prosecution, then there are grounds for a police prosecution.

On two occasions, when police did take a neighbour who smashed a black couple's window to court, it was obvious that the police didn't take the prosecution seriously. Evidence was not prepared thoroughly, and the neighbour thought up two alibis and was acquitted. The black couple were made to look like liars throughout the court hearings.

FAILURE TO RESPOND AND CRIMINALISATION OF THE VICTIMS OF ATTACK

Mrs S. an Afro-Caribbean woman lived with her 5 children in Clements Avenue, E16, for thirteen years and suffered persistent harassment. On one occasion, four of her children were beaten up by a gang of white men (between 25 and 40 years old) in the local park. On the same day, the eldest daughter was also physically abused by two white women.

Mrs S. Called the police who took a long time to arrive and then threatened her with arrest for making the complaint. The police made no attempt to catch the perpetrators who lived in the neighbourhood.

Black people are threatened with arrest when they call police to ask for help — it is they who face the charges which should be brought against the attackers.

Over a year we have made numerous complaints to police about their failure to investigate racist incidents properly and prosecute known offenders.

An eighteen year old Afro-Caribbean youth, after leaving the Little Eye Youth Club in Manor Park, was attacked while he waited at the bus stop by white youths from the same club. They squirted ammonia in his eyes and smashed a bottle over his head. His sight was only saved because a car of black women saw the tail end of the attack

and took him to hospital. We gave the name and school of one of the youths involved to the police, but to this day he was never prosecuted. Every time we have tried to find out what was happening we were told that enquiries were being made and eventually the boy's family got fed up and asked us not to pursue the matter any further.

All our protests to the youth club, demanding that they take responsibility for the attack and ban the white racists, came to nothing.

A similar attack by a 25-30 year old white man on a fifteen year old Asian boy who was virtually strangled and punched in the face in a Leyton Park, was treated in the same flippant manner.

Although the police managed to apprehend and question a friend of the assailant he refused to disclose the name of the attacker and they let him go unwilling to take the matter any further.

In all cases we made every attempt to provide the police with information that would lead to a prosecution of attackers but they always find some excuse not to prosecute. In the case where a shotgun was used, the victim gave CID the registration number of the BMW his attackers drove away in. The police claim that it cannot be traced. It might be that in the panic of the situation, the victim got one of the two digits the wrong way round, but with the complex computer system available to the police, this should not have hindered their investigation.

Coupled with criminalisation and racist abuse, the dismissive attitude of the police to racist attacks makes it small wonder that fewer black people are reporting incidents to them and are forced into a position where they have to use any means necessary to protect themselves.

POLICE — A PART OF THE PROBLEM

NMP's experience over 1986 has showed that only after full intervention from the Project, councillors and MPs will any substantial police action be taken. This is why we urge the council's police sub-committee to use the evidence built up here to put further pressure on the police to take positive action against attackers.

Instead of using the usual excuses about lack of police resources, the police force should transfer the useless 'manpower' put into harassing Afro-Caribbean youths in Forest Gate to maintaining a high level of safety for all black people in the borough.

Finally, we must end on a bleak note. It is obvious that increased legislation, like the Police Act and the Public Order proposals, will give the police greater licence to criminalise black people, rather than protect them. The rise in fascist activity, the increased powers of the police, and the hardened attacks on the black community, will make 1986 a year in which we shall need even greater strength

POLICE HARASSMENT

'Out of control, Out of order, one law for black one for blue'. With these words the black community marched from Brixton to Hyde Park in the Autumn of this year. It was a march in which black people expressed their revulsion against the policing tactics which resulted in the uprisings of Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham. After Tottenham, Commissioner Newman put Londoners 'on notice' that he would not hesitate to use plastic bullets and CS gas against them. But who, if anyone, is keeping K division under control, is anyone's guess. A total of 133 cases of police harassment have been reported to the Project in 1985.

charged and later released	110
released without charge	8
unknown	5
other kinds of harassment	10
	133

Further examination of those charged reveals the following:

Guilty	16
Not guilty	7
Charges dropped	45
Cases pending	22
Cautioned	8
Bindover	2
Result unknown	3
	110

Of the 133 cases received by NMP, 79 arose after individual arrests on the two marches and the pickets outside the Old Bailey organised by the Newham 7 Defence Campaign. The most important function of the Project was to obtain legal counsel prepared to challenge police evidence in court. Of those arrested, 45 had charges dropped, either on their first or second appearance in court (all but two of these were arrested on the Newham Seven marches and pickets). This means that charges against over half of the arrests during the campaign were dropped, which is astonishing, given the fact that both marches were totally over manned and police were openly stating that a 'riot' had taken place. It should also be noted that all those arrested during the campaign had their finger-prints and photographs taken against their wishes and placed on police file. They will never be returned and probably never destroyed.

NEWHAM: A 'POLITICALLY SENSITIVE AREA'

Newham has been designated by police as a 'politically sensitive area'. In terms of policing this

categorisation means more, not less, police on the streets. District Support Unit (local Special Patrol Groups) maintain a high profile on the main streets and even quiet residential streets. Foot patrol officers have also been increased.

Harassment in the borough takes a number of forms

Stop and search	6
Home raids	5
Strip search	2
Abusive and racist language	33
Physical harassment	63
Other forms of harassment	76
	185*

*Often people who come into contact with police experience more than one kind of harassment.



PHOTO DAVID HOFFMAN

Protecting black people from racist attacks

SUSPICION

Mr C. a middle-aged Afro-Caribbean man was stopped approximately 40 times between September 1984 and April 1985. He has never been charged for any offence. In April alone, he was stopped 14 times.

During February 1985, Mr C. was stopped and his car searched by officers from Holloway police station. Although it was snowing quite heavily at the time, he was requested to drop his trousers in full view of the public.

Unfortunately this case is typical of the stop, search and strip tactics used by police to humiliate black people, and it should be remembered that the vast majority of individuals stopped and search are not charged. The police justified the fact that Mr C. was stopped on so many occasions by arguing that they were looking for drugs. However, it does not take much intelligence to see that Mr C. was stopped because he just happened to be a black man with a 'flashy' car. It is precisely this kind of blatant police racism and stereotyping of black people that led to a black youth driving his own BMW being stopped and arrested. The youth lived in Tottenham: his name was Floyd Jarrett.

A few years ago, black people undertook a massive campaign to remove an archaic law, disparagingly known in the black community as 'SUS'. Under the 'SUS' laws, an individual could be arrested and brought to trial not for committing any offence but on the basis of a police officer's word — on the basis that an officer had 'reasonable' grounds to suspect that a defendant was going to commit a crime. When the case came to court it was the defendant's word against the police officer's, and thus thousands of mainly Afro-Caribbean youth were convicted and criminalised in this way.

Since then, community pressure has led to the abolition of 'SUS'. Nonetheless, as the above example and others to follow, demonstrate all too clearly, 'SUS' although now officially written out of the statute book has become totally ingrained in an oppressive and racist police culture.

Mr P., an Afro-Caribbean youth, and his friend were shopping in Central London. At Marble Arch they boarded a bus and made for Tottenham Court Road. But when they alighted they were confronted by plain clothes police officers. Mr P. was accused of stealing a purse and taken to a police station where he was questioned, strip searched and charged for theft. His friend was questioned but not charged.

The statement of the woman who Mr P. is supposed to have stolen the purse from clearly says that the purse went missing between 3.40pm and 4pm after she used her cashpoint card. But Mr P. was arrested by police at 2.30pm and was being questioned at the police station half an hour later.

When Mr P. came to court, the prosecution barrister, aware that he could not prove that Mr P. stole the purse, changed the charge from theft to handling stolen goods. The fact that no stolen goods could be produced was immaterial to police. This case proves very clearly that 'SUS' never really went away but has only been disguised a little.

Chief Inspector Clinton told a parish meeting in Mobberley, Wilmslow (Chester), that people are taken to Wilmslow Police Station simply because they are black.

'We don't have black people living in Wilmslow, it is obvious that they are strangers, there is nothing in Wilmslow to attract people from Moss Side except the houses' (Wilmslow Express Advertiser, May/June 1985).

This is the kind of institutional racism which runs throughout the force, from top to bottom.

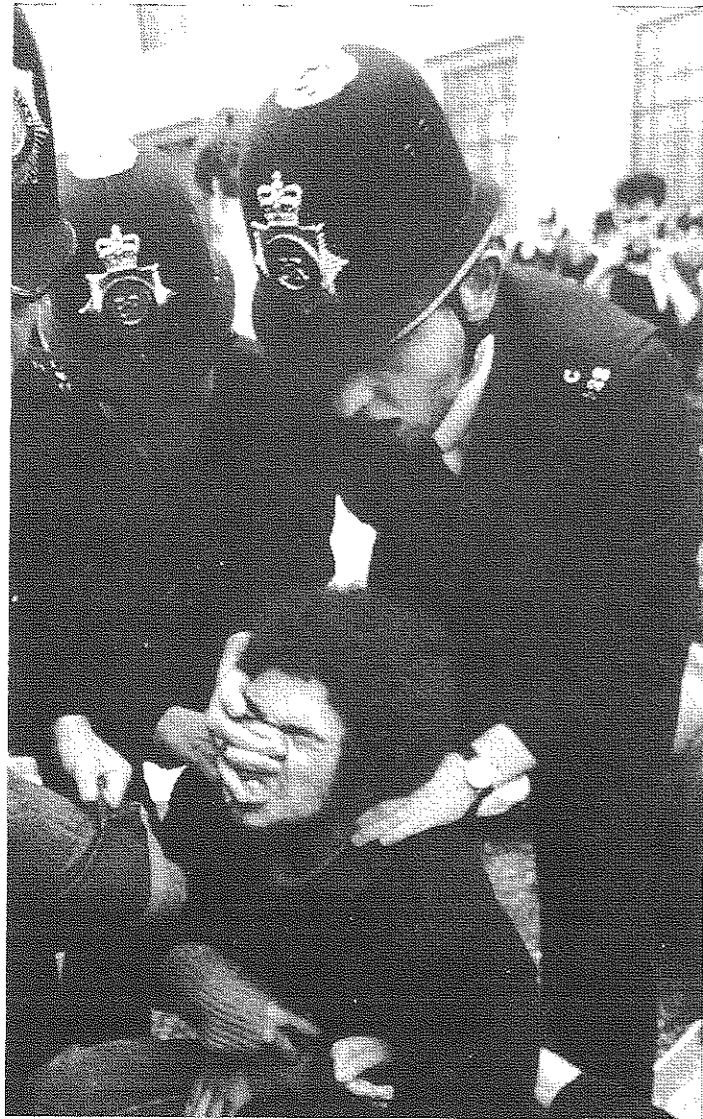
Police carried out a search on Mrs G. at her home at 6.30am. They pushed their way passed her husband, flashing a piece of paper in front of Mr G. claiming it was a warrant for the arrest of their son, and proceeded to ransack the house. After turning the place upside down; Mr and Mrs G.'s son was taken to Forest Gate police station, and his parents followed him an hour later.

Mrs G. suffers from heart trouble, arthritis and asthma, and was seriously ill on the day. After being examined by a doctor and given medication, officers were told that she should be given an inhaler if she needed one.

Police proceeded to interrogate Mrs G. for several hours, with six officers firing questions at her from all sides. After failing to extract a signature from her to a statement she disagreed with, a police officer said: 'Just chuck her in a cell'. This order was promptly carried out.

Mrs G. had difficulty breathing and was in a great deal of pain, nevertheless, the police refused to provide her with an inhaler. She was eventually released at six in the evening.

It would be impossible to avoid comparing Mrs G.'s case with the police treatment of Mrs Jarrett in Tottenham. It is this kind of behaviour which goes beyond police malpractice — the police behaviour was totally callous and inhuman. Mrs G. is very, very, reluctant to make an official complaint largely due to the fact that the police are now putting pressure on her to produce receipts for items she brought some three years ago but which they maintain are stolen goods. This same kind of harassment is taking place in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham, where black families are being asked, by providing receipts, to prove that tvs, videos, radios, even clothes are not stolen.



Community policing at work?

VIOLENCE AT ARREST

The figures for physical harassment by police that we have included give no indication of the real nature of physical harassment by police in this borough. In general, harassment involves, slapping pulling of hair, and rough handling inside the station or at the time of arrest. We are told that police have to make physical contact to make an arrest but this should not mean that someone has to be hauled away in the various 'locks' which the police officer maintains at the maximum pain level.

Mr W. an Afro Caribbean youth was confronted outside a pool station by 12 officers from Leyton police station who wanted to question him about a fight which took place in a pub. During the 'interview' he was badly beaten by the 12 officers who proceeded to charge him with assaulting 5 police officers, 2 Actual Bodily Harm (ABH) charges, and one charge of criminal damage to

the pub. He eventually received bail on condition that he did not return to Waltham Forest.

This case leads us to ask why 12 officers were needed to arrest one man. Could it have been that the officers in question never intended to make a peaceful arrest? Ever since the age of 15, Mr W. had been singled out by police. Even while walking down the street police officers, many of whom he did not even recognise, would shout out his name and threaten: 'we'll fucking get you'. One evening in October his mother noticed that between 5pm and 7pm a police van passed her home approximately 10 times. This kind of family harassment is nothing new and will increase as Newman's 'targetting and surveillance' strategy becomes more efficient.

This case also throws up questions relating to bail conditions which are being used to impose controls upon black people. Banning orders, as they are well known in South Africa, are increasingly being used. And in Britain, miners have been arrested on picket lines and 'banned' from returning; Gerald Pryce was 'banned' from entering Newham while his brother's killer was allowed to come and go as he pleased.

POLICE PROSECUTE VICTIMS OF RACIST ATTACK

At least we can report on one case this year where some measure of justice was done. In our 1984 Annual Report we told of the case of Mr Wong who was arrested and charged after defending himself. Two charges — malicious wounding and wounding with intent — were thrown out at Stratford Magistrates Court. The third charge of having an offensive weapon was thrown out at Snaresbrook Crown Court. To date, Mr Wong's attackers have yet to be apprehended and brought to trial.

However, the police have learnt nothing from the result of Mr Wong's case. The familiar pattern of police prosecuting victims of racist attacks continue. This year, we have seen that women, especially single women, are particularly vulnerable to harassment.

Ms K. a young Asian woman drove her mother to the mosque, in Boleyn Road but as the road was lined on both sides with cars it was difficult for her to pass. Another car turned into Boleyn Road from Green Street and the cars could not pass each other. Ms K. left her car to find out what Ms P., the other driver was going to do. Ms K. was forced to defend herself as she was racially abused and her hair held as her face was punched. Ms P.'s passenger got out of the car and held Ms K. from behind allowing Ms P. to strike further blows.

When Ms K. went back to Forest Gate police station the next day, the police officer refused to listen to her version of events. After three minutes, he called her a liar, and arrested her, charging her with ABH. The officer had clearly made up his mind about the case before he interviewed Ms K. Why he invited her to tell her story in the first place is beyond our comprehension.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE

If a member of the public makes an official complaint against the police it takes a very long time to resolve one way or another. Very few complaints have been made by those we have helped throughout 1985. This is partly due to the time-factor and the fact that so few cases bring justice for black people, but it is also due to the fact that many people are scared to speak out less they experience further police harassment.

In a report compiled by Newham Council's Police Sub-Committee an analysis of the complaints concluded in 1984 reveals the following.

**COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE
LONDON BOROUGH OF NEWHAM (KW)*
1984 ANALYSIS OF COMPLAINTS**

	Substan- tiated	Not substantiated				Total no. of com- plaints	Total no. of com- plaints
		With- drawn	Not proc. with	Dispen- sation	Not subst. after enquiry		
Criminal Allegations							
Assault	—	—	13	6	6	25	25
Bribery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perjury	—	—	1	—	1	2	2
Conspiracy	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Theft	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Traffic Offences	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
SUB-TOTAL	—	—	16	6	9	31	31
Other matters							
Harassment	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
False evidence	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Attitude to Public	—	1	7	3	5	16	16
Neglect	3	1	4	3	3	11	14
Irregularity	—	—	18	7	22	47	47
Mistaken Arrest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Racial Discrimination	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
Stops in Street	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trivial	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
SUB-TOTAL	3	2	33	13	31	79	82
TOTAL	3	2	49	19	40	110	113

*KW refers to West Ham police division

**COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE
LONDON BOROUGH OF NEWHAM (KE)*
1984 ANALYSIS OF COMPLAINTS**

	Substan- tiated	Not substantiated				Total no. of com- plaints	Total no. of com- plaints
		With- drawn	Not proc. with	Dispen- sation	Not subst. after enquiry		
Criminal Allegations							
Assault	—	5	10	4	10	29	29
Bribery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perjury	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
Conspiracy	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
Theft	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
Traffic Offences	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
SUB-TOTAL	—	6	13	4	11	34	34
Other matters							
Harassment	—	1	3	—	1	5	5
False evidence	—	—	2	—	—	2	2
Attitude to Public	1	—	4	1	7	12	13
Neglect	1	3	3	—	3	9	10
Irregularity	—	5	14	1	17	37	37
Mistaken Arrest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Racial Discrimination	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Stops in Street	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trivial	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
SUB-TOTAL	2	9	26	2	30	67	69
TOTAL	2	15	39	6	41	101	103

*KE refers to East Ham police division



NEW PUBLIC ORDER BILL AND POLICE ACT WILL INCREASE HARASSMENT

In the coming year, the Project will continue to provide access to legal advice and monitor the effectiveness of the police, exposing malpractices wherever they occur. In 1986 we will see the full-effects of the re-organisation of the Metropolitan police, whereby Newham is merged with neighbouring areas to form Area 2. The *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* will also come into full force as will, a whole series of oppressive police laws contained in the *Public Order Bill*. Under this Bill, which is presently going through parliament, community based defence campaigns such as the Newham 7 and the 'Justice for the Pryces' will be targetted for criminalisation. Spontaneous demonstrations and pickets, giving voice to community concerns, like the picket outside East Ham Police station within hours of the murder of Akhtar Ali Baig (1980) and pickets outside Brixton police station following the shooting of Cherry Groce, will become illegal. The forthcoming onslaught will serve to make our work both more difficult and more vital than it has ever been before.

IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE? RACIALLY ATTACKED?

- WE CAN OFFER
- HELP
 - LEGAL ADVICE
 - COMMUNITY SUPPORT

24 HR EMERGENCY SERVICE
TEL : 555 8157



NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT

HOUSING & RACISM

In this section of last year's annual report, we welcomed the council's decision to evict the McDonnell family. However, this year there have been few developments of a similar nature. Indeed, despite the fact that the council's housing department has an excellent policy on racial harassment, the same old complaints still arise:

'After all the attacks I've suffered, they say my case is not racial harassment and they won't move me'.

'The housing officer told me that unless something more serious happens, like me or my family being physically attacked, then there's nothing they can do.'

This is not to say that things haven't improved in some areas of the borough. Despite the appointment of community relations officers, in other areas, particularly E16, E13 and parts of E12, the situation still remains very bleak.

THE COUNCIL'S POLICY ON RACIAL HARASSMENT ON HOUSING ESTATES

The main problem lies not with the policy but the fact that it is not being fully implemented. Over the past year, we have encountered officers who do not understand the policy and have no idea how to put it into practice (and this despite having undergone training). There are also those officers who we feel deliberately refuse to implement the policy in the manner and spirit in which it was originally conceived.

During the public meeting we held in March 1985, on Racial Attacks in Newham and the Fight-back, we made a number of recommendations to the housing officers present. We called for a system of internal checks to be introduced to ensure that staff implement the policy in the manner in which it was conceived and that complaints against individual officers (and others) should be monitored. We believe that if the policy is to work, members of staff should have their individual case work checked thoroughly, not just by CROs but also by other senior officers. When a consistent pattern arises showing the maltreatment of black tenants, and where cases of racial harassment have been continually overlooked, then the members of staff should be immediately disciplined — by dismissal if necessary, using the code of practice document.

PUTTING BLACK TENANTS' NEEDS FIRST

One of the most important aspects of the policy is the clear statement that a council worker should always assume racial harassment to have taken place unless proved otherwise. It needs to be stressed that to admit, as a black person, that you are being racially harassed and that you are powerless to do anything about it and need help, is not an easy task. In nine out of ten cases which come to our attention, people have come forward for help at the point at which their situation has become intolerable. This is why the first thing that crosses our mind is 'how best we can support this person', and not 'are they telling the truth'.



Blood-stained window. In an effort to escape a racist arson attack, one of the occupants smashed windows with his bare hands

THE ROLE OF THE CROs

If the policy is to be implemented successfully there needs to be continuous liaison between all the officers and the CROs involved. CROs should also make themselves fully aware of what racial harassment cases are being dealt with by his/her neighbourhood office and what other complaints black people are making against the housing department.

The CRO has a very significant role to play regarding the allocation of properties to black people in areas where they are likely to fully participate in their immediate community and draw support from it in times of difficulty. This is impossible in an all-white hostile community. But despite the lessons of previous years, and the experience of the McDonnell's, the council is still placing black families in areas where they are isolated from other members of the black community, and thus vulnerable to racist attacks. For example:

Mrs M. is a young Asian woman who is nearly nine months pregnant and lives alone on the fourth floor of a tower block in E13 with her two year old daughter.

She has been attacked on numerous occasions and nearly every time she goes to the shops she is either stoned or spat at. Her neighbours are responsible for much of the violence.

They tip rubbish outside her door, bang on the door late at night, and hurl racial abuse at Mrs M. every time they see her. The neighbours are all white and there are no other Asian families in the block of flats.

Mrs M. speaks very little English. She says the housing department are using this as an excuse not to take her case seriously. Officers dealing with her case say they cannot understand the series of events she describes to them and thus do not classify the case as racial harassment.

Whenever we have brought up the subject of property allocation to black families in areas where they can benefit from mutual support, we have been told by senior council officers that there is no way the council will allow the formation of a 'ghetto' in certain parts of the borough. The argument concerns us on two accounts. Firstly, the areas they refer to already possess a large black presence but this does not mean that a 'ghetto' has been created. Second, due to the present allocations policy, no-go areas for black people have been created in the 'white ghettos' of E16, E13 and E12.

If black people feel they are getting inadequate support from housing officers, they will never choose to move to such 'white' areas. In addition, if known racists in these areas are not dealt with severely by the housing department and the police, and if a strong presence of black tenants is not created, then black families will continue to move away from these areas.

PENALISING RACIST TENANTS ASSOCIATIONS

The council needs to start some very serious anti-racist campaigning work, especially in the south of the borough. For instance, tenants associations should be made fully aware of the council's anti-racist policy and its implications, and where they operate racist practices and discriminate against black people, then financial support should be withdrawn. Only in this way, will the council ensure that their policy is taken seriously.

EVICITION OF THE McDONNELL FAMILY

Once again we are forced to address the issue of the McDonnell family. The synopsis of events over the past year goes like this:

- 1) After their eviction in January, the council were forced, as a part of a statutory duty, to find the McDonnell's 'alternative refuge' while they submitted a homeless application.
- 2) In March 1985, the family were declared 'intentionally homeless'. However, instead of the 8 days usually given to persons occupying council property, Mrs McDonnell and her family were allowed three months to find alternative accommodation.
- 3) Just before the three months were up, Mrs McDonnell exercised her right to appeal against the 'intentionally homeless' decision, and was thus able to stay in the alternative refuge until the appeal was heard.
- 4) The appeal upheld the initial decision that the McDonnell's were intentionally homeless. Mrs McDonnell then became a squatter in another property. Realising however, that she could not be tolerated as such, she returned to her original alternative accommodation.
- 5) The McDonnell's then launched another appeal against the intentionally homeless decision.
- 6) Some council members began to appear sympathetic towards the McDonnells because of their six-year-old child. Then, in October '85, a special meeting of the Maintenance and Management Sub-Committee decided to extend Mrs McDonnell's tenancy for another three months in order to review the case.
- 7) Following the presentation of a report by the Director of Housing at the Housing Committee meeting on 6/1/86, three main recommendations were agreed:
 - (a) that the council had fulfilled its legal requirements to provide temporary accommodation for the family.
 - (b) to start proceedings to obtain possession

of the accommodation from the McDonnells. (c) to note their concern for the child. Her welfare and other matters relating were to be put forward to the Social Services Committee.

- 8) A notice to quit was served on the family on 10/1/86. This would have expired on 17/2/86.

Our feelings at NMP about the delay in evicting the McDonnell family and the possibility that arose of them being rehoused are clear. As we made clear to the council, if the family were rehoused then the months of campaigning to evict them and the considerable initiative and courage shown by the Housing Department in evicting them in the first place would have come to nothing. The 'kid glove' treatment of the McDonnell family by some members of the Council would have represented a 'slap in the face' to all black families suffering harassment. From our viewpoint, it would have been farcical to talk about the implementation of council policy when one of the crucial elements of that policy — the prosecution and possible eviction of the perpetrators — would have been undermined by the rehousing of the McDonnells. In response to the dithering of some council members who wanted to rehouse the McDonnell family on the grounds that an innocent six-year-old child was involved (and what we generally consider to be a hesitant handling of the first eviction case of its kind) we beg to ask two questions:

- (a) what about the young children of the black families who were 'evicted' from Clements Avenue by the racist harassment from the McDonnells ; and
- (b) what would the council have done in the future having rehoused the McDonnells when a racist tenant, with young children, would have brazenly defied council policy knowing that a precedent had already been set.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN HOUSING

Anti-racist harassment policy changed

Since the racial harassment document was formulated, the term 'ethnic minority' has been removed from its wording. Now, any person, black or white, who complains of racial harassment, will be dealt with as the policy sets out.

We believe that this represents a serious step backwards, distancing the racial harassment policy so far from its original intention — as an anti-racist strategy to combat racism — as to make

it completely meaningless. It seems quite plain to us that the council have completely reneged on their previous stance, giving in to the racist vote (many white people threatened a backlash if the policy was carried out). The very same racists who the policy was designed to work against, are now being appeased by the council's fainthearted actions.

But what angers us most is that the anti-racist harassment policy was brought into being after years of campaigning work. For years, black people suffering harassment, were forced to prove their case and document cases against them in an attempt to influence council policy. Now, any member of the white community (no doubt influenced by the pervasive racism of the media that equates 'black' with 'criminal') can bring a complaint against a black person. It is hardly surprising then if black people were to think Newham Council does not treat them seriously.

Already we have received cases whereby white tenants, having 'caught on' to the way the policy now operates, have used false complaints about their black neighbours to cause them even further difficulties. As a result the problem of racial harassment is made more insidious and subtle. The policy as it now stands, confused the way in which racism in our society oppresses black people.

UNIFIED POINTS SCHEME

The Unified Points Scheme has also been treated with caution by the Project for the following reasons.

When the scheme was first introduced, it was assumed that the victims of racial harassment would automatically receive the maximum 200 points. In fact, this is by no means the case, and victims are at the mercy of the assessment of individual officers. The number of points awarded depends on the 'severity' of the harassment — but how 'severity' is determined, no-one is sure.

The UPS is based on need only. Unless a family enduring racial harassment also has other over-riding needs, like for example overcrowding, the scheme will fail them. For instance, a problem arises when a black tenant is living in accommodation which perfectly satisfies them, except that they suffer racial harassment. The reality being that even if they score 200 points, they are in a position where they are competing with other families, whose needs may have allowed them more points on the scale, but who do not live with the constant fear of losing their life or being seriously injured in an attack.

The problem could be overcome by setting the point allocation for racial harassment at a figure unobtainable by the majority of cases. Until this is done some families will never be transferred regardless of the threat to their lives.



Racist arson attack - murder of Mrs Kassam & her three children.

DECENTRALISATION

The decentralisation of the housing department is a development to be applauded. By placing a number of smaller housing offices in the centre of the community, the problems that black people face can be identified sooner and dealt with more effectively. Decentralisation should also enable more local involvement in the housing department which will

now be in a position to give a better service to all members of the community. We hope, however, that the council, are aware of the experience of some black tenants at the hands of largely white tenants' associations. Black people could suffer even more at the hands of these associations, who will use the greater power afforded to them by decentralisation, to cause further distress to black families.

FUTURE WORK

In 1986 a housing sub-group, made up of people interested in combating present housing conditions for black people, will be set up at the Project. This will enable us to look more deeply at the current situation. We are particularly concerned with the plight of owner occupiers facing racial harassment and the lack of police assistance and effective legislation to deal with racists. We hope also to examine other aspects of housing which affect black people, and particularly evidence of other discriminatory practices within the council. We would welcome support and participation from anyone with an interest in this area of our work.

CONCLUSION

This examination of developments in housing during 1985 may seem rather bleak, but we hope that with decentralisation the situation may change and that the council will go out of its way to ensure that black people are properly represented on the committees soon to be set up. Only if this happens can the council ensure that the issues affecting black people are addressed in a meaningful way.

Finally, we hope that the council takes note of our criticisms and recommendations so that in 1986 we can address ourselves to the positive gains of the proper implementation of the racial harassment policy. In 1986 we hope that we can be in a position to say that Newham Council are working for black people and that staff are implementing the policy in the manner originally conceived.

EDUCATION

There are a number of misconceptions about what actually constitutes an anti-racist approach to education. Anti-racism is set against other approaches, chiefly multi-culturalism, which is, perhaps, unfortunate because an anti-racist approach to education does not (and should not) deny the importance of black people's cultural heritage. But rather, an anti-racist approach, by placing 'culture' within a political framework, seeks to show the immense achievements of black people throughout history in developing a culture of resistance, to slavery and colonialism, racism and imperialism.

Contrary to popular belief, racism does not stop at the school gates at 4 o'clock. A purely multi-cultural approach cannot explain why black youths, the majority of whom are born and raised in the UK, are twice as likely to find themselves unemployed, as their white school friends. Neither can it counter the political and social arguments of groups like the NF who daily put forward their arguments to white youths at schools, football clubs, youth centres and other social centres.

Anti-racism attempts to challenge the idea that school is somehow removed from society, operating in a kind of vacuum. Anti-racism attempts to inform discussion, equip young people with the ideas to help them actively challenge racism, by providing long-term serious study about the historical and economic causes of racism. Above all it attempts

to challenge racism head on, never hiding the truth behind easy and complacent answers.

ANTI-RACISM UNDER ATTACK

Education has been a topical issue nationally throughout 1985, mainly because of the current dispute between teachers and their employers. However, the year has seen a substantial attack upon teachers, parents and other individuals and groups concerned with the level of racism in schools, the chief target being the various anti-racist initiatives taken by a number of schools, whether it be in the curriculum or the removal of racist staff.

RACIST ATTACKS ON THE INCREASE

Racist attacks around schools and colleges continue. Attacks have been reported from schools renowned for racist activity, such as Langdon and Little Ilford. In one attack at Little Ilford, between 30-40 youths attacked a single Asian girl. There have also been a number of attacks on students at West Ham College. In one case a West Indian youth, who was attacked by a group of 15 youths, had his nose broken. In another incident around Langdon school, phosphorous bombs were used in an attack on an Asian family.



Police on Newham 7 march - will they be there in similar strength to protect black schoolchildren from racist attacks?

AUTHORITIES REMAIN SILENT

Schools in general are still reluctant to discuss the issues of racism and racist attacks. We constantly hear comments like: 'it's all being blown up out of proportion' or 'discussion will only make it worse'. Newham still has no specific policy on issues like police in schools, a particular area of concern, given the police's new sophisticated multi-agency approach. We are particularly alarmed that there are no guidelines concerning the giving of information about schoolchildren to the police.

NMP IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Despite obstacles, we are approached more and more by teachers and students to give talks to fifth and sixth formers, both about the Project and about racism in Newham. We hope that this contact will increase throughout 1986 and that we can assist schools who want to develop a more comprehensive and long term strategy to combat racism. The Project continues to develop its own education resources, and has helped students undertaking projects on racism by providing them with up-to-date materials, videos and an exhibition on racism in Newham.

TIME FOR PROPER ANTI-RACIST POLICIES

NMP continues to participate on the Council Working Party on Anti-Racist/Multi-Cultural education. The Council has produced a consultation document for wider discussion, and it is important to stress that no matter how progressive and far-reaching the final policy may be, it will remain a policy on paper unless there is an equal commitment to building up anti-racist resources and re-organising present materials. It is high time schools acknowledged that they can no longer bury their heads in the sand and avoid their duty to address racism honestly and openly. **NO SCHOOL IN NEWHAM** can ignore the reality that there is racism within it and around it.

December of last year saw the publication of a report by the Newham Asian Teachers Association. The introductory statement by its chairperson reads '... racial inequalities and disadvantage do exist in the Newham education service, the only surprise it gave us was the extent of inequality, and the way in which it is becoming greater as time goes on'. In all probability, a similar statement would hold true for Newham's Afro-Caribbean teachers.

Newham Council seems set to 'go community' in the future provision of its education service. It remains to be seen whether the full potential of community education will be realised and whether it will entail the development of an education system capable of tackling racism in Newham.

POLICE & RACISM

In our 1984 Annual Report we focussed on two aspects of policing strategy — militaristic policing and community policing — and argued that they went hand in hand. We argued that *community policing*, far from representing a move toward police accountability, was merely an intelligence gathering exercise, and that information gathered through schemes such as *neighbourhood watch*, would be used to target 'problem areas', individuals and groups who would then become subject to police operations carried out by specialist squads like the Special Patrol Group (SPG) and District Support Units (DSU). In addition, we argued that *multi-agency policing* (whereby police work closely with social and welfare agencies, schools and youth clubs) would bring about the total alienation of black people from these institutions.

PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN



Policing : the future

POLICE WEAPONRY INCREASED

During 1985, the complete emptiness of community policing rhetoric was exposed. Community policing experiments — not least in Handsworth and Brixton where they were pioneered — lie in tatters, with grassroots organisations pointing out that they have always been used as a means of gathering information, whilst police harassment and brutality go unchecked. In Newham itself, the news that Asian youths in the Wimpy Bar on Green Street were being targeted for police surveillance came as no surprise to those of us who have consistently argued that the police are moving into a new era of sophisticated information gathering, involving increased computerisation and the use of the most modern technical equipment available.

At the beginning of the year, it was established the River Way Training Centre in Greenwich, had been formed (to train police in riot techniques). Then, in April a research group monitoring police technology revealed that there had been a 110% increase in

equipment purchased in the past year. News that police had five million 'criminal' names on their central computer, came shortly before the police announced that they had set up a new *Central Intelligence Unit* to keep tabs, through local intelligence officers, on such 'tension indicators' as industrial disputes, marches and meetings, intra-community differences and new campaigns against the police. In October, Sir Kenneth Newman put the people of London 'on notice' that he would not hesitate in using plastic bullets, CS gas or water canon, in future. Now, just as we go to press, the police are arming themselves with new powers, in the form of the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* and the *Public Order Act*



Policing the community : Handsworth 85

Public Order Act, The *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* (presently being implemented) gives police new powers (amongst other things) to *stop and search*, *set up road blocks*, *keep people in detention without charge*, and *raid people's homes without search warrants*. And, if the *Public Order Act* becomes law, it will mean the police have the power to *control the political activities of the whole community*. It will be for the police to decide what demonstrations, pickets, or meetings go ahead — the size, duration, or route of those events. And, anyone who breaks the police rules will be liable for arrest. Organisers could be fined up to £1,000 or imprisoned. The Bill also introduces a new offence of 'disorderly conduct', which most probably will entail a revival of the *SUS laws* which black people have fought long and hard to abolish as it criminalised a whole generation of young black people.

PHOTO: ANDREW MOORE

PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN



Racist grafitti, Canning Town, Newham



PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

Miners and Black people - Policing Plasket Park 'Orgreaves style' after the Newham 7 march.

THE NEWHAM EXPERIENCE

But as far as the Newham Monitoring Project are concerned, these new powers simply deem as legal the many practices currently being carried out illegally by police. We saw for ourselves, during the Newham 7 Campaign, the disastrous effect that the police's attempt to hijack our march outside Forest Gate police station and prevent it from finishing its course, had. The decision to use snatch squads, who kicked, punched and fought their way through demonstrators, including women and children, was a far more effective way of ensuring that people would think twice before attending an anti-racist demonstration again than any arrests could be. During our pickets of the Old Bailey, the police used SPG, armed police, horses, dogs, videos and helicopters. They defined what time the pickets started and finished, and picked out so-called 'ring leaders' for arrest.

POLICE OPERATIONS THROUGHOUT 1985

1985 has seen a dramatic increase in stop-and-search and swamping exercises, forcible and illegal entry into black people's homes, often firearms. In Newham itself, the SPG have been called into the borough on at least two occasions; Forest Gate and Upton Park have been targetted as 'problem areas'. DSU vans, constantly patrol the streets, and on a Saturday morning police officers can be seen on busy high streets stopping cars (mostly with black drivers) on the pretext of checking for irregularities on car discs. Newham Monitoring Project have observed, and photographed, police helicopters flying dangerously low and constantly circling the borough.

RANK AND FILE OFFICERS CALL FOR EVEN HEAVIER MEASURES

Despite this virtual police siege of the community, rank and file officers, both locally and nationally, have leaked stories to the press claiming that senior officers are letting them down and that black areas have become no-go zones for police. One local police officer, PC Bonczozcek, who is notorious in Newham's black community, has even written in the *Police Review*, that there should be a law and order crackdown, heavier policing, and stiffer sentences. He more or less says that there is no such thing as racism (presumably something black people invent) and that certain groups (full of left wing extremists) are manipulating 'race' to their own ends, and that known-criminals (mentioning no names) are being elevated to the status of defending their community. The views of PC Bonczozcek, we are told, are representative of many rank and file police officers (and then they wonder when *we* say the police are racist)!

POLICE SIEGE TACTICS ON BROADWATER FARM

But the true face of the policing of the future was seen on Tottenham's Broadwater Farm. Following the events of 6 October 1985 a police operation unparalleled on mainland Britain has been carried out. Up to 200 police officers patrol the estate at any one time. Police have tampered with mail (including preventing essential DHSS cheques getting in to the estate), tapped telephones, used video cameras for surveillance. They have harassed and intimidated

people - at least 15 doors have been broken down with sledgehammers. Police carrying out raids have confiscated food, clothing, even milk. In some instances, black people have been forced to suffer the degradation of appearing in court in paper clothes.

The uprisings of September and October '85 had their effect in Newham too. The police, with absolutely no pretext whatsoever, went around warning people that there was going to be trouble and police in Forest Gate and Upton Park were placed on standby.



PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

Did police consultative committees stop this?

CONSULTATION EXPOSED AS HOLLOW SHAM

Throughout the course of 1985, *police consultation committees* which were recommended by Lord Scarman (the Police and Criminal Evidence Act makes them a statutory obligation) have had absolutely no effect whatsoever on these alarming police developments. NMP have consistently argued that consultation represents a move away from police accountability and throughout 1985 the political impotency of these groups, that have no power whatsoever to influence police operations, has been shown up.

The year kicked off with Sir Kenneth



Growing up in Newham

Newman, to the outrage of the existing Consultative Committees, announcing that the Metropolitan police force was to be totally reorganised. Members of committees argued that the greater centralisation would make the police even more inaccessible - but their protests went unheard. A quick look at the record of Lambeth Consultative Committee serves to illustrate of these groups monumental failures. In 1984, the Brixton group was not informed for eight days when a black youth, Junior Service, nearly died as a result of police brutality. After the shooting of Ms Cherry Groce, members of the consultative groups were not informed. And in the aftermath of the uprising, and during a period where the police were carrying out many raids on innocent people's homes, the (then) commander of Brixton, Alex Marnoch, had the arrogance to tell local press that he could see no reason whatsoever why he should inform his committee about raids of this nature. One committee member was even led to comment that she learned more about policing in the borough from reading the local paper than by going to consultation meetings.

Given this, and the complete disillusionment of many of those involved in the consultation process, NMP notes with some alarm the decision by Newham Council to enter into negotiations with a local police force over consultation who we maintain have consistently denied black people their rights and are riddled with racism. To believe that the consultative process would give the council an opportunity to redress this racism is we believe politically naive, given the political nature of policing in Britain today. To argue that you can reform the consultative process, by tinkering around with its internal structure, making it a little bit more democratic here and there is misguided and wishful thinking. The NMP believe that it's high time that the Labour Party woke up to the political realities of policing in Britain today and committed itself toward preventing and dismantling the further growth of militaristic policing - even at this late stage.

SELF DEFENCE IS NO OFFENCE!

'Asians were good, hard pickings for the racist jackals prowling the East End that day. It was racist fury — there were six attacks in sixty minutes. The only criteria for attack was race. There was an orgy of psychopathic violence directed against the Asian community.'

Defence Barrister Rudy Narayan opening for the Newham 7 defence

'I would do the same again. We have to look after ourselves as the law does not look after us.'

One of the Newham 7 defendants speaking after being convicted of affray.

'There are people still there in Newham who commit offences far more serious than yours. If you can help bring people before these courts so they can be properly dealt with, it will be a great service to your community. Affray is a serious offence and normally results in a custodial sentence, but I accept that this is

not a usual case. I take the view that each of you reacted to long standing and serious provocation about which one only has to read in the newspaper, see on television or listen to on the radio to realise what is going on.'

Lord Dennison commenting in passing sentence on the four convicted Newham 7 defendants.

Alongside the Orgreave miners case, the case of the Newham 7 ranks as one of the most important political cases of 1985. And as far as the black community are concerned, the case ranks alongside as equal in importance to that of the Bradford 12 and the Newham 8.

In fact the issues raised by this case — the horrific increase in racist attacks, the continuing and universally acknowledged failure of police to respond to these attacks, and the right of black people to self defence — are nothing new. But the way in which police, media and judiciary alike reacted to the case was fundamentally different, marking a watershed in police-black community relations in this country.



PHOTO: ANDREW POTHECARY

March for the right to self defence

The Newham 7 and the campaign surrounding it, attracted massive national and international attention, captured front-page newspaper headlines when, for instance, defendant Parvaiz Khan was beaten by prison officers at the Old Bailey for refusing to eat a pork pie. The campaign had its high moments too, with two massive marches, directing national attention to the case and providing a fore-taste of policing to come under the *Public Order Act*. Whether the police have learnt anything at all from the case is debatable. However, for the anti-racist movement as a whole the Newham 7 and the campaign surrounding it are bound to have repercussions for years to come.

THE FACTS OF THE NEWHAM 7 CASE

On the 7.4.84, following a series of racist attacks in Newham, Parvaiz Khan (17), Zafar Khan (18), Amjad Ali (21), Khan Bahadur (22), Jyoti Rajappan (17), Jamal Chaudhri (19) and Habib Mohamed (18) were arrested. On that same day at least five attacks by white racist thugs driving in a car occurred. Witnesses, who themselves had been attacked by these racist thugs told an Old Bailey jury the extent of these attacks that ranged from a vicious assault with a hammer on a 16-year-old youth who was dragged into a car, to an attack on a partially disabled youth who was taken by force in the car to Wanstead Flats where he was kicked punched and assaulted over the head, again with a hammer. All these attacks occurred within the space of an hour. Earlier in the day these same youths racially abused waitresses at the Wimpy Bar and went on to assault Asian youth outside. The fact that the same youths were involved in all these incidents was verified later at the Old Bailey trial.

Meanwhile news of the attacks had spread in the community and local Asian youths gathered outside the Duke of Edinburgh to 'confront the racists in the pub'. One witness, Parvinder Sain, who was himself attacked by the youths confirmed that the youths, who had earlier been in the car assaulting Asians at random, where part of the group that later came charging out of the pub throwing billiard balls, beer glasses and bottles. Another defence witness, teacher Ken Glanfield, also confirmed this.

One of the Asian youths who had gathered outside the pub, Athar Chaudhri was arrested straight away and charged with conspiracy to assault persons unknown, possessing an offensive weapon (a spanner) and causing actual bodily harm to Scott Young who had been involved with the group of men driving the Granda car in incidents outside the Wimpy Bar earlier in the day. Three white youths, Roy Lellow, Ray Lellow and Stuart Young were also arrested but were released in the evening without charge. Chaudhri was kept in custody overnight.

BAIL CONDITIONS

Over the next few weeks, on the basis of selective photographs taken of the Asian youths only and evidence from a waitress at the Wimpy Bar (who it later emerged was a police informer) who was all too willing to identify the Asian youths, six more Asians were arrested five of whom consequently spent some seven weeks on remand. The three white racists, on the other hand, were not remanded in custody and let out on bail immediately.

Week in week out bail applications for the five were rejected by Magistrates who did not even bother to question the prosecution as to the accuracy of their statements, giving the impression that they had already made up their minds about the case. Even more disgusting was the failure to provide information about the five to concerned parents and relatives, some of whom had not even initially been told of the arrests and were subsequently bewildered as to why, in spite of bail assurances, sureties offered, etc., their sons were being remanded in custody. In fact, only some of the defendants had been charged with possessing offensive weapons and causing criminal damage — charges not serious enough to warrant detention for such a long time. The criteria, or rather lack of criteria, with which Magistrates Courts impose bail conditions has long since concerned us and is raised elsewhere in this Report. In our bitter experience, Magistrates do not have any consistent policy in this area which means that police can get away with almost anything.

For instance, in this case, the prosecution's sole case for remanding five of the seven rested on the fact that they were still preparing their case — a very flimsy basis indeed. Only after defence solicitors went to the High Court to secure the release of one of the five were all the other granted bail at all. Then, all six were charged with conspiracy to cause criminal damage, and affray, in addition to individual charges such as possessing offensive weapons. Furthermore, two of the three white youths were charged with affray and all three with common assault on the driver of a black Mercedes car which had been attacked prior to the main incident. Interestingly enough, charges against the three whites were only brought after the seven Asian defendants were charged, which is significant given current day policing strategies to equate 'self-defence' with 'gang warfare'. This tactic, charging the whites alongside the blacks, provided a very novel situation, differing from black defence campaigns of the past, and clearly illustrating the state's attempt to depoliticise the case, treating victim and aggressor equally, and denying the racist motive to the incident.

THE CAMPAIGN

The basic premises of the campaign were very simple. It was not just the seven youths on trial but the entire

black community. The campaign saw its task as ensuring that the issues raised by the cases were properly aired and that no matter how many defence campaigns the black community had to undergo the fightback of people like the Newham 7 would not be criminalised. In the opinion of the defence campaign, the Newham 7 were only doing what the police should have been doing in the first place.

On the 15.6.84 the campaign was officially launched at a public meeting attended by about 100 local people. In view of the implications of the conspiracy and affray charges, and the issues raised by the case as a whole, the decision of the campaign to organise on a national basis was vindicated by support received from all over the country, from black groups, trade unions, political organisations and womens groups.

To begin with intensive local work was needed to provide support for the seven at their committal hearing on September 14th 1984. Two hundred people picketed Stratford Magistrates Court and the conspiracy charge against six of the seven was dismissed, leaving only Athar Chaudhri who had signed a statement, confessing to organising with others to attack the Duke of Edinburgh pub, on a conspiracy charge. Thus, the prosecution evidence for a 'theoretically' major charge was quickly dismissed, raising the question — on what basis did police decide to bring such charges in the first place? The conspiracy laws, discredited in the Bradford 12 and Newham 8 cases, are still being used by police to criminalise black people who defend themselves from racists.

More attacks on Asian people were carried out by whites drinking in the Duke of Edinburgh pub in August and September 1984 and six Asians were injured, one seriously. The police, although called immediately by witnesses failed to respond to the attacks until that is local Asian youths, helped by the Project, went to the police station demanding immediate action. Thus, in contrast to their instantaneous response to the events of 7th April, the police were only forced to act owing to the pressure brought to bear by the Asian youths. And even when the police acted, only three of the white racists, who had the audacity to remain drinking in the Duke of Edinburgh pub, were arrested. Naturally, more of the 'trouble-makers' could have been rounded up if the police had arrived on the scene more promptly.

On Saturday November 3rd 1984 the campaign, outraged by the police failure to act against the perpetrators of the violence, organised a mass picket of the pub, supported by NMP. We believed that this would stop the endless attacks and that contrary to what was being advocated in some quarters, we could not afford to wait until February 1985 to challenge the licensee of the pub. In fact the picket of between 150-200 people led to the pub being completely shut down for the afternoon and the campaigns activities culminated in a protest march to Forest Gate police station as earlier in the week there had been an attack on a halal butchers shop. All this serves to demonstrate the effectiveness of community action.

Through a series of rallies, meetings and other activities, organised by support groups in every major town and city in the country, the defiant message of the campaign was broadcast to a national audience. But the final focus for the trial itself was provided by two national demonstrations in support of the seven.

THE FIRST NEWHAM 7 DEMONSTRATION

On Saturday 27th April, 3000, mainly local people, marched in support of the Newham 7 and Justice for the Pryces campaign. The fact that the two campaigns linked up together symbolised black unity, between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans, in practice, over a common issue and a common struggle. The march started off at 2pm as an angry but peaceful protest, demonstrating the extent of local community anger. It passed off without incident until it reached Forest Gate police station where, in line with arrangements agreed previously, the march came to a temporary halt for a short protest rally against police inaction over racist attacks. Suddenly, police snatch squads jumped over crash barriers, arresting demonstrators accused of, amongst other things 'spitting and throwing weapons'. In this initial charge ten people were arrested. In fact, film strips, photographs and the testimony of individual observers confirm that, apart from a few placards, nothing was thrown and therefore the police action was totally unjustified.

The details of the police action, which only really emerged at the committal hearings of those arrested, are as follows.

When the demonstrators reached Forest Gate police station, police officers accompanying the march failed to step behind the crash barriers as had previously been agreed. Instead they continued to accompany the march, the reason for this being that dozens of other officers had already gathered behind the barriers. Officers now within the crowd were then joined by groups of snatch squads who carried out indiscriminate arrests, violently dragging those arrested over the crash barriers.

In response to their provocation and brutality, the demonstrators refused to move on until all ten arrested were released. What followed was a series of deliberate police lies and half-truths, characteristic of the police attitude all afternoon.

The police promised that all the ten arrested would be released within ten minutes, without being charged. But ten minutes turned into two hours and only one person was released, and then only after being charged. Pleas from march organisers to the police to abide by their promises fell on deaf ears.

Meanwhile, massive police reinforcements, backed up by helicopters, dogs and horses, were making sporadic incursions into the crowd, dragging people out and arresting them for no reason whatsoever. Police officers seemed to revel in pushing, prodding and provoking marchers and in dealing out



PHOTO: ANDREW POTHECARY

Police against Black people

racist and sexist comments. It later emerged that these hundreds of reinforcements had in fact been drawn from District Support Units from all over London. Basically, instead of having the paramilitary style and universally despised SPG units, whose activities were seriously curtailed following the death of Blair Peach, we now have a much larger SPG unit — but under a different name.

On the 27th April, it was officers from the DSU's who were responsible for the worst violence of the day. And a number of the most vicious and brutal assaults were carried out by officers who had no identification numbers whatsoever or conflicting identification on their lapels.

Meanwhile, the march organisers and police had come to yet another agreement — that the remaining 200 marchers would disperse at 6.30pm. However, at 6.15pm, without any warning whatsoever, a police wedge (by now a standard practice for attacking and dispersing pickets) cut into the main body of demonstrators. Of course, the media had already disappeared (equipped with propaganda from Scotland Yard press office) to their cosy homes to write their stories for the following day. So there was no press there to record the horrific events that followed as police officers went on the rampage in a wanton display of animal behaviour.

Young people were punched and kicked and thrown against the wall head first, or charged down side-streets in isolated groups. The worst violence and racial abuse was carried out by police officers again without identification who assaulted defenceless people. All rules concerning the use of truncheons were forgotten — with people being hit on the head and shoulders. One television crew who had in fact remained on the scene revealed the depths to which the media are prepared to go when they refused to record (when asked) the events taking place — they simply turned a blind eye.

When five police men decide to drag a ten-year-old boy across a street by his feet what explanation can be given? What threat to society did three

police officers with truncheons drawn see in a defenceless woman whose sole crime was to protect a 15-year-old boy from being racially abused and seriously injured? The events of 27th April will certainly not be forgotten by Newham's black community.

From the police's decision to break up the march, disperse the crowd, and break all agreements made before or during the march — we can only deduce (and this is backed up by comments made by individual officers) that the police totally underestimated the amount of people prepared to take to the street in support of the Newham 7 and The Pryce Family. The police felt deeply threatened by the political unity displayed by Asian and Afro-Caribbean youth on that day and certainly did not want them to march unhindered through the main streets of Newham.

By the end of the day, 34 arrests had been made. Press reports the following day concentrated on police injuries, ignoring the fact that some 80 demonstrators had been injured, some seriously. Attention was focussed on the feelings of local officers who felt 'betrayed' by senior officers accused of 'surrendering the streets'. Although, the press also alleged that weapons were recovered from those arrested, in no subsequent court hearing was a weapon ever produced.

For their part, senior officers put the blame on an 'unruly element' totally unconnected with the main march organisers — a clear attempt to criminalise the demonstrators and obscure the reasons for the march. What we have described here paints an entirely different picture: a well-planned police operation, involving swamping the area with an inordinate number of police officers drawn from all over London and equipped with all the resources available to the Met. The march was typified by the fact that senior officers made all sort of promises to the organisers and then disappeared into the police station completely ignoring the fact that their men were making arrests in a violent and provocative manner. The utter farce and the total two-sidedness and hypo-

critical nature of community policing, was displayed by the comments of Chief Superintendent Barrett (in charge of the operation that day) who commented to a senior march steward who asked him for the sake of community relations to prevent the situation deteriorating further by releasing the ten people arrested: 'I am a police officer first and a community relations officer second'.

THE SECOND MARCH

Following the events of 27th April, the defence campaign decided to hold a second march. This decision was ratified at a public meeting attended by nearly 200 people and at which many community organisations were present.

There were many reasons why a second march was considered necessary. Firstly, it has been a part of the police tradition to target black people's protest and subject them to heavy policing, and this is then legitimated by police manipulation of the media. Thus, the very serious issues at stake are conveniently submerged under a welter of smears and outright lies. The anger of black people over racist attacks, police harassment and state racism is turned into an issue of 'law and order' and the

black community is seen as 'anti police' but the police themselves, 'the thin blue line' are seen as the only force capable of defending 'democracy'. It was to counter these views, to once again force the issues black people face out into the open, and assert our right to demonstrate without police provocation, that the second march was organised with only two weeks notice.

On Saturday May 11th over 2000 people participated in a magnificent show of community strength and solidarity. Young black people, angry at years of racist attacks and police harassment marched in a disciplined

marched in a disciplined manner past the very symbols of racism such as the Duke of Edinburgh pub that the police and media had singled out as potential 'trouble spots'. The march was ridiculously over-policed — with officers matching demonstrators person to person — with horses, dogs, riot police and a helicopter all at the police's disposal.

The end of the march was marred by 'trouble' which arose when the main entrance to Plashet Park, where a rally was to have taken place, was locked by police. Thus 2500 demonstrators were forced to enter the park through a small gate two-at-a-time. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that a police coach blocked the road (at the time the police denied owning the coach).

With many people wandering aimlessly around, march organisers pleaded with police to take their men off the street as the march had finished. It only needed one small spark, one example of police insensitivity, for a violent confrontation to occur. Naturally, the police provided the spark when they manhandled a black youth.

Within seconds, police reinforcements, and police on horse back, which had been waiting all the time in the side streets sprang into action. The campaign later learnt that three to four white men in ordinary clothes were seen throwing sticks at police — these same men were later seen behind police lines with walkie-talkies. The action of these men brought masses of riot police charging into Plashet Park in what Gareth Pierce, solicitor to both the Newham 7 campaign and the Orgreave miners, described as a situation similar to Orgreave itself. We in NMP can only say that we are extremely concerned with the sort of agent provocateur tactic we saw deployed on that day.

Although it was clear to police chiefs that the crowds were going home in an orderly manner, they persisted in sending out a phalanx of riot-trained officers into the park to ensure that every single person there was removed by force. Mounted police, and vanloads of DSUs from all over London finished the mopping-up-operation, running down the side streets, jostling and racially abusing people. Following this, riot police proceeded to parade down East Ham High Street and Green Street in an unnecessary show of strength, needlessly pushing local black people and ordinary shoppers around.

From all this we can only deduce that once again the police set out to criminalise the Newham 7 Defence Campaign. Many of those arrested were never taken to the police station, but were assaulted inside police transits, and then 'dumped'. Obviously the police did not want to suffer the embarrassment of making too many arrests, as high arrests would further tarnish the image of K division, who are meant to have good relations with the community. But as a lot of people who experienced such 'treatment' later remarked: 'Police officers who arrested us just slapped us around a few times and said we were lucky not to get a worse hiding and a kicking as they had been told to cut down on arrests'.

ANALYSIS OF MARCH ARRESTS

1. THE FIRST MARCH

A quick look at the arrests made at both the marches only serves to confirm the above picture. On the first march, 34 arrests were made. 15 of these were offered cautions by the police and five people accepted cautions but the remaining ten who refused in fact were never charged. (Three people failed to turn up at court.)

Offences ranged from threatening behaviour to wilful obstruction of police and assault. One young woman, alleged to have obstructed two six foot policemen had charges of obstruction dropped after her first court appearance.

Of the 15 people who eventually faced court appearances:

- 2 pleaded guilty
- 5 were found guilty
- 2 were found not guilty
- 6 were offered and accepted bindovers

We found that police and court attitudes, in terms of acquittals, fines and sentencing, varied considerably. Whether the case came before the courts before or after the Brixton and Tottenham 'riots' also was a determining factor in the outcome of the case.

We would like to ask on what basis people were offered cautions — if police did not have enough evidence then they should not have made arrests in the first place. In many cases, people, whose alleged offence was identical to those cautioned, were not given that choice. In fact, those people, who on the advice of the defence campaign, did not accept a caution, were not charged at all.

Two people who pleaded guilty in court offered in mitigation the defence that the police were not acting in the course of their duty.

At 6.15pm D. was arrested following a mass charge by police into the demonstrators outside Forest Gate police station breaking an agreement between police and organisers that the remaining demonstrators would disperse peacefully at 6.30pm. Witnesses and independent observers confirmed that a young Afro-Caribbean school girl sitting on a wall next to the station was pushed off the wall by force by four or five officers who dragged her by the hair and laughed when she started crying. D. who admitted that he pushed the abusive officer away, argued that the officers were not acting in the course of their duty.

M. an Asian youth was acquitted of all charges of threatening behaviour after police claimed that trouble at Forest Gate police station started when Asian youths fought with West Indians. According to the police, they only went in to separate the 'warring factions'. After M's acquittal, the very first case from the march to be heard, this particular line was given to the police.

B., a local Afro-Caribbean youth was also acquitted of charges of threatening behaviour. Three officers from 'W' division all swore that they saw him pick up an iron pole and throw it in the direction of the police station. The officers maintained that the march was aggressive and that there was 'trouble' from the start. However, other officers accepted that the march was peaceful until it reached the police station. Although B. had no witnesses, he was acquitted. However, no action was taken against the three officers who maintained B. threw the pole. But if B. was acquitted, surely this throws into doubt the police evidence?

H. was found guilty of assaulting a police officer even though extensive evidence including the evidence of five independent witnesses was produced in court to prove he did not carry out the offence. A series of photographs were also produced that showed H. with his back to a cordon of officers, one of whom has grabbed him from behind. The token sentence of £50 fine for assaulting a PC and £25 for threatening behaviour was, we believe, proof of H's innocence.

Obviously the outcome of these cases leaves us with little faith in Magistrate's Courts where police are treated with awe, as if their testimony was the 'holy gospel', and the clerk is a dominant figure. On the other hand, defendants, contrary to English law, are forced to prove their innocence. It is extremely frustrating to sit in such courts and hear cases, clearly



The only way forward.....

of a political nature, which are treated in a cavalier fashion by Magistrates who have already made up their minds, and are adversely effected by external events such as the sensationalised media coverage of Tottenham.

The question — on what basis did police bring evidence — is equally pertinent to those offered bindovers. Some of those offered bindovers faced, on paper, serious charges of assaulting a police officer. But others, with similar charges, were offered no such concessions, revealed amazing inconsistencies in police attitude towards defendants. In many cases there was also wrong identification of defendants and subsequently they were also wrongly charged! In fact, in two cases we know of, the arresting officer giving evidence was found to be in another place, arresting someone else at one and the same time!

Several defendants were assaulted by the police whilst in custody. However, because people feared future reprisals, no one brought any action against the police. This is a sad state of affairs and should be remembered by those who suggest that we have some degree of control over the police.

G, a student at West Ham college who is of a frail disposition was grabbed from behind by two police officers outside Forest Gate police station who proceeded to drag him away. Other officers then joined in. G. who had been holding a banner was trying to calm people down when he was arrested. When the case came to court some fifty witnesses were prepared to give evidence that he was dragged by the hair, assaulted, and his throat held in a vice like grip contrary to Met. regulations. G. was eventually charged with assaulting police officers and obstructing them. At his court hearing he was offered a bindover.

Many of those who accepted a bindover only did so because it was their first court appearance. All very young people, they were intimidated by the occasion and did not want to be found guilty in the biased world of the Magistrates Court.

2. THE SECOND MARCH

A similar pattern emerged following the second march. Sixteen people were arrested, two of which were juveniles and cautioned and two people failed to appear in court. Of the 12 eventually charged, four have yet to have their case heard. Of the eight who have so far appeared, one was found not guilty, two were offered and accepted bindovers and four were found guilty, with one other person pleading guilty.

The case of B. is particularly interesting as the following cutting from City Limits (17-23 January 1986) shows.



● Photographers and police: vexed question

Police photographer demonstrates his art

● Some indication of the growing use of undercover police photographers has been demonstrated by a case heard at Stratford Magistrates Court last week.

The story starts back in May last year when a rally in support of the Newham Seven (see CLs passim) took place at Plashet Park in east London. There were scuffles and a number of arrests, after clashes between police and demonstrators.

One of the demonstrators noticed a photographer taking pictures of individuals—including a friend of hers—rather than of the action. She followed him.

'I asked him for his press card,' she said last week, 'and he just said "fuck off".' Four days later the same woman had to appear in court on a charge connected with another matter. She didn't turn up but her friend, a young man who had been one of the subjects of the photographer's interest, did. He was arrested then and charged with offences related to the Plashet Park demonstration.

At his hearing last week, police from Scotland Yard's A8 division told the magistrate that he had

been identified through reference to one of a number of photo albums compiled after the Plashet Park demonstration.

They had realised that he was with the woman concerned and therefore had calculated that he might appear at her case. He was found not guilty of the charge of threatening behaviour.

But the bashful photographer was also in court and the woman who had spotted him last May asked a friend to try and find out where he was from.

The photographer said he worked for *Checkpoint*, a Welsh alternative paper that covers a lot of CND activities. His name, he said, was 'Gerard' and, after a pause, added 'Gerard Jones'.

We spoke to *Checkpoint* who are adamant that no photographer of that name works for them on a freelance or any other basis and none of the staff had heard of him.

Over the years the number of police photographers at demonstrations has increased dramatically and freelance and newspaper photographers are becoming increasingly worried that they are suspected of being police officers.

The most tragic incident occurred in the Brixton riots last year when photographer David Hodge was killed, but there have been other occasions when photographers have been attacked—some of them on suspicion of being

undercover police officers.

The National Union of Journalists say that people who are suspicious of photographers can ask to see their press card, a yellow laminated card with the photographer's photo on the front.

Sometimes, however, photographers are not prepared to show them to unidentified persons who may themselves be police officers, leading to further misunderstandings all round. (Duncan Campbell)



Found 'Guilty' in court of assaulting police!

B. was arrested a week after the second march. He wrote to us afterwards, concerned about the possibility that officers were planted in the crowd not just to take photographs but to act as agent provocateurs.

W., an Afro-Caribbean in his late teens, was found guilty of assaulting a police officer. In court he maintained that he was arrested in Green Street long after the march and rally had finished and in fact had nothing whatsoever to do with the demonstration. W. was cornered by mounted police and at least four to five officers who were needlessly parading down the street. A photograph which was produced showed a policeman reaching out to strike W. Despite this, W. was found guilty and the Magistrate proceeded to give him a conditional discharge. In the light of such a serious charge, his sentence was, we believe a moral vindication of W's defence.

Two brothers who were members of a steel-band performing in Plashet Park for the entertainment of the demonstrators were also arrested — their case is yet to be heard. The band did not accompany the march and only started playing again when the march

arrived back at the park. The brothers went out into the street adjacent to the park where their car was parked when the trouble started. But then, police officers with riot shields charged at them, violently assaulting one of them with their shields causing profuse bleeding. They proceeded to drag them away to the protestations of several witnesses and photographers. The brothers were then placed in a police carrier which, according to witnesses already had broken windows. PC323Y, who says he was assaulted threw a brick into the carrier and told the brothers that they were 'nicked' for being in possession of an offensive weapon. Both brothers were charged with assaulting the officer and one of them faces an additional charge of causing criminal damage to the carrier. At the station, police officers displayed confusion as to who the arresting officer for the brothers was — with one attempting to argue that he arrested the brothers simultaneously!

The Project has documented, from observer notes, a mass of evidence, demonstrating police use of racist and sexist language, assault of defendants whilst in custody and other cases of physical harassment. Comments like 'shut up nigger' and 'Twist the Monkey's arms' were common-place. And it is precisely this racism that shapes the relationship between black people and the police.

THE OLD BAILEY TRIAL

The trial of the Newham 7, which lasted some seven weeks, provides in itself a microcosm of all the injustices documented elsewhere in this Report. But the trial also revealed a shift in police responses to black people's struggles against racism and racist attacks. The picture that finally emerged was still one of a community living under siege from ceaseless racist activity. In spite of police propaganda to the contrary, it is also a community offered no support or protection from police. The fact that the events leading up, the Newham 7 occurred at all, reveals that black people have no faith whatsoever in existing structures and institutions — and this is a very serious state of play indeed.

Apart from revealing a catalogue of endless violence against black people, the trial provided a familiar mixture of police racism, fabrication and outright lies. For instance, despite the fact that the official police occurrence book records a fight between 50 Asian and 25 whites, not one single officer admitted court seeing *any* whites fighting, or even whites at all (except a few middle-aged shoppers) when the pub windows were allegedly smashed.

In relation to this, D.C. Bonczoszek, the officer in charge of the case who will well-known in the Asian community for his dislike of Asian youth, revealed by his comments during cross-examination by defence barrister Ian Macdonald, that he had already formed an opinion of the Khan brothers as 'troublemakers'. It was only left to build up a story around the brothers that would stick. In fact, the case was referred to as the 'Khan enquiry' even though only two of the ten defendants had that surname. . . According to Bonczoszek *'certain groups in Forest Gate are trying to stir up trouble about racist attacks'* and this included defendants Zafar and Parvaiz Khan.

Since the trial finished the Khan family has been subjected to severe harassment and it is a matter of concern to us that such an officer, whose evidence at the trial was totally discredited and has such a jaundiced view of Asian youth is still working in the Newham area.

THE ATTACK ON PARVAIZ KHAN

The trial itself was actually delayed for a week until 21 May due to events which overnight turned the case into a focus for black resistance.

During the lunch-break on the second day, Parvaiz Khan refused to eat a pork pie for religious reasons.

He was racially abused, and assaulted by prison warders who rang the riot bell which brought other warders charging in. Parvaiz was assaulted by up to ten officers and suffered, as a result, severe injuries to his face and head thus prohibiting him from attending court for a number of days. Following the

assault, Parvaiz Khan was refused medical attention or permission to see his defence solicitor. He had to wait half-an-hour until he was brought back into an open court to the amazement of an audience who only an hour previously had seen him in a perfectly normal state.

The question we have to ask ourselves is: if black people do not get protection and justice inside the Old Bailey, supposedly the very citadel of British justice, then what treatment can they expect elsewhere? We also wait to hear howls of protest from the *Newham Recorder* and other establishment voices normally so quick to feature stories of police officers when they are beaten up or injured.

To date, none of the prison warders have been charged or even reprimanded. The Defence Campaign however is suing the Home Office over the incident.

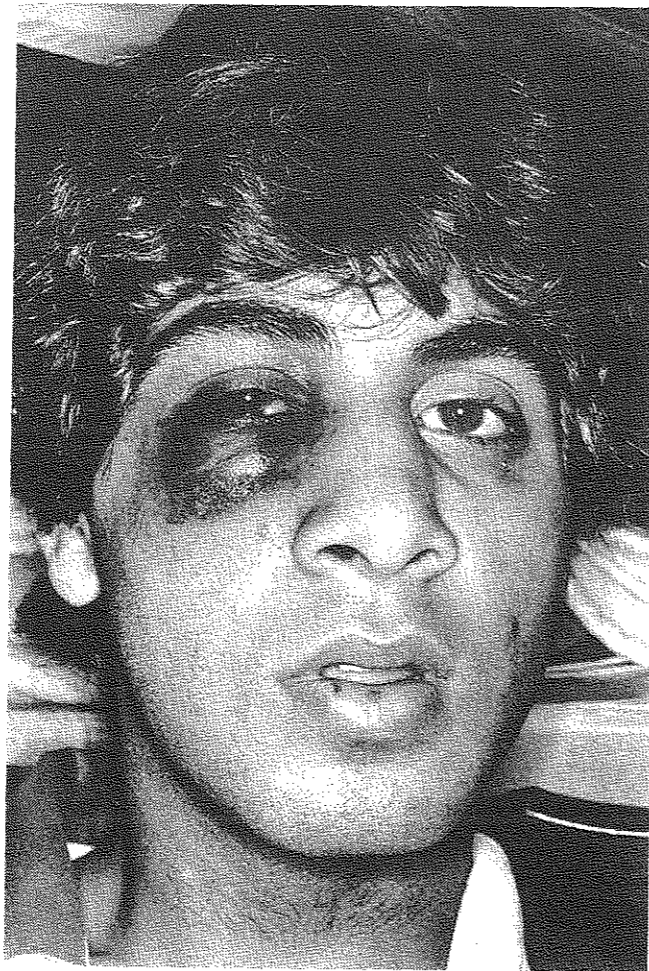


PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

Parvaiz Khan after being beaten up by prison officers for refusing to eat a pork pie.

POLICE ATTEMPT NEW APPROACH TO RACIST ATTACKS

The trial itself was novel in that the police decided to put the Asian and white defendants together in the dock, giving an impression of police even-handedness and neutrality. This was a clear attempt to depoliticise

the case, taking out issues of racist attacks, and self-defence, and substituting instead the notion of 'gang warfare'. Despite this appearance of neutrality, all along it was the whites who were treated as though they were the lesser party to the affray and had been hard done by.

THE PROSECUTION BEGINS

Initially, the prosecution agreed that there was a need to include black people in the jury, reflecting the racial composition of Newham. However, the barristers for the three white racists kept on challenging black jurors so that finally the prosecution had to issue a record number of jury challenges — 29 — to ensure that a third black person was selected. The jury consisted of two Afro-Caribbean women, one Asian man, three white women and six white men.

In the final analysis, the real villains of 7th April 1984 were not on trial at all. It took the police a whole year to find the two white men and a woman who carried out an 'orgy of psychopathic violence' on Asian people on the day that led to the Newham 7. The police had absolutely no excuse whatsoever for taking so long, as the defence campaign had provided them with evidence as to the identity of the assailants four months after the incidents took place.

In the Newham 8 and Bradford 12 cases the police denied that racist attacks happen, no so in the Newham 7! They accepted that the attacks occurred, but rested their case on the fact that the Asian youths over-reacted. Tesco shop assistants told the jury how the attackers in the car bought a hammer from them that very afternoon. The jury heard the details of these incidents from those attacked themselves.

As the prosecution case progressed it became clear that the police, by blaming the Asians, were attempting to cover up for the Duke of Edinburgh pub. Furthermore, the pub landlord and regulars denied that the attacks on Asians occurred even though Scott Young, brother of one of the white defendants who had been involved in the attack, told the jury that he had led a 'sortie' from the pub but conveniently claimed to have gone a different way from the others.

The landlord even forgot parts of his original statement, and other regulars argued that they were playing pool when the windows were smashed. 'Hear no evil, see no evil' seemed to be the watchword from the Duke of Edinburgh pub!

However, other prosecution witnesses were more frank. One saw the police ring the pub bell after Scott Young was allegedly assaulted by Athar Chaudri. For some strange reason no-one answered it although there were plenty of people inside! Others admitted that a group of whites armed with weapons had run from the pub and viciously attacked a Mercedes full of Asians, smashing the back windscreen and assaulting a passenger. It also emerged that before the pub windows were smashed a group of whites outside the

pub abused Asians outside the Wimpy Bar and the window of the Wimpy was broken by a pool ball and pool cues were also thrown. Strangely enough, not one of the whites were charged with causing criminal damage to the Wimpy, but Asians were charged with causing criminal damage to the Duke of Edinburgh pub!

PROSECUTION WITNESS — POLICE INFORMER

Current day policing tactics and strategies of targeting were also highlighted by the case, when ex-Wimpy Bar waitress, Maria Ison, confessed, under cross examination, to being a police informer. The police were relying on Ison, their key witness, to identify the Asian defendants from photographs taken of the incident which in fact only showed the backs of the Asian defendants and nothing of the whites.

Under cross examination, Ison said that 'Steve' (DC Steve Knight) and 'Ray' (DC Ray Wood) had approached her and asked her to keep a watch on Asian boys outside the Wimpy, and especially what they said about racist attacks. Ison said that she regularly met 'Steve' and 'Ray' after work and passed on information to them. The quality of her evidence and identification of defendants from photographs can best be judged from that the fact that she needed 'reminding' on at least one name before she gave evidence. She claimed to identify one defendant from a photograph by 'his body structure' and by the fact that 'he always wore the same set of clothes'. Another defendant was identified, on another photo, on the basis of half a leg sticking out from the Duke of Edinburgh on the corner of the picture. In fact Maria Ison was the main prosecution witness, demonstrating the lamentable strength of the police evidence.

By the time the prosecution had finished, a number of questions remained unanswered:

1. How could an official police record say 25 whites were fighting when no officer admitted in court seeing any whites at all?
2. Did the police know of or suspect any links between the hammer attacks on Asians from the drivers of a Silver Granada and the racist Duke of Edinburgh pub?
3. In spite of all the independent evidence, why were the police keen to remove the pub from the scene altogether?

DC Bonczoszek, the 'star police witness', claims to have been at the scene when Asians 'attacked the pub'. He saw no whites until the Asians ran into the pub after which there was an 'ebb and flow' outside. In his haste to exaggerate the numbers of Asians he even claimed to have seen them 'throwing missiles' from behind a double decker bus. Bonczoszek admitted to knowing of the hammer attacks. However his response to these horrific events was to sit in his car and watch the Wimpy Bar.

It was Bonczoszek who spoke of 'a wave of military style attacks by the Asian youth' with one row throwing missiles, then ducking, the second row

coming up to throw more missiles and then making way for the third row to throw iron bars 'like javelins'.

But by the end of the trial his evidence was totally discredited — a fact which might throw some light on his hysterical outburst in *Police Review* against the 'left' and those who shout 'racist' at every turn (discussed below).

EVIDENCE OF DISTRICT SUPPORT UNIT OFFICERS

After **Bonczoszek**, evidence was given by a series of DSU officers, responsible for arresting some Asian defendants the next evening. Two of these officers from West Ham police station were discovered in court beforehand, looking through defence files. In their defence they claimed they were just checking on the layout of the court! In fact, cross examination showed that they made their notes together; the only officer who hadn't colluded with this omitted all the incriminating evidence altogether. During the officers' cross examination it emerged that the three defendants were not properly interviewed about alleged 'offensive weapons' in the car. The only description the youths fitted was that of 'young Asians'.

It was left to D S Gillie, the CID officer originally in charge of the case, who was mysteriously replaced by D I Newman, to explain why the white defendants, who were originally released without charge, were released at all when Chaudhri was kept in custody. His explanation that they were released due to lack of evidence seems strange, considering that they were arrested carrying seven foot poles! D S Gillie also told the court that the Asians were kept overnight due to delay and that the whites were only charged with affray after he was told to do so by his legal advisors. In fact, D S Gillie retired soon afterwards pleading overwork. Defence requests ordering the release of the Home Office Inspector's report on D S Gillie, which apparently told him to 'go sick' around the time that the Newham 7 defendants were interviewed, were refused.

The final prosecution witness, Parvinder Sain was one of the Asians assaulted by white youths in the Granada car. The white youths kidnapped him and assaulted him with a hammer. During cross-examination he unexpectedly admitted being present at the final incident where he saw one of his attackers from the Granada car amongst the whites throwing glasses and other missiles from outside the pub.

Thus, Parvinder Sain's evidence brought the fact that many of the same white youths had been responsible for *all* the violence during the course of the day totally out into the open. The prosecution and barristers for the whites were furious — how could Sain be both a victim and a part of an attacking mob. But this in a nutshell was exactly the defence: Asian people were under attack by white racists who seemed to be based in the Duke of Edinburgh pub. They went in numbers to the pub to 'confront the racists'. The Asian youths were merely defending

the community — extending the doctrine of individual self defence to community self defence. It was not a crime to take measures to prevent a crime being committed.

THE DEFENCE CASE BEGINS

Defence barrister Rudy Narayan's opening statement summed up what the case was all about: 'This trial is not about gang warfare, it is about racism and fascism. It was unsafe to walk the streets that day if you were Asian'.

Narayan went on to say that in Steven Waldorf's case a pre-emptive strike in self defence was allowed and that from this we can conclude that reasonable force is permissible in prevention of a crime. A conspiracy of silence, he argued, had kept the real criminals out of court in this trial. 'White gangs of racist jackals' had attacked six young Asians within an hour on the day that a violent confrontation developed outside the Duke of Edinburgh pub. Furthermore, police and prosecution witnesses, had attempted to lie and cover up for the real culprits with police officers denying what others had clearly seen.

'Racist young thugs' 'tanked up with drink had created terror in a peaceful Asian community. Asian lives were in danger that day — they were kidnapped and beaten and dumped in a ditch. It was blind racist fury. There were six attacks in sixty minutes — one every ten minutes — spreading terror in the Asian community. It had to be stopped. It was right to stop it. If you think you are about to be attacked you are entitled to pre-emptive strike in law. Asians only acted in self defence against white racist soliders who were using the pub as a base for war against Asians. What really happened in Newham that day was the prevention of crime and the defence of a community. Communities under attack are entitled to protect themselves. Obviously you do not charge a Chieftain tank waving a wet lettuce. You are entitled to meet force with reasonable force'.

The first defence witness, defendant Athar Chaudhri, was attacked three times on 7th April. Chaudhri, who was locked up in a police cell for two days, denied making a police interview attributed to him, which he said was forced out of him under duress. Chaudhri's evidence was that he went to the pub to confront the attackers and that he would do the same again in defence of his people. The next defence witness recounted how he was subjected to harassment by whites at the Wimpy earlier that day. Chaudhri had protected him. In the past, a white gang had carried out a vicious assault upon him but when he went to the police they accused him of wasting police time.

As the trial progressed it became obvious that the police treat all Asians the same — irrespective of whether they have been attacked themselves or whether they are considered to have carried out a crime. Victims are subjected to police abuse and

made to feel as though they had brought attacks upon themselves. Thus Asian people are forced into a position where they have no choice but to defend their own community.

Witness after witness, took the jury through the daily harassment that black people live through, the attacks around the Duke of Edinburgh pub and the lackadaisical response of the police. Defendants Zafar and Parvaiz Khan calmly explained how they went to the pub solely to confront the attackers having heard rumours of Asian people being beaten up by men drinking at the pub. If necessary they would do the same thing again. The concluding statements of the closing speech by defence counsel for the two, Ian MacDonald, summed up the way the trial had gone. 'The tongues of liars and perjurers shall dry up and shrivel in their mouths.' MacDonald indicated a carafe of water on the bench beside him and said: 'DC Bonczoszek drank two of these while he was giving evidence — was that why he was drinking so much? What he has done was about the grossest piece of perjury you will hear in these courts'.

According to MacDonald DC Bonczoszek's evidence was a microcosm of the police fabrication that went on throughout the trial. Bonczoszek said he was 'there from start to finish and was marooned . . . a phalanx of Asian youths came in a military formation.' 'The first row throws and ducks, then the musketeers throw and duck, and finally we get to the javelin throwers in the last row' said MacDonald quoting Bonczoszek's evidence. In his eagerness to exaggerate the number of Asians present, Bonczoszek contradicts an official record at the

police station. He said no whites joined in the affray until about ten Asians entered the pub. According to MacDonald, Bonczoszek reached the height of his perjury when he suggested that most of the Asians, who according to him were involved in throwing missiles, but were not shown in photographs of the incident, were in fact in the gap between two of the exhibited pictures taken in succession!

MacDonald summed up by quoting Pastor Niemoller persecuted by the Nazis:

*'First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out because I was not
a Jew.'*

*Then they came for the Communists
And I did not speak out because I was not
a Communist.'*

*Then they came for the trade unionist
and I did not speak out because I was not
a trade unionist.'*

*Then they came for me and there was no-
one left to speak out for me.'*

He appealed for all ten defendants to be found not guilty, suggesting that the whites charged were 'makeweights', not the main offenders, and had openly been put in 'so that it does not look like a racist trial.'

MacDonald said that Mahatma Gandhi when he arrived in England at Tilbury was asked: 'what do you think about western civilisation'. He replied: 'I think it would be a good idea'. 'On the streets of Newham it would be a good idea.'



PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

We shall not be moved

THE JURY REACH THEIR VERDICT

The jury verdict reached in under two days showed that they too accepted the defence version of the day. Only on the law — or the politics — did they disagree and then only by majority.

On Count 1: Athar Chaudhri, who argued, supported by two independent witnesses, that he had merely defended himself was found not guilty.

On Count 2: The three white co-defendants were charged with the pathetically light offence of 'common assault' on the driver of a Mercedes. Verdict — guilty. They were fined £100.

On Count 3: Chaudhri was accused of conspiring to smash up the pub. He had 'admitted as much in an interview'. The defence was that 'we were only going to stop the attackers'. Verdict — not guilty.

On Count 4: The prosecution abandoned a further charge against Chaudhri of possession of an offensive weapon after arresting police officers gave evidence contradicting one another, one saying Chaudhri dropped a spanner on his way to the pub and the other denying having seen any such act by Chaudhri.

On Count 5: The other six Asian youths were charged with causing criminal damage to the pub after the windows were broken. None knew who broke them if, as police claimed, it was a concerted attack by the Asians they would then all be guilty of a 'joint enterprise' — a much more serious matter. The defendants said they didn't go to attack the pub but to show they were not afraid and to deter racist attackers. Verdict — Not Guilty.

On Count 6: Three defendants were charged with having offensive weapons in a car the following night. According to seven DSU officers who gave concocted evidence, the weapons were to defend themselves. Two defendants said they did not know the items were in the car; the third gave an explanation for each item. Verdict — Not Guilty.

On Count 7: The case against Jycoti Rajappan collapsed when an incriminating interview was thrown out on the grounds of police pressure. Amjad Ali denied he was there and said that identification of him from photos was malicious and wrong. He was found not guilty. Affray charges against the two whites were dismissed.

The crucial issue of the trial, the question of what do you do when you and your communities are under attack and the police are unwilling to help, was faced by the four remaining defendants. They maintained that they acted in self-defence, to prevent further racist crimes. Although police officers suppressed all reference to violence by whites from the pub, an internal police document unearthed by the defence, estimated 25 whites to be involved in the fight.

The judge in summing up stressed that in using force to defend yourself you remain within the law at all times. The final outcome was that the jury convicted the four by a ten to two majority. But by all accounts, the police version of events

in the prosecution case, was totally discredited. The four at the end were not convicted on the basis of police evidence but on what they themselves honestly told the court.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The four convicted of affray have lodged an appeal against the convictions on material questions of law. However we need to briefly discuss the political implications of the decision. As the Defence Campaign stated after the case:

'The Newham 7 like the Newham 8 is about making the streets safe for black people to walk free from racist attacks. The results were a tremendous moral victory. It has demonstrated the strength and success of a defence campaign, not just the strength in terms of individual but also in terms of turning the case into an issue, which is the right of black people to defend themselves from attacks, using any means necessary. The right to self defence is not going to be determined by any legalistic decision but by the mere and simple fact that black people will continue to organise on a much larger scale than before so long as they are racially attacked.'

SUCCESSSES OF THE CAMPAIGN

The police attempts to depoliticise the issues, by trying three whites with seven Asians, failed. The issues at stake were clearly brought out for everyone to see, the notion of gang warfare was rejected, and the case throughout was referred to as the Newham 7 case, even by the prosecution! For the first time, the police had to openly acknowledge the extent of racist attacks in society and tacitly acknowledge their own inaction. Moreover, the tremendous publicity afforded to the case has helped raise the issue of racism and self defence in communities across the country, providing a springboard for community action against racism, and forcing institutions to respond to a problem ignored for decades.

The token sentences handed out to the four found guilty and the parting comments of the judge, vindicated, in our belief, the moral stance of the defendants in standing up to attacks. In our view, this proved a damning indictment of police negligence, inaction and complicity. As all four defendants said afterwards, 'self-defence against racist attacks is in the face of this police complacency the only means left to black people'.

But at the end of the day cases like the Newham 7 can never be seen in terms of 'defeat' or 'success'. It was the issues that the campaign

identified that in turn mobilised thousands of people. The campaign made people in Britain sit up and take note of what is going on — that is the real yardstick with which the success of the campaign should be judged. Furthermore, daily pickets of the Old Bailey demonstrated community support for the seven, proving that it was the entire black community on trial and not just the seven. Although NMP's support for the Defence Campaign placed a heavy strain on our resources, this was worthwhile because it helped sustain the campaign over the seven-week-long trial.

The nature of the problems confronting us came even more real when the rally in support of the seven at East Ham Town Hall was disrupted after a vicious attack by a gang of thugs on Asians drinking in the Cock pub 300 yards away from the rally's venue. Yet again, police were more eager to hem-in the angry audience rather than apprehend a group of passing racists, who racially abused, even sieg-heiled, the predominantly black youth gathered outside the Town Hall. Indeed one officer at the hospital where the three Asian men were taken was overheard by an *Asian Times* reporter commenting on his radio that he thought the whole incident was a set-up job by the Newham Monitoring Project!

The pickets of the Old Bailey trial also came under heavy policing. Whilst the daily pickets of the court during the Newham 8 case did not attract a single arrest, 30 people were arrested over the seven week long trial. The charges, ranging from obstruction to threatening behaviour were eventually dropped against twenty eight of the 30 with two cases remaining to be heard! The fact that the pickets were always heavily outnumbered by the City of London police and subjected to racist language and provocative behaviour should also be noted. Two incidents in particular are worth highlighting:

A. a 14-year old youth who was also the brother of one of the Asian defendants, was arrested and dragged away by some four police officers. His crime — possessing a water pistol. The arresting officers were told that it was only a water pistol but they saw fit to hold the youth in custody for six hours. Despite the fact that his father was in the foyer of the police station, the police attempted to question A. without his parents being present.

During a vigil outside the Old Bailey, the police protested about the 'singing', saying it would disturb the local residents. When it was pointed out that no-one lived in the area, the police in what was obviously a pre-planned operation forcibly broke up the vigil, arresting 21 people. The arrested people were all taken to Snowhill Police Station where they were forcibly fingerprinted and photographed and released at 2am. Charges against 20 of the 21, (for obstructing one police officer, the Chief Superintendent in charge of the Division) were later dropped, which again raises the question of why they were charged in the

RACIST ATTACKS, SELF DEFENCE AND THE POLICE

In his Annual Report for 1984, Sir Kenneth Newman spoke of the 'worryingly large' problem of 'racial conflict' in London and promised a new 'sensitive' approach. He re-iterated this 'stand' in the Summer, after a series of horrific arson attacks, calling on all voluntary race relations groups and local authorities to set aside their disagreements with police and work with them to combat racial violence.

At the same time, Newman announced that over the past two years, the number of racial attacks had fallen, although minor incidents of racial abuse were on the increase.

Furthermore, case after case across East London has revealed that the police attitude to the victims of attack are worse than ever before. In fact, we believe that Newman, in singling out racist attacks as a priority was not displaying any genuine desire to counter racism. On the contrary, this was all part of a clever public relations exercise, designed to co-opt ethnic minority representatives onto police-led schemes such as Consultative Panels or Racial Harassment Panels — all the better to manage the rising militancy of the black community and isolate and criminalise all those who act in self-defence.



Arrested for busking?

DC BONCZOSZEK'S ATTEMPT TO CRIMINALISE SELF-DEFENCE

This criminalisation of those who dare to defend the community was seen at its most outrageous in an article by DC Bonczoszek published in *Police Review*. Bonczoszek's evidence to the Newham 7 trial, it will be remembered, revealed a jaundiced view of Asian youth and was totally discredited.

According to Bonczoszek the 'nebulous' problem of 'racism' is merely a 'fabrication' (racism is the latest 'in word') constructed by the left to drive a wedge between police and community. Obviously, black people do not have minds of their own, are incapable of articulating their own experiences, and are puppets of the left. Bonczoszek of course does not admit that the 'wedge' that exists between police and community has been driven there by a racist police force. On the contrary: 'I do not believe that we have a severe problem of racism either inside or outside the police force', writes Bonczoszek.

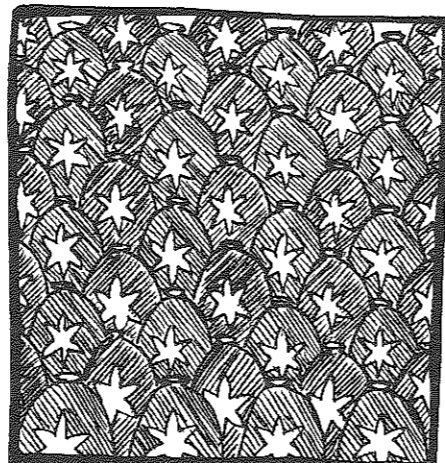
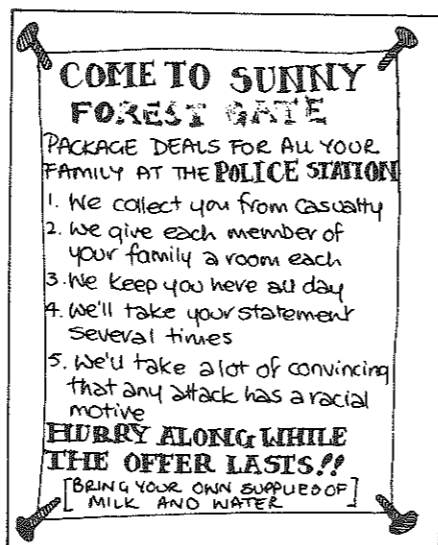
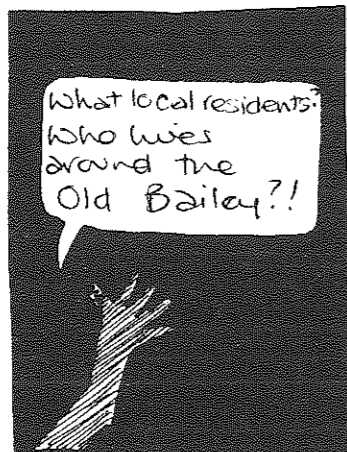
Bonczoszek comes to the crux of the matter when in a thinly-veiled reference to the Newham 7, he speaks of 'known criminals' being set up as 'martyrs' who are then looked up to as 'defenders of the community'.

He concludes by saying that the weaknesses of senior police officers and courts to apprehend the 'ethnic criminal' has led to the police being portrayed as 'racists' when they attempt to execute their duties and arrest these criminals.

Thus, Bonczoszek, in this article, has provided himself with the perfect rationalisation, indeed alibi, for his prejudiced treatment of the Newham 7 case and justified his evidence presented before the court which barrister Ian MacDonald referred to as 'nothing short of perjury'.

THE LEGACY OF BITTERNESS

Given the views of DC Bonczoszek made public in *Police Review*, given the facts of the Newham 7 case and the oppressive policing surrounding the campaign, we are forced to conclude that the Metropolitan police have moved far beyond the realms



of any accountability to the community. Indeed, they are increasingly displaying an open contempt for the black community's fight against racism.

The fact that during a major Old Bailey trial an Asian defendant could be violently assaulted within the purview of the court; the fact that DSU officers could be found riffling through court notes and a key prosecution witness could admit to being a police informer, are all causes of alarm. Nevertheless, it also throws up the question: if these are the kinds of events occurring in a major trial which is the subject of public scrutiny what is actually happening in the thousands of cases that do not come before the public's attention.

Two demonstrators and successive pickets were constantly overpoliced in a clear attempt to provoke confrontation and brutalise demonstrators. Furthermore, the railroading of innocent people through the biased world of the Magistrates Court will only alienate people even further from the entire criminal justice system. In the eyes of many, Magistrates Courts are merely police courts upholding the racism of the force. These experiences in our opinion have left behind a legacy of bitterness that will remain in Newham for many years to come.

JUSTICE FOR THE PRYCES?

On 29th November 1984, Eustace Pryce (16) was killed by Martin Newhouse, a member of a well-known racist gang from Canning Town. Eustace suffered a stab wound to the back of the neck and died almost immediately. Yet, to look at the police handling of events, the trial, and the media outbursts surrounding the case, no-one would ever imagine that someone had been brutally killed.

Local newspapers and self-styled spokespersons for the black community have concerned themselves not with Eustace's tragic death, but with arguing over whether the initial abuse that sparked off the chain of events that resulted in his death were racist or not. But for the Support Committee, which was formed as a response to the extreme suffering of the Pryce family, *this was never the issue*. Our main concern was to ensure that Eustace's killer was not allowed to walk free as a result of police incompetence, and that the injustices facing the Pryce family were reversed.

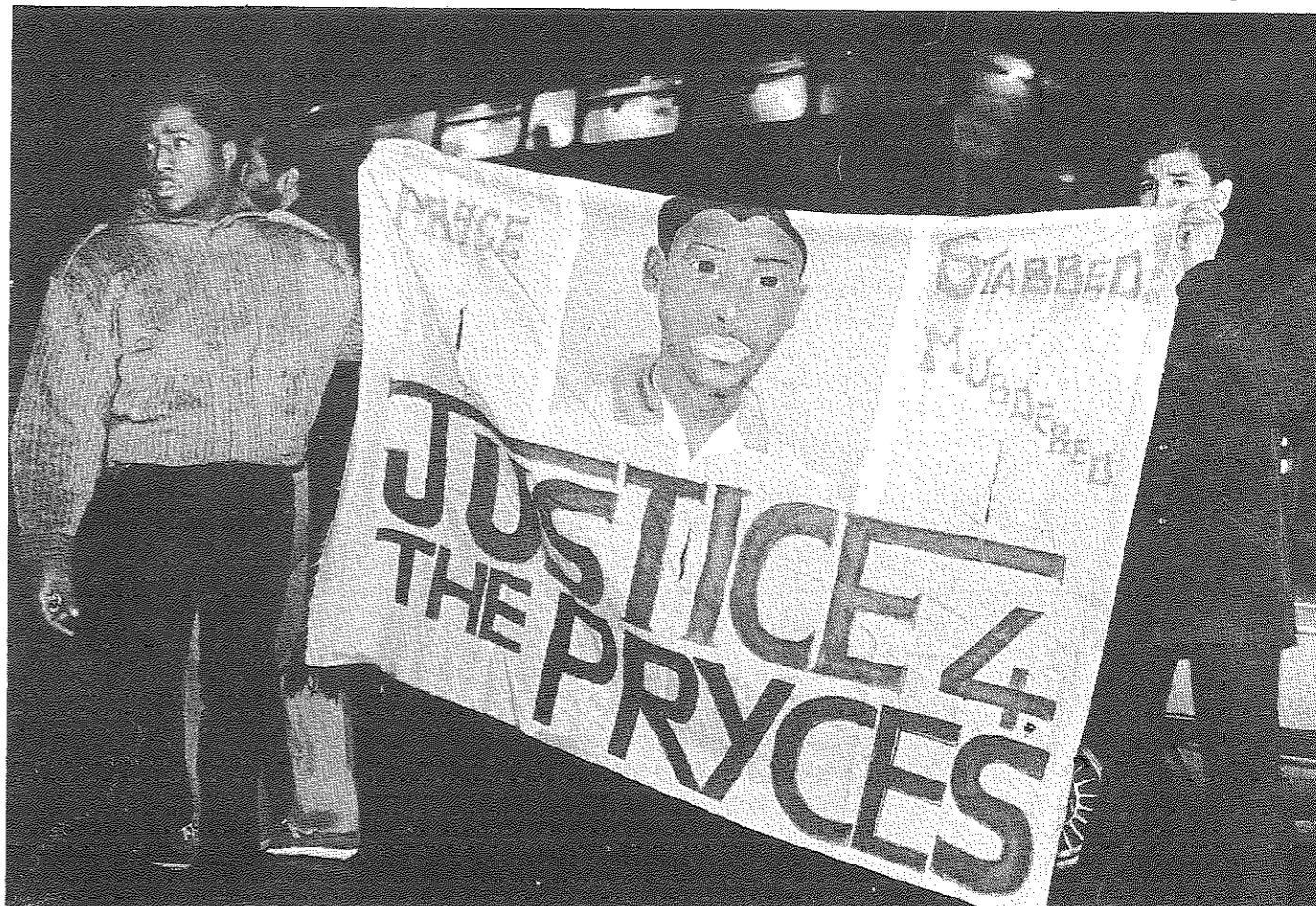
THE FACTS OF THE CASE

In the afternoon of the 29th November '84, an Asian youth who was making deliveries to an off-license stopped his van at the Greengate pub traffic lights

and was subject to racial abuse from a gang of 5 white and 2 Afro-Caribbean youths who also assaulted him. The Asian youth proceeded to the off-license near the Town Hall where he informed black youths in a nearby arcade about the incident. The black youths, both Asian and Afro-Caribbean, decided to return to the Greengate and confront the youths responsible for insulting and assaulting their friend. Gerald Pryce was in the group with two other youths. Eustace and his friend went along merely 'for the ride'. On returning to the Greengate pub, they found only the gang of white youths. A discussion took place between Newhouse and the Asian youth who had originally been assaulted and the black youths returned to their van.

Gerald Pryce and two other youths had already got into the van, ready to return to the arcade, when some of the white youths ran into a sports shop looking for baseball bats and other weapons with which to arm themselves. The two younger of the black youths had not got back into the van and the driver noticed one of them being punched by a white youth.

Then, the black youths got out of the van and a chase ensued. While this was taking place, Martin Newhouse, who was still standing outside the sports shop, burst through the door, pushed the shop-



Vigil on the first anniversary of Eustaces death : we will never forget

keeper out of the way, and grabbed a knife off the display counter. He ran up the road, past some of the black and white youths, till he reached the toy shop where Eustace and a friend were standing. Newhouse lashed out with a knife, stabbing Eustace who fell to the ground.

Evidence given in court suggests that while he wielded the knife around he also cut an Asian youth, Baljit Singh, who was later taken to hospital. Eye witnesses also claim that they saw a white youth jump onto Eustace who was now lying on the ground, probably already dead. Evidence given by one of the white youth's girlfriend in court also implies that the youths in the evening joked and laughed because someone said: 'Dinkle was stamping on his head'.

The other white youths run away after seeing Eustace fall to the ground. Eventually Newhouse did the same, taking the knife with him.

THE POLICE INVESTIGATION

Three plain clothes officers witnessed the tail end of the incident from a passing bus. They jumped off the bus and ran to the front of the toy shop where Eustace was lying. An ambulance was called but it did not arrive. An ambulance taking someone else to hospital was stopped and eventually Eustace accompanied by his cousin was taken in it.

Meanwhile an emotionally distressed Gerald Pryce was taken to Plaistow police station. An aunt tried to see him there but was refused. He was only released several hours later to find that Eustace was dead.

Gerald maintains that while in police custody he was questioned intensely about the death of his brother and police officers showed no sympathy for the fact that he had suffered a great loss.

Three weeks after the death of his brother, Gerald was arrested and charged with affray. He was continually denied bail and remanded in custody until January 7th 1985, two days before his brother's funeral.

Police insensitivity did not end there. Gerald was only released under restrictive bail conditions — he could not come into Newham or see his family. These conditions were only reduced in July 1985 after considerable community pressure. Newhouse, on the other hand, absconded for a week and stayed with relatives in the south of London. Police officers who went to his house were told by his parents that he had gone fishing and officers did not pursue the matter. Eventually, Newhouse gave himself up because of the arrest of his brother and was charged with murder. He was given bail almost immediately on the grounds that it would be wrong to keep him in custody during the Christmas period and was thus free to move around as he wished. Gerald spent Christmas in a remand centre.

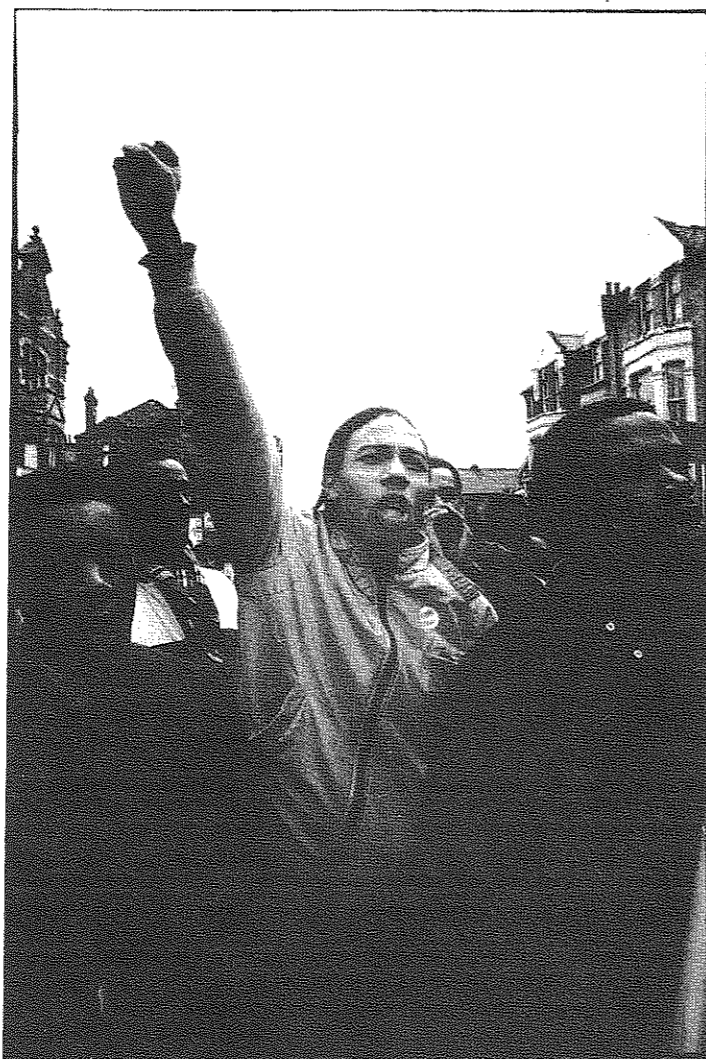


PHOTO: ANDREW POTHECARY

Protesting for justice

THE TRIAL

In October 1985 the trial began at the Old Bailey. It was expected to last about six weeks — it was over by the end of two. Five black and five white youths faced charges of affray. Newhouse also faced a murder charge and another white youth was charged with assisting an offender.

For the first week of the trial it was not even clear that this was a murder case. The prosecuting counsel, John Alliot, QC opened the trial by attempting to sum up the stabbing of Eustace in one sentence. There had clearly been a serious incident, namely the killing of Eustace, and everything else was trivial in comparison. According to black people sitting in the public gallery, when witnesses were called, they were questioned by the prosecutor in such a way as to avoid giving detailed evidence about what happened to Eustace, and the 'gory' details surrounding his death.

During the trial, the prosecutor's main argument was that out of a 'brawl' involving black and white 'yobbos', the 'unfortunate incident' (Eustace's death) occurred. For one whole week, no-one in the court-room would use the term murder, except when reading the charges against Newhouse. Throughout, the ugliness of what happened was clothed in a language which subdued the whole affair. Only after the acquittal of three white and one black youth, half-way through the trial, did the murder aspect of the case surface. This was quite the opposite to the famous Thornton Heath (1982) case where a number of black youths were charged with the killing of a white man and the murder incident 'plagued' the whole trial completely.

The court bias toward the white youths was revealed during the trial by the different terminology used to describe white and black youth. The judge, prosecutor, and some defence councils, continually referred to the 'little white kids' whilst Gerald and his friends were 'black men'. Thus, throughout the trial a subtle picture of white innocence (the 'little' 'kids' had somehow got themselves into a situation they could not quite handle) and black criminality (the 'black men' knew precisely what they were doing) was slowly created.

There was also a very lengthy debate about whether or not an actual affray ever took place with many defence councils arguing that it clearly did not. **Police officers and the prosecuting counsel were noted as saying that if it was not for the killing of Eustace, the case would probably never have reached court.**

But what was apparent in court was that Eustace was never identified as taking part in any sort of fight and he certainly had no time to defend himself from the knife attack. It was also clear that Gerald's role in the whole event was minimal. The most that any eye witness claimed to see Gerald do was pick up a wheelbrace. At no time did anyone witness him throw, punch, or kick anyone or do anything remotely violent. From this evidence we can conclude that it was extremely unjust that Gerald's life, which was already torn apart by the death of his brother, should have been further disrupted while he waited for the case to go to court for what amounted to nothing more than 'threatening behaviour'. Gerald's part in the incidents of 29th November '84 could easily have been dealt with in a magistrate's court.

A KILLER'S DEFENCE

Newhouse's sole defence — was self defence! He claimed that in the earlier confrontation, when the black youths arrived on the scene, he suffered a karate kick to the head after which he was not in control of his actions. He also stated that as he stood outside the sports shop he heard his brother screaming for help because he was on the ground being

kicked by three unidentifiable 'coloured' youths. In court he said that he had tunnel vision and could neither see nor hear anything but his brother and the screams of 'Help Mart'. Newhouse further argued that he had no intent to kill. As a result of concussion, and the screams of his brother he was not responsible for his actions. He even claimed that he struck the blow in the small of the back and not to *anyone's neck*. Eustace died as a result of his brain stem being severed.

In court it was obvious that Newhouse was lying. Firstly, there was no other evidence given by any one of the eye-witnesses to verify his story. No-one saw his brother on the floor being kicked; no-one spoke of hearing cries for help. Even Newhouse's own brother's statement does not mention calling Newhouse for help — he says he merely ran off as quickly as he could.

Why then was Newhouse convicted of manslaughter? We will ask that question for many years to come and one can only put the blame on the racism which pervades policing methods and the judicial system as a whole. As a result of a thorough lack of police commitment, a weak prosecutor who was also acting as a defence counsel in the big 'Cyprus Spy' case and the weakness of a judge who wanted to please everyone, Eustace's killer was nearly acquitted. The fact that he was found guilty of manslaughter only indicates that the jury were certain that Newhouse had killed Eustace Pryce, but were unclear about whether or not he possessed intent to kill or cause serious bodily harm.

POLITICS OF THE CASE

From the moment Eustace was killed, a pattern of events were set into motion which exposed the blatant racism of British society, throwing into sharp focus the extreme gulf between the treatment of a black and a white person at the hands of 'white law'. The case also shows that the prosecution of a white person arrested for the murder of a black boy is not a serious matter — hardly surprising in a country that through its immigration and nationality laws deems black people second class citizens. When a black person is even remotely liable for arrest, as Gerald was, they are given the 'full works' by the police.

From the very beginning, the police focussed attention on the activities of the black youth. Throughout their investigation and prosecution they managed to diminish the murder and heighten the affray, elevate trivial details and camouflage vital facts. From start to finish, the police revealed their racial bias. And it was this extremely biased approach, in the first instance to the question of Eustace's death, which prompted his family to ask for support from members of the community, to ensure justice. This whole aspect of human concern was totally ignored by the police and courts who virtually blamed Gerald's 'criminality' for the fact that Eustace

was killed. And the police went further, making out that the case was one of gang warfare. This was an argument that had been used in the past during the Newham 8 and Newham 7 cases and in other cases involving the black community.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE USE OF BAIL

Important questions about the use of bail has been thrown up by the case. The youth charged with murder actually received bail, whereas the brother of the dead boy did not. When eventually granted bail, Gerald was not allowed into Newham and this came as a second blow to his parents who realised they had not lost one, but two sons. This treatment of Gerald was totally unnecessary as there was nothing inherent in the fact that this borough was the place where the killing occurred.

Bail conditions are being imposed on black youth like Gerald Pryce for one reason only: social control. The police want to keep people like Gerald away from an area where they simply dislike their presence. These conditions were used in a similar way during the miners' strike when 10,000 miners were arrested for 'public order offences' and granted bail on condition that they did not strike. Thus, the state was denying them their only means of resistance, as police denied Gerald his only means of support and comfort.



'No go' orders on blacks

MAGISTRATES are using miners-style bail restrictions to prohibit movement by blacks. Gerald Pryce, 19 year old black youth arrested for affray following a disturbance that resulted in the death of his brother, was bailed in January on condition that he returns to Newham (where till his arrest he lived with his family) only when working or to see his solicitor. B.M. Birnberg & Co solicitor Gareth Peirce says 'It has become common for magistrates to ban people from All Saints Rd [in London's Notting Hill Gate] — but a new development is to exclude people from the whole of the W11 area. Magistrates were only intended to use these powers as a last resort. But they've become standard practice'. An application to relieve Pryce's bail conditions is to be made next week at Newham magistrates' court.

Arlen Harris

NEW STATESMAN

There has been an increasing willingness on the part of magistrates' courts to impose extraordinary pressures on people, by ignoring the fact that everyone has a right to unconditional bail except in clearly defined situations. However, the assumption is now being made that whenever bail is granted some conditions to stop freedom of movement must be attached to it.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CASE

At all stages, racism defined the police handling of the Pryce case as this account should make blindingly clear. In court, the police, judge and prosecution counsel did their utmost not to rock the boat and never fully confronted the fact that Eustace — a black boy — had been killed by Newhouse, a white youth. And the police, in particular, chose not to highlight the criminal history of the white youths who were occasionally referred to as the 'Custom House Mob'. The police know full well that they are a gang of thugs who go around London E16 terrorising isolated black families and assaulting innocent black people. It is also worth noting that on two occasions white men turned up at the Old Bailey to photograph picketers and generally intimidate the Pryce family while they sat in the public gallery. A further aspect of the case which should be noted is that the prosecutor was allowed to act in two major trials at the same time. Considering that this was a murder case, either it should have been postponed, or he should have briefed another counsel.

During the final days of the trial, even the police were surprised that Newhouse was given bail while the jury deliberated over-night. But this was in fact in line with every aspect of a case where someone charged with murder was treated with 'kid gloves'. We all know from bitter experience however, that if Eustace had been white and Newhouse black the 'kid-gloves' would not have been worn so lightly.

THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The Justice for the Pryce's Support Committee was set up because the Pryce family felt that the case against Newhouse was slowly slipping away from them due to bias of the police. Also, after the committal hearing, where Newhouse 'stuck his two fingers up' at the Pryce family, Mr and Mrs Pryce were struck by the fact that the man who had killed their son felt no remorse whatsoever. In fact it appeared he regarded himself, and he was regarded by others in the borough, as something of a hero for killing a black boy.

The main aims of the support committee had always been:

- (i) To support the Pryce family in their time of grief
- (ii) To publicise and protest against the brutal and callous treatment of the family by the police and compare this to the treatment of Newhouse
- (iii) To remember Eustace and defend the actions of Gerald. The four other black youths did not wish for support or publicity and this was respected.

The committee saw its first task as achieving the freedom of Gerald to walk into Newham and remain with his family. Gerald was also unhappy with his solicitor, and as he requested, a lot of time was spent finding him a new solicitor, Gareth Pierce, who he could feel confident with. This done, the committee set about building community support to oppose his bail conditions. The day before the application for the conditions to be relaxed a letter was written, signed by numerous local community groups, and taken by a delegation to Commander Jones, 'K' Division. The delegation saw Commander Jones' assistant and expressed anger and concern over the way Gerald was treated and the fact that actions such as these did not lead to 'good community relations'. The next day the police officers on the case made no objection to the bail conditions being reduced.



PHOTO: ANDREW POTHECARY

The actions of the support committee were dictated by the feelings of the family, some of whom attended every meeting. As the nature of protest was of concern to them especially in the months when the uprisings of Tottenham, Brixton and Handsworth were upon us, protests involving pickets of police stations were abandoned, but the task of organising public rallies and leafletting, in order to inform the local black community of the injustices facing the family, continued.

Two very successful rallies were held and on both occasions people turned out in their hundreds to show their support for the family. During the months before the trial started, speakers were sent to meetings up and down the country to which we were invited and in this way we managed to gradually build up support.

Throughout the trial, the Committee's main aim was to remind the police and courts that public concern existed over the death of Eustace and that nothing would calm this concern except a sentence of the maximum punishment for the killer. Considering that police investigations and the trial itself were carried out so badly and with such bias, the campaign viewed it as a victory that Newhouse was convicted of manslaughter and not acquitted as was feared.

What was an insult however, both to the family and supporters, was the menial sentence

Black people unite : Newham 7 and Justice for the Pryces march on 27.4.85

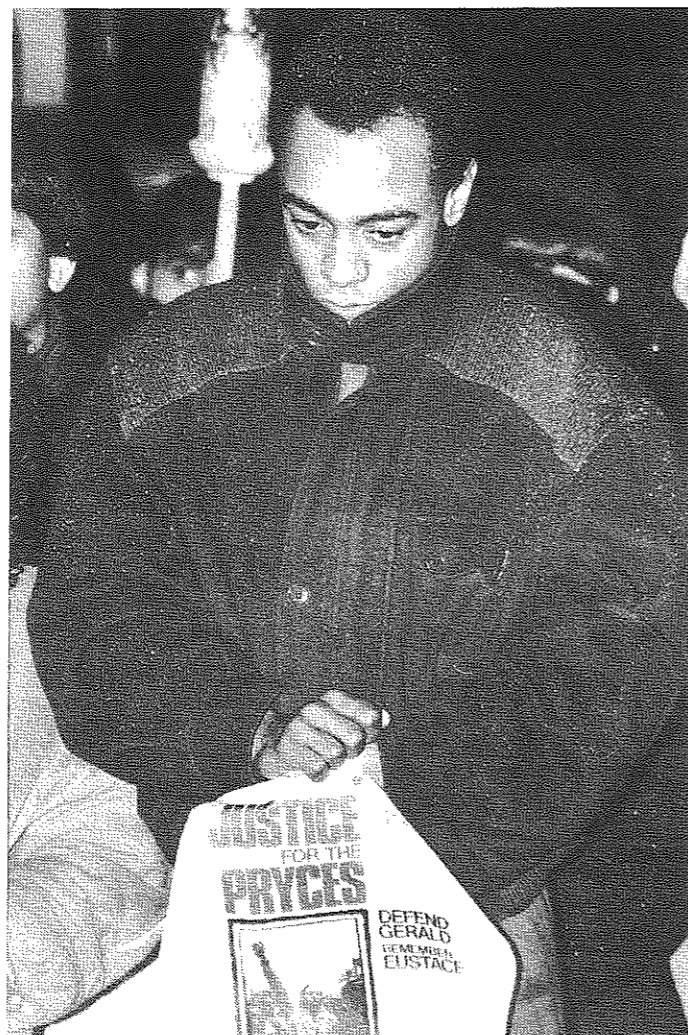
Newhouse received as a result. He was given a 4½ years' youth custody sentence for manslaughter and two years for affray to be served concurrently. This means that he will be released in approximately three years' time. This came as the greatest shock to the Pryce family and supporters. For as Mrs Pryce reminded us at the end of the trial, this does not even amount to a quarter of Eustace's age when he died.

The Support Committee further viewed the two year probation order given to Gerald as a victory — a custodial sentence would have further ruined his life. While sentencing the black youths the judge remarked that he did not consider them criminals, which leads us again to ask why they were in the dock in the first place.

REMEMBERING EUSTACE

The efforts of the Support Committee came under attack during the trial. A concerted effort was made by the judge, prosecutor and media towards the end to divert the interests of everyone from the main issues of the case, by creating hysteria about a letter to supporters, asking them to write to the judge, and by threatening to prosecute the Support Committee for sub judice and contempt of court. Needless to say, despite the publicity this created, the Support Committee has heard nothing since. It must be stressed that for the family and the Support Committee the trial was a mere formality and it proved once again that as black people we cannot expect justice from British police and courts.

On the anniversary of Eustace's death a wreath laying ceremony was held at the spot where he died. This was attended by over one hundred people who came to show their sympathy for the Pryce family. We shall be remembering Eustace in some way, through an event held every year on this date. The memory of Eustace, like that of other black people who have suffered at the hands of white racist society — will never be forgotten.



Remembering Eustace at the wreath laying ceremony

PHOTO: ANDREW POTHECARY

RACISM — THE FASCIST CONNECTION

Although most of the cases of racial harassment reported to the Project appear to be unorganised and of a random nature, attention needs to be focussed on the nature and activities of fascist groupings, namely the National Front and the British National Party. An alarming level of racist graffiti with fascist connotations can be found across Newham. And, although the overwhelming majority of those who carry out racist attacks are not in any organised fascist group, fascist ideology has a deep and pervasive effect — lowering the threshold of accepted violent behaviour towards black people.

UPSURGE IN FASCIST ACTIVITY

Throughout 1985, there has been an upsurge in fascist activity, both nationally and in Newham itself. In some cases dealt with by the Project, the level of sophistication in an attack, clearly suggests some degree of pre-planning. In addition, certain pubs and winebars, particularly in the south and east of the borough, are frequented by well-known local fascists, or used by fascist organisations to hold meetings. It is no coincidence that many attacks have occurred within these places or very nearby. We have constantly referred these establishments to the authorities but still await the result of action they have taken. Yet again, we are forced to remind the authorities that it has been precisely this failure to act and apprehend the culprits that has led to situations like the Newham 7 and Newham 8.

PHOTO: ANDREW MOORE



DEVELOPMENTS ON THE FAR RIGHT

Since 1979, there have been many developments on the far right. The National Front (NF) have eschewed their election politics, and under a new, youthful Strasserite leadership have deposed of the old-guard of Martin Webster and John Tyndall. Drawing inspiration from the writings of Italian fascists, it has adopted the so-called 'Third Position' which entails a more street-orientated approach, relying on violent confrontation, rejecting both capitalism and communism in an attempt to make a populist appeal to the white working class. The NF are trained and advised both in political theory and paramilitary tactics by wanted Italian terrorists who have only avoided extradition to Italy because of the vacillations of successive Home Secretaries. The anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* has produced evidence that training takes place in Kent and Hampshire, with Newham National Front members involved.

Nationally this 'third position' involves NF infiltrating organisations like NCCL and animal rights' groups to stir up agitation around the ritual killing of animals.

BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (BNP)

The equally hardline BNP is not active in Newham but has been engaged in high profile activities in neighbouring Redbridge. The Redbridge organiser, Tony Lecomber, is currently on trial for possessing an explosive device which went off in his car near the headquarters of the Workers Revolutionary Party. He has also been interviewed in connection with the murderous arson attack on the Kassam family in August 1985 in Ilford.

PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN



Respectable images — different realities.

FASCIST ACTIVITY SINCE '76

Fascist activity in Newham has been a cause for concern now for many years. It has ranged from John Kingsley Read's notorious speech in Stratford 'One down, a million to go', referring to the murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar in Southall (1976) to ranks of Sieg-heiling spectators at West Ham football ground, accompanied by concerted activity both inside and outside the ground.

In many cases members of the local NF have been involved or implicated in racist attacks of a horrific nature. And electorally, Newham has always been one of the Front's best areas and at the 1983 General Election they managed to poll around 2,000 votes.

As far as we can make out, fascist activity over the last year has been confined to mounting activity around West Ham FC and increased attempts, in line with the development of a new 'political soldier' (the term used to describe the new fascist of the future) to push street sales, intimidate passers by and reclaim control of their old stomping grounds.

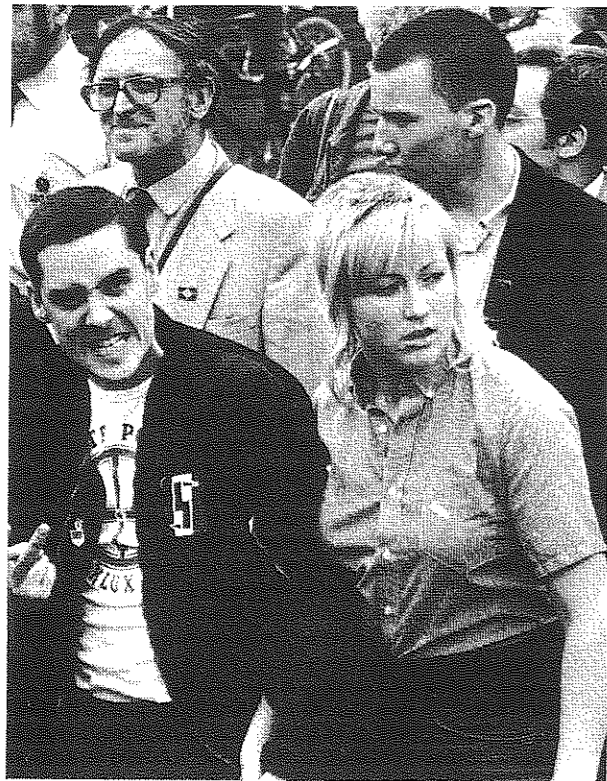


PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

The new 'political soldier'

THE McDONNELL CASE

The NF's attempts to capitalise on the eviction of the McDonnell case began in November 1984 when Newham Council evicted the family from their Canning Town home (see 1984 Annual Report). The

local Front, under the guise of Newham Residents Against the Evictions, were quick to announce plans to stage a rally in support of the family and march to the Housing Department office in Stratford. The Project, and other anti-racists, opposed the rally and march, and although the march was banned the rally, with active participation from the McDonnell family, went ahead in Clements Avenue.

For the first time ever, anti-fascists openly assembled in Clements Avenue in support of beleaguered black families and the Council's stand. This important mobilisation gave a fillip to the eventual formation of SNARF. We believe that this counter mobilisation, the work, in the form of articles in the council paper, *Newham News*, and tv coverage by certain programmes, helped prevent a white racist backlash, clearly intended by the National Front. What eventually demolished the NF's attempts to promote an image of themselves as concerned 'local' residents was a front-page article in the *Newham Recorder* (24.1.85) (done with the help of *Searchlight* and the Project) outlining the role played by national NF officials and leading European fascist and NF member, Ian Brady, in breaking up council meetings and stirring up racist sentiments. Death threats and a hate campaign directed against the (then) chair of the Housing Committee lost them support they may have gained if they had adopted a low-key approach. It was hardly coincidental that once the fascist cover behind the eviction campaign was fully exposed the campaign of hate and violence gradually ebbed away, demonstrating the need for vigilance in the face of total police complacency.

What concerns the Project most is how come the local police failed to take action when the NF openly bragged in their newspaper of the role played by its Instant Response Units in violently disrupting a full council meeting in January 1985. During the McDonnell case, threats to Asian staff at a local housing office were made.

Although police were given the names and addresses of local NF members by *Searchlight*, they took no action. The fact that a sustained campaign directed against the council, in which the NF openly boasted of its involvement and its policy to campaign against councils who carry out evictions of racists, with violence if necessary, went on for two months without any arrests or action is a matter of serious concern. During the campaign, a race-hate letter on official Metropolitan Police notepaper was sent to the Chair of the Housing Committee. Now, if the letter was not written by a police officer, then why hasn't a satisfactory answer been given about how the notepaper came to be in someone else's possession.

ROCK AGAINST COMMUNISM

We were also alarmed by the booking of Altmere Infants High School on March 30th by **Rock Against Communism**, a NF front organisation. This contra-

vened the Council's policy which is not to let council premises be used by fascists or racist groups.

Although both *Searchlight* and ourselves had passed details of names and addresses of local fascists to the Council, Newham NF organiser David Thomas (who had been named) was able to book the school under the guise of a 21st birthday party, indicating the lack of an adequate vetting procedure, particularly needed now because of the Front's tendency to book halls under the most bizarre names imaginable!

On March 30 hundreds of NF thugs ran around the streets, Sieg-heiling, mouthing racist abuse and frightening local residents. Considerable damage was done to property, both inside and outside the school. Children's work was defaced, NF stickers and graffiti plastered everywhere, and vomit and urine left uncleaned in corridors. At no time did the police enter the premises, claiming that they were caught unaware and were unable to interfere.

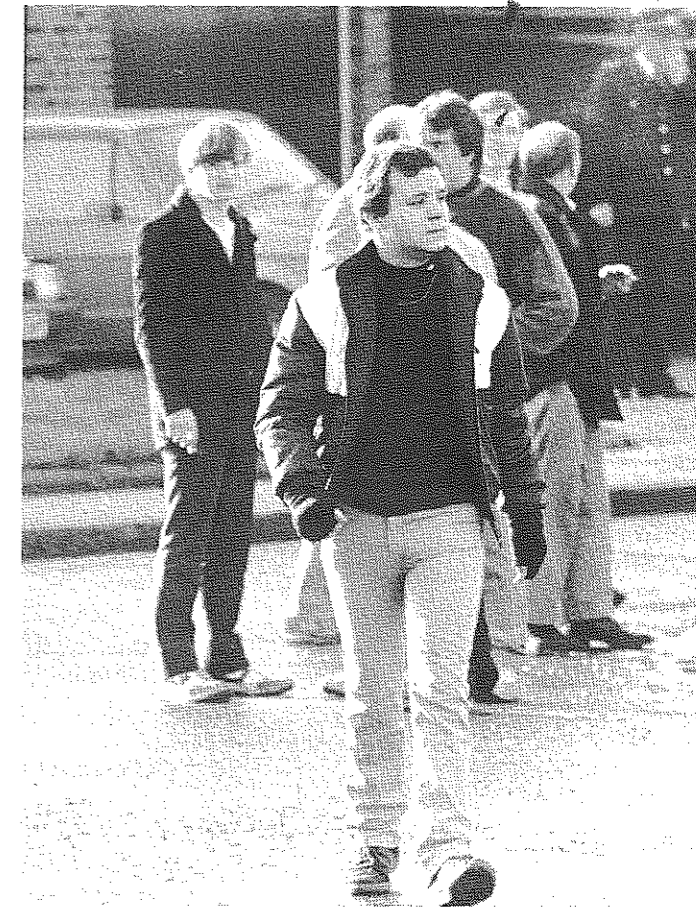
However, after the rally, 10 arrests, mainly for threatening behaviour were made. No arrests were made in respect of assaults against black people, who, according to our reports, were beaten up at random. The thugs were eventually marched by police to East Ham tube station chanting racist abuse, in direct defiance of laws against incitement to racial hatred which have always been overlooked by the police anyway.

The next Rock Against Communism social, this time in Barking, ended with participants taking over the High Street declaring it to be a 'Whites Only' zone and physically attacking black people attempting to walk through the area.

Despite this, Rock Against Communism concerts organised by Ian Stuart, leader of the NF's Instant Response Units, go on without intervention by the police or authorities. And the media, not renowned for their silence when allegations are made of illegal all-night parties organised by black people, were left untouched by the NF hooliganism that evening. This illustrates the need for the council to exercise more vigilance and promote greater awareness amongst staff, ensuring that fascists and racist groups cannot contravene their policies so easily. Through monitoring the fascist press we have noticed that the post box number used by Newham National Front is also used to publicise literature of groups promoting an overtly fascist/anti-semitic message, again without the authorities taking action.

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION FORMED

With the Front's emphasis on developing 'political units' (a pseudonym for geographical branches) in key areas like Newham, and the forthcoming council



Dave Thomas, Newham NF Organiser

elections in mid 1986 we cannot see fascist activity decreasing. On the contrary, the most alarming aspect of this is that social and economic conditions in decaying inner cities are ideal breeding grounds for fascist ideas and activity. These conditions will not disappear overnight. The NF drive towards recruitment in schools, the under-18 age group where they hope to develop their 'political soldiers', is very worrying. Unless strong action is taken now, the potential for the fascists to grow rapidly in strength cannot be under-estimated.

In the hope that fascist activity can be stopped in its tracks, NMP was actively involved with anti-fascist, anti-racist forces both in London and other parts of the country to form a new organisation — **Anti-Fascist Action**. Both locally and nationally we have worked with groups to establish AFA as a strong campaigning organisation, resisting fascism both organisationally, physically and ideologically. Over the coming years, NMP will continue to monitor the situation, maintaining the fullest possible vigilance to combat such activity and alert others — individuals and organisations — to the dangers imposed.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

	1985	1984
	£	£
INCOME		
Grant Funding:		
Greater London Council	90,398	40,260
Other Income	43	144
	<u>90,441</u>	<u>40,404</u>
EXPENDITURE		
Salaries & National Insurance	30,276	29,592
Administrative Services	2,862	2,461
Rent, Rates and Services	1,244	1,092
Repairs and Maintenance	245	853
Insurance	612	154
Telephone	1,648	987
Stationery, Postage & Office Materials	2,330	2,030
Advertising & Publicity	1,344	592
Printing Costs	3,359	2,853
Audit & Accountancy	425	288
Legal Fees	270	—
Hall Hire & Conference	207	114
Motor, Travel and Subsistence Expenses	4,784	422
Volunteers' Expenses	3,587	—
Bank Charges & Other Expenses	679	274
Equipment Purchased (note 3)	12,134	5,057
Cash Funds Stolen	480	—
	<u>66,486</u>	<u>46,769</u>
	23,955	(6,365)
LESS: PROVISION FOR SPECIFIED REVENUE FUNDING (note 4)	<u>13,000</u>	<u>(6,365)</u>
	<u>10,955</u>	<u>(6,365)</u>

Due to our need to minimise production costs, we are not able to publish supplementary information relating to these accounts in this report. However, accompanying notes are available from the NMP office on request.

	1985	1984
	£	£
CURRENT ASSETS		
Debtors and Prepayments	184	124
Cash at Bank and in Hand	30,546	4,566
	<u>30,730</u>	<u>4,690</u>
CURRENT LIABILITIES		
Creditors and Accrued Expenses	1,906	7,336
PAYE and National Insurance Liabilities	11,277	3,762
Specified Revenue Funding (note 4)	13,000	—
	<u>26,183</u>	<u>11,098</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS (LIABILITIES)	<u>4,547</u>	<u>(6,408)</u>
REPRESENTED BY:		
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE		
Deficit Brought Forward	(6,408)	(43)
Surplus (Deficit) for the Year	10,955	(6,365)
	<u>4,547</u>	<u>(6,408)</u>

SNARF

South Newham Anti Racist Anti Fascist Group, which was set up in January, has been one of the major achievements of 1985. Members of the Project had become very concerned about the level of attacks, and the isolation of the victims, in the south of the borough. Owing to the Project's location, and with only three full time workers, it has been extremely difficult to maintain the level of contact necessary with black people in south Newham. Other members of the community shared our concern, and after a series of discussions it was agreed that the best way to tackle the situation was to set up a separate organisation made up of people who live and work in south Newham and who best understand the difficulties of the area.

MEMBERSHIP

SNARF has an approximate membership of forty individuals representing organisations such as Newham Voluntary Agencies Council, Newham Churches Docklands Group, Aram House, Mayflower Centre, Newham Rights Centre, NUT, Conflict and Change Project, Area 3 Social Services, Community Links, East London Black Women's Organisation and others including some members of local tenants associations.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

SNARF has adopted a set of objectives and principles which are:

- To give moral, physical and emotional support to individuals and families being racially attacked in the area
- To record, research and monitor racial attacks in the area and how they are handled by the police, social services, housing etc
- To bring the above information to the attention of local groups and to the council and to help local groups and workers receive training on race related issues
- To support and encourage the development of self-help for people of Asian, Caribbean and African origin in the area
- To promote active participation and consultation with statutory bodies and voluntary groups to achieve the previously stated aims and objectives
- To care for the interests and representation within the statutory and voluntary sector.

WORK ALREADY CARRIED OUT BY SNARF

To date, SNARF has been responsible for setting up a weekly advice session with the complete co-operation of the headmistress and teachers at Hallsville Junior

School. The aim is to offer support to the Asian and Afro-Caribbean parents of children attending the school, but naturally advice is given to anyone needing it. A rota of different advice workers has been set up who either give direct advice or refer the people using the service to the relevant agencies who can help them.

In conjunction with this, SNARF is also in the process of arranging meetings with all the groups and agencies in the south of the borough. Already speakers have attended meetings of the *Newham Docklands forum*, the *Docklands Standing Committee of NVAC*, and the *Silvertown and North Woolwich Community groups*.

During the Summer, a successful publicity campaign was launched when a mobility bus was stationed on two occasions in separate parts of the area and all types of advice and help offered to local residents.

In addition, a support scheme is now in operation whereby isolated black families who are already known to the project as victims of attack will be visited regularly by the same individual members of SNARF, ensuring continual support. The scheme has also been fruitful in increasing the level of contact between the Project and the people suffering attacks in south Newham, as well as promoting SNARF as an organisation.

Another project is also being launched in Memorial Avenue, E15 to locate and support the, as yet, unknown victims of attack. The Monitoring Project is already working on a number of cases in this area and our suspicion is that a serious and growing problem exists. Thus it is hoped that SNARF will be able to bring further cases to the attention of NMP, the council and the police and that some action can be taken to prevent the situation deteriorating further.

FUTURE WORK

The membership of SNARF is predominantly white, and it is expected that in future SNARF will also undertake anti-racist work directed at the white community. This would involve a strenuous campaign to give talks to both the teachers and pupils of local schools, tenants' associations and other locally based organisations, the aim being to tackle racist attacks at their root by confronting the racialism of the white people living in the area.

One of SNARF's most immediate concerns, however, is to increase its membership from local groups and individuals and the group would welcome support from anyone who accepts the general aims and is prepared to work toward combatting racial attacks in south Newham.

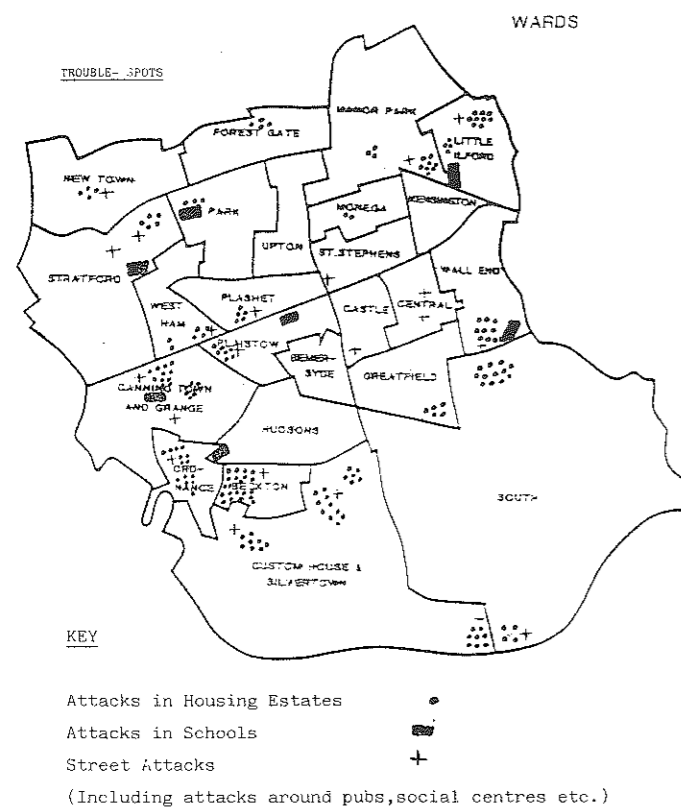
SNARF can be contacted through Chris Miller on 474 9557.

ISSUES OF CONCERN

NMP's brief is to monitor racism and racist attacks and the response of local agencies to racism. It is not just racist attacks — the crudest manifestation of racism — that concern us. More importantly the popular racist ideology that underpins such attacks needs to be challenged through consistent long-term anti-racist work and campaigning, education etc. Racism expresses itself in many fields and in various ways, all of which need to be exposed and campaigned against.

In this section we examine some of these issues and touch upon areas of concern, which we highlight with a view to informing people and initiating debate which hopefully will act as a catalyst for community action.

'TROUBLE' SPOTS



This map is by no means representative of all the racist attacks we have dealt with in 1985. What it does show, however, are the main areas where racist attacks are prevalent. The south of the borough — E16, the southern part of E6, and parts of the north, E12, especially the Warrior Square and Snowhill estates, and the southern section of E15, are of particular concern to us.

The map shows clearly that there are only two wards in the entire borough where racist attacks have been minimal. This doesn't mean there isn't a significant problem in these areas — it might be that black people are just not coming forward to complain about racial harassment.

Despite the Newham 8 Defence Campaign, and active work in the educational field, attacks around schools and colleges have increased. Langdon, Eastlea, Trinity, Little Ilford, Rokeby and West Ham College are all schools renowned for racist attacks. Racist pupils have even gone to the length of travelling from one institution to another in order to carry out their attacks.

Street attacks probably form the most worrying aspect of the 1985 picture. Although many of them have taken place in areas considered 'no-go' zones for black people, a large number have occurred in the 'heart' of the black community, especially in the northern parts of East Ham, Forest Gate and Stratford, demonstrating the confidence of the perpetrators. Attacks have been primarily focussed around local pubs, youth clubs and other social centres. It seems that black people cannot even walk freely in the supposedly 'safe' areas of the borough and this obviously poses the question — what next?

BLACK WOMEN, RACIST ATTACKS AND THE POLICE

From our work over the past five years it is clear that black women are the most vulnerable victims of racist attack. Single women living either alone or with children and women who because of their circumstances are at home all day, are particularly vulnerable.

Many women are literally prisoners in their own homes because very often when they leave their accommodation to go shopping etc, they are attacked. One example is that of Mrs A, an African woman living in E6 who was beaten up by six school girls as she returned home from doing her shopping.

Single women complain of daily harassment from white men and youths who hang outside their home for hours or bang continuously on the front door. In these cases not only are women afraid to go out but they are also frightened to stay in. Mrs A would always make sure that she left her maisonette in the morning at the same time as her husband and stayed with friends or relatives all day until she could return home at 4.30pm when her teenage children would be home from school.

LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSE

The local council, despite its policy on racial harassment, still persist in forcing black women into situations where attacks are inevitable. The council are insensitive towards cases involving black women in a number of different ways.

Mrs P and her daughter were both beaten up at different times by a white female tenant living nearby. The council sent two white male officers to visit them and discuss the incidents. The two men spent all their time trying to convince Mrs P that the assaults were a figment of her imagination (and this despite the fact that she was covered with cuts and bruises).

The council, rather than recognise that black women living alone face additional problems of isolation and fear, perpetuate the problems by forcing women to live alone in the middle of large, white council estates. A large number of the cases we have dealt with involve black women from the E16, E13 and part of the E12 area. Some of these women were moved out of other areas, and into Canning Town of all places, as a result of racial harassment.

The council, having housed black women in the Canning Town area, find they have no answers when things start to go wrong. For example:

Mrs P lives in E16 with her three young children. Not only has her eldest child been beaten up by teenagers when going to and from school, but all three children are on tranquilisers to help them sleep as a result of persistent attacks. Mrs P has called the police many times but they do not seem concerned to catch the culprits. When she asked one officer to reassure her children that the police would protect them in future, she received a flippant and abusive reply.

After her home was attacked at 3am in the morning Mrs P packed her bags and went to stay with a member of her family who also had a number of children. It was not convenient for her to stay with her family, and she could not return to E16, so she visited NMP to ask for help. The Housing Department refused to classify Mrs P as homeless and told her in no uncertain terms to return to Canning Town. Social Services were also unwilling to take any responsibility for finding Mrs P temporary accommodation. We were forced to find Mrs P and her three children accommodation in a Women's Aid refuge in another borough. Mrs P stayed there for over a month and was eventually found 'emergency' accommodation in another part of the borough. But this was only because a sympathetic female officer in the Housing Department bull-dozed her way through the usual bureaucracy to find Mrs B a new home.

POLICE RESPONSE

The police response to black women is bound by the factors which affect their response generally. Nevertheless, when these are combined with the sexual and physical abuse suffered by black women, the results can be devastating. A great number of black women complain of being too frightened to call the police, even when the harassment reaches an extreme level. They are also concerned about the level of racist and sexist abuse they, or other black women they know, have suffered as a result of asking for police intervention.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

It is essential that single black women are housed in areas where it is possible for them to obtain support from other members of the black community. In addition greater thought and planning needs to be put into the methods by which cases involving women are dealt with by all the statutory agencies. Support networks must be created within neighbourhood housing offices to ensure that isolated women are properly serviced when they complain of racial harassment, and these are especially necessary with regard to the appalling response and attitude of the police.

It should be noted that the ability of black women to organise themselves collectively — which is the only fundamental answer — will be greatly facilitated by adequate resources from the Council to meet what we feel is a pressing need.

FAMILY HARASSMENT

The majority of police harassment that we have dealt with in 1985 involved individuals. However, the usual pattern of harassment of whole families has continued.

THE KHAN FAMILY

One family who has suffered considerably is the Khans of East Ham. The Khans are well known to the Project because one of the sons was involved in the Newham 8 and two of the family were members of the Newham 7.

Over the past year, the police have intimidated and harassed members of the Khan family on numerous occasions. As a result, at the time of writing Zafar Khan faces five different charges, Parvaiz Khan two, and their fifteen-year-old brother also faces five charges. The youngest brother, who is 14, has also been singled out for attention. He was arrested under

the Firearms Act for possession of a water pistol. In addition, Parvaiz Khan was beaten up in December by a number of police officers near his home and suffered various cuts and bruises as a result.

Mr and Mrs Khan have been forced to endure insults and abuse from police officers who turn up to question their sons during the early hours of the morning for the most obscure reasons. On one occasion a van load of police officers turned up at their home claiming that they had a warrant for the arrest of Zafar Khan. Later, we found that a warrant had never been issued.

By pinning a large number of offences onto members of the Khan family it is clear that the police are doing their best to prove, despite the opinion of the courts, that the members of the Newham 7 and 8 were just a hardened 'gang of criminals'.



Mr. Khan : Symbol of courage

OTHER CASES

The experience of the Khan family parallels the treatment of many black families — the Owusus, Ramsays, Powers and the Pryces, to name but a few. In the Pryce case it was clear that by immediately arresting Gerald and questioning him about the death of his brother and charging him with affray, the police were trying to make Eustace look like an unfortunate victim, amidst a family of criminals.

Although the criminalisation of black families is nothing new, it represents an aspect of policing that

needs further confrontation. By criminalising the children of a particular family, and the parents who attempt to protect them, the police are trying to destroy the black family network which provides an essential source of support and sustenance to black people in this racist society.

POLICE PROVOKE 'TENSION'

The policing tactics being employed in parts of Forest Gate and Upton Park are of major concern to the Project. They represent the continuation of a concerted police attack on black social centres and meeting places over the years, both locally and nationally.

The policing includes:

- Flooding of parts of Forest Gate with van loads of officers who carry out 'surveillance', day and night. Afro-Caribbean youths in particular are hassled daily by such officers
- The use of district support units
- The stop and search of all black people leaving the Manor Pub in Upton Park. People using Davis' record shop, Upton Lane, have also been subject to persistent harassment
- A series of dawn raids in the Forest Gate area
- Low flying police helicopters over the Forest Gate area

We have received numerous complaints from Afro-Caribbean teenagers who say that officers patrolling the area have questioned them repeatedly for no better reason than that they are standing around waiting for friends on Woodgrange Road. Questions range from: 'Who are you waiting for' to 'Where were you born?'

Forest Gate police station is mainly responsible for the policing of both areas and senior police officers have made it clear that they will not stop using the present tactics. Indeed, with the implementation of the Police Act on January 1 '86 the situation is bound to deteriorate.

Police in the areas mentioned, have worked very hard to perpetuate the usual stereotypes of Afro-Caribbean youths as rapists, muggers and drug pushers. During October, in the aftermath of the Tottenham uprisings, numerous rumours were spread by the police concerning 'riots' in Newham. On one Saturday in particular, officers went as far as to tell shopkeepers down Green Street to shut up shop because of a possible 'riot'. Needless to say their warning was made on the basis of no evidence whatsoever.

Given all this, it is hardly surprising that we at NMP believe that the police are not content to intimidate and criminalise individual members of the black community; they are out to 'provoke' a violent response from all black people in these areas. Tensions are rising rapidly in both the Forest Gate and Upton Park areas. One wonders just how long the situation can remain as it is.

THE POLICING OF JUVENILES

There has been a long debate about the value of instant cautioning, with many professionals assuming that to caution is to let a young person off lightly. The idea is that a caution is nothing serious, and, just a quick and easy way of dealing with a juvenile (under 17 years).

However, the situation is far more complex than this. In 1985 we have seen a marked rise in the number of juveniles being cautioned for trivial matters which would otherwise not be drawn to the attention of police.

INSTANT CAUTIONING — THE BEGINNING OF A POLICE RECORD

Many young people, and their parents, have told NMP that police officers dealing with their case never even bothered to explain fully what a caution means — merely telling them that they had nothing to worry about. A great many youths do not fully understand the consequences of a caution and fearing reprisals if they refuse have falsely admitted being guilty of an offence they did not commit. They also believe that on the arrival of their parents they will be cautioned and released without further hassle.

The worrying thing is that because cautioning acts in a subtle manner, to many people not directly involved in a case, it appears just like an ordinary 'ticking off'. This means it has been difficult to draw community attention to the issue. In reality, however, instant cautioning means:

- *the beginning of a police record, and the freedom of police officers to interview and question children extensively without the presence of their parents or guardian. Twice this year the same ten-year-old child has been picked up and intensely questioned, and threatened, in the absence of his parents about very trivial matters. Youths can also be fingerprinted, and have a record placed on police computers.*
- *As cautioning is such a quick method of dealing with an incident, cases which would ordinarily be referred to the juvenile bureau*

for a thorough investigation, and some visit, have been left solely to the discretion of the inspector on duty, who may decide to caution a child immediately, or as soon as his/her parents arrive.

- *The speed of the instant cautioning process also gives encouragement to police officers to arrest more juveniles on the streets, and by so doing draws in youths who would usually have been kept out of the juvenile justice system.*

CONCLUSION

In one case we dealt with, a police officer used the opportunity of having a very frightened young person in a cell without his parents, to interrogate him about the most unusual personal details, like which hospital he was born in, etc.

It should be noted that cautions are always cited in the juvenile court alongside (although separate from) previous convictions and they are taken into account when sentencing. To many magistrates the citing of a caution causes as much bias as having served a previous prison sentence and this is reflected in juveniles receiving harsher convictions for relatively minor offences.

POLICE CONSULTATIVE GROUPS

The formation of a police consultative group in Newham continues to be an area of concern. The present position of Newham Council is that they will co-operate with such a group on a one-year trial-basis and only if the community representatives on it are elected.

WHY WE OPPOSE CONSULTATION

During 1984, the Project carried out a campaign, outlining the politics of consultation, and why we are opposed to the formation of a Consultative Group. Our arguments against these groups remain the same:

- a. We feel that such structures, without real power, (and accountable to no-one) cannot produce any meaningful changes in police methods and practices — rather, such a structure would act as a mere 'talkshop'. The experience of other boroughs shows that the police don't take these structures seriously; they take decisions autonomously, which are then presented to the committee for rubberstamping. In fact, consultative groups have ended up legitimising police operations which don't have the consent of the local community.

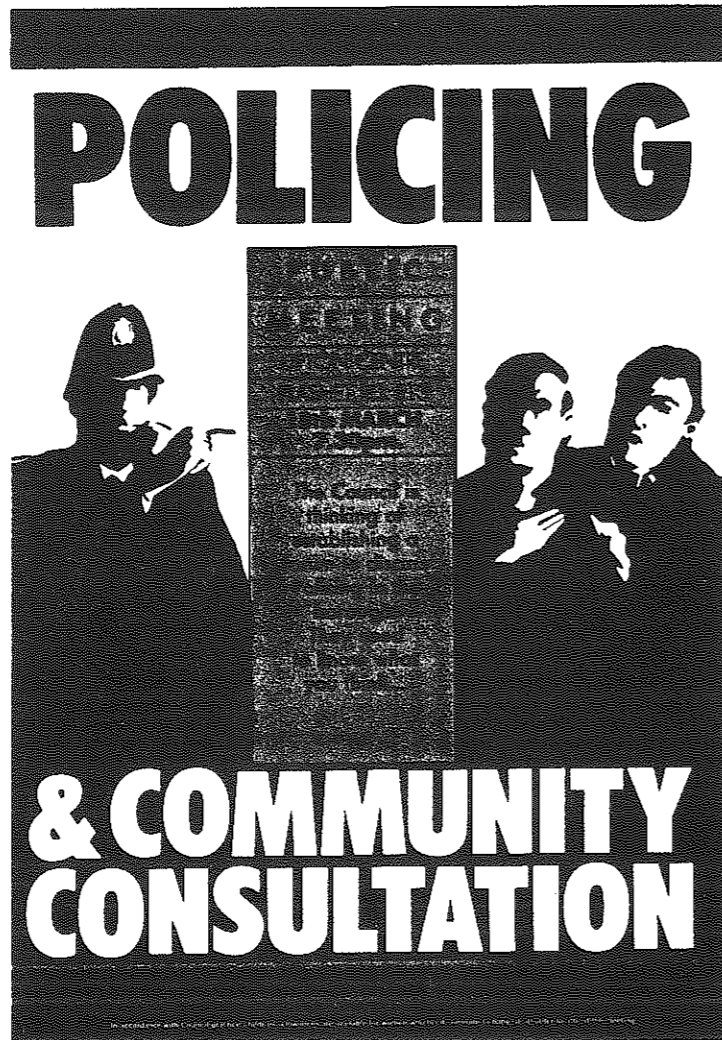
- b. A Consultative Group will undermine the campaign for police accountability to local people. Consultation also conflicts with the campaign for democratic accountability, which we fully support. The borough police sub-committee is the proper forum for local policing issues to be discussed, and there is absolutely no reason why the police cannot come to the Council's meetings.
- c. Such a committee will make it easier for the police to introduce dubious and questionable new practices. It can be manipulated by police for their own public relations' advantage.

As a community group, monitoring racist attacks, and speaking from the black experience of policing, we see the consultative group as a cosmetic exercise. There is no onus on the police to respond vigorously to the wishes of the committee. As far as racist attacks goes, the police already know the problem too well, and no special forum is needed to talk about these attacks. As we have commented in previous Annual Reports, for the last 30 years, black people have been talking to the police about racism. If all the evidence and reports that have accumulated over this time fails to shake them into doing something, then nothing will. What is needed now is *action*, and not just another round table talkshop which will do nothing to solve racist attacks and which can be used to whitewash police inaction still further.

THE POSITION OF NEWHAM COUNCIL

Newham Council is at present still carrying out its consultation exercise. Although a majority of groups replied in favour (some with strong reservations) of such a group, there was a strong minority against. We believe that if the 'leadership' of many of these approving groups (especially black organisations) had actually consulted their membership, explaining the issues, then there might have been a very different result. We welcome the council's decision to have a series of meetings on consultation around the borough, but are critical of the way it has been organised, with select audiences, (mainly white and middle-aged elderly) being present. No literature has been printed in any of the languages of the local black community; nor have any attempts been made to consult them on their terms. Hopefully, this situation will be rectified. A meeting is to be held in early 1986 at a local youth centre used mainly by black youth. This should not be a one-off exercise.

Consultation should be carried out with people who are at the sharp edge of police harassment.



CONSULTATION - ON A TRIAL BASIS ONLY

Although Newham Council's position is that they will only participate in a consultative group on a one-year trial-basis only, with elections for community representatives, we still feel that a number of questions remain unanswered. For instance, what criterion will be adopted to decide whether the group has been effective in this trial period. Council representatives have said that if a major incident takes place, and the consultative committee were not happy with the police response, they would withdraw. But what, for the council, would constitute a 'major incident'? The argument still remains about the powerlessness of the group - the police will under no circumstances be under any obligation to accept any recommendations a consultative committee might wish to make.

As long as incidents like the Newham 7, the Pryce case and other cases of police harassment continue to take place, we do not feel able to participate in such a group. Further, we have every reason to believe that groups who do decide to participate in the scheme, will end up legitimating police operations and be discredited in the eyes of the local black community.

RACISM IN NEWHAM'S LIBRARIES

Compared to physical racist attacks, the issue of racism in the library service may seem pretty trivial. However, the racist views of young white people are often fashioned by the kinds of chauvinistic, xenophobic and patronising materials sometimes stocked in our libraries.

NEWHAM LIBRARY REFUSES TO REMOVE RACIST BOOK

In December 1984, a book containing a blatantly racist poem (which referred to a 'Paki' and other charming Asian stereotypes) was, after local community pressure,

removed from the childrens section of the local library, only to be put in a reference section elsewhere in the library service. The library service argued that to remove the book altogether was censorship; and that they only removed 'obscene' books.

Anti-racism in libraries has up to now meant a surge of multi-cultural activities, 'black books for black people' and the usual tokenistic attempts at representing black culture. Anti-racism, however, represents a far more fundamental challenge to the institutional racism of society which governs and controls black peoples lives.

It would seem a small step, to get a library in a black community where racist attacks are a daily reality to remove an offensive and obscene (obscene to black people that is) publication. However it was a step that was far too challenging for the Library service, who once again have excelled themselves in failing to make a clear and positive decision to overcome racism.

Is this racism?

Library Association Record, Letters, April 85

Racism and children's books

I WAS extremely disturbed to read in the *Newham Recorder* of 20 December 1984 that a compilation of children's poetry is currently stocked in the junior library which contains at least one highly offensive poem focusing on an Asian child. Apparently "top children's poet" Mick Gower thinks nothing rhymes so well with "Paki" as . . . "Paki".

What is alarming is that the Chief Librarian (Edward May) of a borough which has a large Asian community, is a focus of NF and other racist activity, and has a shocking incidence of racist attacks, apparently finds nothing "inflammatory" in either the tone of the poem, its use of stereotypes or its abusive language. To remove the book, it is claimed, would be censorship—though Mr May does draw the line at obscenity. That racism is an obscenity does not seem to have occurred to him—nor apparently the librarian's duty to hearken to the concerns of the local community. Librarians have "a right to put the information before the public". Yes, but that is not a right to disseminate stereotypes, prejudice and falsehood—to purvey untruth. Such a practice is even more culpable when it is aimed at young children—or does Mr May insist on the right of all 8-year-olds to the full range of adult information and literature?

The book's publishers, Collins, are said to have remarked that they have no plans to reprint though the poem would stand if they did. Hardly surprising—after all Chatto are still getting away with keeping *Little Black Sambo* in print.

When are we, as librarians, going to return ourselves to the values that gave the impetus to the public library services, as working-class educational institutions, in the first place?

Hazel Waters
Deputy Librarian
Institute of Race Relations

Note: part of the poem "Alpesh" is reproduced below.
Come on now tell me quick Paki
Why they always pick on you
It's not because you're thick Paki
It's not because you're new
And it's not because you're small Paki
There's lots weaker than you.
You must have some idea Paki
Why they put you through it
It's always you Paki
What is it makes them do it
It's not because they're jealous Paki
We've all seen you in your shop
Working for your old man Paki
Working till you drop.

Edward May replies: It seems to me that there is no racially offensive intent in the poem, quite the contrary, in fact. Neither is it intended for eight-year-olds. However, I accept that the poem could easily be misunderstood by children and so it is only stocked in the schools section, as I think, and the local Race Relations Association agrees with me, that the poem could provide a useful basis for classroom discussion. I understand that Collins are reprinting the book without this particular poem.

With regard to the general implications of Ms Waters' letter, I am interested that in her final paragraph she advocates a return to Victorian values, in which case I should remind her that one of them is free access, within the law, to information of all types, or, to put it the way the Library Association did, as long ago as 1963, ". . . if the publication of such matter has not incurred penalties under the law it should not be excluded from libraries on any moral, political, religious or racial grounds alone . . ."

One final question—why do members of the New Censorship Movement always react in such a stereotyped manner, never allowing facts to get in the way of argument? If Ms Waters knew anything about the Newham Library Service she would know that we are keen to hearken, as she puts it, to the needs and concerns of all the communities who live in Newham. For example, we have an effective Ethnic Minorities Service, stocking books in the seven Indian languages spoken here, ie Urdu, Gujarati, Tamil, Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam and Punjabi. We are steadily improving our stock relating to the countries of origin and the cultures of the various communities resident here. Another Community Librarian, who will have special responsibility for Afro-Caribbean needs, should be starting work shortly, and so on and so on.

If Ms Waters doubts our commitment then I suggest she pays us a visit, sometime. I guarantee her safe conduct!

63

MY attention was recently drawn to the letters in the February issue of the *Record* (p 63) concerning racism and Newham Public Libraries. As someone from Newham's black community, who also works full time at a community project in the borough, I was particularly interested in the debate over the way in which Newham's library service has responded to the concerns of Newham's black community.

Miss Waters is absolutely right to make the connections between racism in the books children read, and what happens on the streets to black children, and their families (our project dealt with 93 cases of racist attack in 1984 alone—and this, it should be stressed, is only the tip of the iceberg. Many black families suffer from continuous harassment and provocation, spanning a lifetime, which ranges from verbal abuse and serious physical assault on the street, to violent attack on the home.)

But I was more than appalled to see the reply from the Chief Librarian. Since when has pure racial stereotyping (typified by this poem—which all too often results in the kind of attacks I described—provided a "useful basis for classroom discussion" as Mr May claims? This is the height of social irresponsibility, parading as free speech. But Asians in Newham do not even have the freedom to walk the streets without abuse, or live quietly at home without the threat of violence.

Mr May seems unable to see that providing more and more books in Asian languages is not the same thing as confronting racism—just as providing more information to white people on "our 'countries of origin' and 'cultures' does not of itself tackle the ingrained attitudes of white racial superiority, or the cultural values of a racist society. Mr May claims he is keen to hearken to the concerns of all the people of Newham. But it is racism as a crucial aspect of British society that is one of the foremost concerns of all black communities in Britain today. Mr May, like many in similar positions of authority, is, despite his protestations, closing his ears to that most fundamental concern.

Unmesh Desai
Newham Monitoring Project

We see this as a classic example of institutional racism that black people have to contend with every day of their life. Although the attention of most people is focused when it comes to racial harassment, on the housing, education and social services department, we strongly feel that all sections of the council should develop policies which challenge racist ideology and practices and meets the needs of black people.

THE NEW RACISM

The *Daily Mail* (8.10.85) sums up what 1985 has meant for the black community in Britain:

'they must expect the fascist street agitators to call even more boldly and with louder approval for them to "go back from whence they came".'

1986 is obviously going to be a year of increasing fascist and racist attacks and police harassment. And

1985-The assault on Anti-Racism

1985 was the year of a full-scale assault against anti-racism. Press, politicians and police alike have singled out anti-racism for an attack which has culminated in the revelation that racism is something black people inflict on white. Black aggressors practise racism against their white victims, we are told, in Brixton and in Tottenham and in Bradford's classrooms. Labour-led local authorities, where jobs and funds are allocated on the basis of 'reverse discrimination', are at the forefront of a campaign to 'brainwash' and 'gag' whites in the name of 'fighting racism'.

The media show the way

In our review of 1984 we showed how the press led the way in re-defining racism and anti-racism. Papers such as the *Daily Mail* were beginning to spread the message that, instead of fighting racism, white people should fight against anti-racism in an attempt to safeguard their jobs, schools and neighbourhoods — indeed their whole way of life and national identity. Throughout 1985, anti-racists were deemed by the press as 'indoctrinators' of the 'new generation', the 'real racists' who 'persecute' 'fascism' and aim at the overturning of everything patriotic Britons hold dear. Their allies (the 'black racists') were told that if they did not obey the laws of this land, "they must expect the fascist street agitators to call even more boldly and with louder approval for them to go back whence they came" (*Daily Mail* 8.10.85). The *Sun* in a full page leader spoke of "the high price of telling the truth... We have tyranny and racism now... black racism" (24.10.85).

Education and 'indoctrination'

More than four years ago, after the 1981 uprisings, *The Times* drew attention to the way pressure groups were at work in the classroom, peddling "black hatred of white society" in the guise of anti-racism: it was this, and not racism and unemployment, which lay behind the burning of Brixton (10.7.81). By 1985, 'indoctrination' in schools had become an all-purpose explanation for a multitude of in-mercy problems. Black children had, according to the press, been taught to hate the police and white society, while white children had been indoctrinated to despise their own history and heritage, and forced to see racism where none existed. The culprits were the 'progressive groups', left-wing teachers, anti-racist zealots, multicultural co-ordinators and permissive parents.

The Honeyford affair

Throughout the long-running Honeyford affair, it has been multicultural education — along with multicultural education — which has been on trial. Honeyford and the press depicted white children in Drummond Middle School to be at a 'disadvantage' simply because they are in the minority, and also described them as 'victims' of a 'racist' intolerance. The 'aggressors' were the Bradford parents who sought to have Honeyford removed, the anti-racists who gave them support, and the multiculturalists who thought that 'white' culture should be just one of several in the classroom.

Predictably enough, the press used this dispute to warn 'indigenous' inhabitants of the threat posed to their history, traditions and cherished values not only by the actions of the anti-racists, but by the very idea of multiculturalism.

But Honeyford did not just have the press for allies. Margaret Thatcher made her preferences clear in October when Honeyford was among a select group of educationalists invited to 10 Downing Street to discuss 'political pressure' in schools — a subject which the right has been actively pursuing. Early in the year, a Tory working party circulated a discussion paper about 'covert' indoctrination and the work of 'political' extremists in schools. And one of the many 'new right' pamphlets to be published during the year was *Education and Indoctrination* by *Suffolk Review* editor Roger Scruton (and others), which attacked, among other things, anti-racist education and recommended legislation be brought in by the government.

Policing and racial violence

In terms of policing, the attack on anti-racism cannot be separated from the military style of policing that has emerged in black inner-city areas and the whole way in which the police moved away from accountability to the public.

A police force intent on arming itself against the public — with a whole arsenal of weapons ranging from plastic bullets to the forthcoming Public Order Bill — cannot be accountable to the community.

But there are other ways that the police changed to sidestep allegations of racism and moved away from accountability too. Consultative Committees have been set up all over the country. In the majority of cases, black communities refused to have anything to do with them, arguing that they would be used to gather information and as a legitimating exercise. To black and anti-racist critics, police argued that their schemes were good for race relations and that those who did not co-operate were simply trouble-makers.

where 'black racism' becomes a prime focus for the press, anti-racist organisations such as ourselves will be accused of inciting hatred, fuelling 'black racism' and inevitably 'starting riots'.

The media has recently begun to hurl the term 'black racism' at any individual in the black community who is prepared to speak out and fight against racism. The virulent attack in the papers on Bernie Grant is a case in point. The path has been prepared by the press (a classic example being the *Newham Recorder*) for an attack on all anti-racist organisations and attempts to criminalise their activities and isolate them politically from liberal opinion which finds the water of anti-racism too 'hot', and this will no doubt continue into 1986.

In Newham, the clearest indication of the above came when the council recently incorporated 'black racism' into their policy of racial harassment on housing estates (see section on Housing and Racism). This is no doubt due to the mounting racism whipped up by the state, and the media, which has sent local councils into a panic over the support of the white working class. Local councils are bound to become less vocal in their support of organisations like ourselves and we will be an electoral liability to be dumped at the first convenient opportunity.

During the year it also became clear that the Special Branch was keeping an eye on anti-racist activities. A secret report obtained by a Labour MP disclosed that the Special Branch had investigated the activities of Bradford Community Relations Council and Bradford Asian Youth Movement.

Self defence = gang warfare

Similar surveillance, along with new targeting methods, has been used against anti-racists who protect their community from racism. During the Newham 7 trial, an Old Bailey jury heard how police targeted Asian youths, keeping a note on their activities and, in particular, what they planned to do about racist attacks. Throughout 1985, the process by which self-defence has been equated with gang warfare continued. During the Newham 7 trial, seven Asian youths found themselves in the dock alongside three white youths, whereas in earlier cases white and black youths had been tried separately.

Law and order

But it was at the Party's annual conference that the Tories' attack on anti-racism was at its most virulent. Party chairman Norman Tebbit set the tone when he attacked "the divisive racism preached by the black power merchants of the extreme left" which was "as objectionable and destructive as that preached by the white racists of the National Front". Douglas Hurd continued by describing the recent "riot" as acts whose roots lay in "greed and the excitement of violence". Council leaders Ted Knight and Bernie Grant were, he said, "just as surely as the National Front... the high priests of race

conflict" — the only difference being that council leaders were in a position to "do much greater harm". Then, the Prime Minister herself wove these themes into an elaborate and wide-ranging attack on her political opponents, calling for a people's crusade against urban violence. Linking together the miners, urban rioters, critics of the police and those who try to influence school curricula, Mrs Thatcher repeated the claim made in her 1984 'enemy within' speech — that the Conservative Party now had a unique responsibility, "to conserve the rule of law itself". In the process, Thatcher redefined the limits of acceptable political activity, promising severe action against those who dare to transgress. The Queen's Speech in November promised new powers for police to control marches and other forms of popular protest, measures to reduce local authority influence on school governing bodies and to introduce compulsory appraisal of teacher performance, and further restrictions on local authority autonomy, particularly to prevent the publication of 'political' material, including, presumably, anti-racist material.

In the long run, even more important than this new legislation, could be the mobilisation of public opinion against those defined as the 'enemies within'. The 'natural authority' of the family, school, church, police and 'responsible' community and civic leadership have all been stressed by Thatcher. But it was left to Norman Tebbit in his Disraeli lecture onslaught against the 'permissive society', to stress that this would not happen on its own. He argued that in the 1980s "we shall see the

effects of a revolution against the valueless values of the Permissive Society", but he made it clear that "at the front of that campaign for a return to the traditional values of decency and order will be the Conservative Party".

Assimilation the monetarist way

Behind this onslaught of 'new right' philosophy lies some very basic assumptions, which, when unravelled, look little different from the racist outcries of 1981 and 1984. Britain. The first assumption is that people of a different culture constitute a threat to the rest of us. But the 'threat' goes unexplained as does the 'us'. For the second assumption is that Britain is culturally homogeneous and that we all agree on basic religion, customs and attitudes and that we all hold such things to be dear.

To counter-attack as multi-culturalists are wont to do, with arguments about the enrichment other ethnic groups bring to our culture, is to miss two essential points of the 'new right' argument. The 'new right' asserts that it is natural and correct for any country to fight to retain its national identity and heritage. And if pushed to explain why the British did not do as the Romans did when it enslaved half the globe and exported and imposed its culture, the answer is quite simply that Britain's culture is superior, more advanced and sophisticated.

The idea of integration, of 'cultural diversity', with equal opportunities in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance, advanced in the mid-1960s to head off black power demands, has been finally thrown out. The problem is not the racism of white society or even the prejudice of white individuals, but lies within blacks themselves — within their own cultures. Just as the 1950s 'immigrants' were told to assimilate, now they are being told, in no uncertain terms, that it is on that basis alone that they will be tolerated. But this time they are being told to assimilate in both class and cultural terms. The West Indian youths who don't assimilate and see themselves as black are regarded as a class apart. The Asians who assimilate in their class but not culturally are regarded as a culture apart.

Those few blacks who 'make it' economically whilst forsaking any vestige of their culture — the Colonel Saroops, the Eddie Shabs, the Pereira family saved from deportation by the *Daily Mail*, the black woman orator ('black, British and Conservative') who brought the Tory Party Conference to its feet — cease to be a threat. And the majority — the pupils at Drummond Middle School in Bradford or the dozens of Broadwater Farm for instance — are, by invoking culturalist arguments, both doomed and blamed at one and the same time.

Seeds of resistance

The developments of 1985 show that a concerted resistance is needed to the 'New Right's' attempt to redefine racism. The seeds of such resistance have already been sown — in the anti-deportation campaigns, in the continued campaign by Bradford parents and pupils against headteacher Ray Honeyford, in the action of students at Waltham Forest College, in the campaign by east London teachers and pupils against racial harassment in schools, in the struggles for self-defence, in the newly-formed Working Group against *Daily Mail* racism, and, most importantly, in the march of thousands of young black people against police harassment and the shooting

OUTREACH AND DEVELOPMENT WORK

The Newham Monitoring Project puts a heavy emphasis on outreach and development work for a number of reasons:

a. In the Project's initial stages, we found it necessary to make local people aware of our existence, and the fact that we were a group that would provide them with help and would campaign vigorously to make institutions responsive to their plight. This meant identifying with local people's needs, views and demands, and ensuring that our work was guided by their priorities.

b. It was, and still remains the case that a large majority of people (especially young people) are unaware of their civil rights. It is only by going out to schools, and youth clubs, that we can make people aware of their rights vis-a-vis racial harassment and racist policing. More importantly, we must make local people feel that something can be done when infringements to their rights occur.

c. In our early years (if not more so now) when we were subject to hostility and bias from the media, and an establishment that labels us as 'extremists' and 'troublemakers', our outreach work was the only way of countering such attacks.

d. It is only by maintaining and extending our community links, and involving more people and organisations in our work, that we will strengthen our community base and be more effective in terms of combatting racism and racial harassment. At the end of the day, our strength comes from the community, and the people whose experiences we seek to articulate. NMP is nothing if it does not get support from these people.

By going out to give talks, initiating and encouraging debate around racism and the local police force, our objective has been to learn from other people's experiences, draw more people into our work, whilst at the same time never allowing this to substitute for genuine community action and self-organisation.

It is on the basis of this work — and on the hundreds of cases we have handled over the past five years, our links with local groups, not to mention the many ordinary people unrepresented by any group — that we have established an unchallengeable reputation, the credibility of NMP can never be seriously doubted.

We have been particularly encouraged by the growing number of people, who have initially come to us for help, and who have ended up actually helping us with the running of the Project on a day-to-day basis. It is also very gratifying to note that an increasing number of local people have heard about us, in schools, youth clubs, and on the streets. Quite often people have come to us for help because someone who has been racially attacked or had problems with the police is approached by a neighbour or passer-by and told to ring the Project.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND THE AGM

Nearly 150 people attended the Annual General Meeting of the Project held on 17.2.85 at the Trinity Community Centre. The (then) chair of the Housing Committee, Councillor Fred Jones, talked about the Housing Department's racial harassment strategies. Margaret Wilson from the Welbeck Miners' Wives Support Group, along with other representatives from the NUM, talked about the miners' experience of policing, and Parvais Khan from the Newham 7 Defence Campaign stressed the importance of the case, and the campaign, and appealed for community support. Apart from attracting new people to the Project, the meeting enabled us to elect a broad-based Management Committee, which set the tone and direction of NMP over 1985. The main emphasis of the meeting was how best to respond to racial harassment in the south of the borough, and it was agreed that the Project would prioritise work in E.16, concentrating more resources there to deal with what has become a localised problem. Support was expressed for the Council's stand on evicting the McDonnells, and in particular condemning the intimidatory campaign against Cllr Jones (see section on Racism — the Fascist Connection). The AGM also resolved to give full support to the Newham 7 campaign and other anti-racist initiatives in E.16.



NMP AGM 1985

RACIAL HARASSMENT MEETING

The other major meeting organised by the Project was a half-day working conference in March '85, on 'Racial Harassment in Newham and the Fightback'. The conference focused on racial harassment (on housing estates, around schools, and on the streets), looked at strategies, as well as the role of community

EAST LONDON COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

As arson attacks spread across East London during the summer of 1985, we also become involved, as a matter of priority, and in a supportive manner, with community campaigns and organisations in Tower Hamlets, (principally CAPA and the Bangladeshi Welfare Association), Waltham Forest (Campaign Against Racist Attacks and the Pakistan Welfare Society) and Redbridge (Joint Campaign Committee Against Racist Attacks).

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

Although we organised a number of training sessions for emergency service volunteers, one aspect of our work which we were disappointed with was the failure to organise regular quarterly meetings of Project affiliates so as to involve the maximum amount of people in our work. We were also disappointed that we failed to produce a regular *Newham Monitor*, due mainly to pressure of case and campaigning work. However, we did manage through the use of our emergency service literature, and literature about specific issues (eg Newham 7, the Public Order proposals and the Police Act), and regular mailings to all affiliated groups and supporters, to maintain an effective communications medium with local people.

In this way, we endeavour to keep an up-to-date picture of racist attacks and police harassment and disseminate information to local groups and other interested agencies. Our 1984 Annual Report was distributed to over 2,000 groups and individuals, and we now find that the demand for it comes from groups all over the country, researchers and academic institutions, race relations organisations, and even groups in other parts of the world!

NEW EXHIBITION ON HOW RACISM CAME TO NEWHAM

Apart from emergency service literature and the Annual Report, our other main resources have been the Project's 22-panel exhibition *How Racism came to Newham* which looks at the development and growth of racism in Newham, the history of the local black community going back to 1900, and more importantly what can be done in terms of community organisation to defeat racism. The exhibition, along with tapes and recordings of anti-racist programmes, many pertaining to NMP's work, has already been extensively used by local organisations, schools and youth clubs. Our other main resource has been a dossier of recommendations and strategies on combatting racial harassment.

DOCUMENTARY WORK

We also spent a considerable amount of time working with the BBC *Open Space* programme to produce a half hour documentary entitled, *The Dividing Line*. The Newham 8 Defence Campaign has also produced a documentary, looking at the issues arising from the Newham 8/Newham 7 campaigns, which we helped work on. Both programmes will be screened on national television channels in 1986, and will be used by us in our outreach and educational work. We have also started work on a short feature documentary about NMP, its history and work, which we hope to show as widely as possible. Proposals on a documentary about the Public Order Bill and the ideology behind it, have also been drawn up.

RESOURCES FOR 1986

We have worked with the BBC Community Education Unit on a pamphlet to be completed in January 1986, to accompany the *Open Space* film and our exhibition, and which concentrates on the history of racism in Newham, the growth of community inspired opposition, and ways and means of combatting racist activity, as well as the role of the NMP.

It must be stressed here that a great proportion of our time and energies have been spent in developing and completing these various projects, (along with other projects outlined in the section on *NMP: Past and Present*), but we hope that they will eventually form the basis of a fully-fledged and comprehensive anti-racist resource centre, and will be the resources from which we will draw in our outreach work in 1986.

THE DIVIDING LINE



Newham Monitoring Project's
Open Space Film

mobilisation, to overcome racism. Various recommendations put forward by the Project and speakers (Gareth Pierce, solicitor, Satnam Singh and Ilona Aronovsky, local school teachers, and Vernon Clarke from the London Tenants Organisation) were discussed. The recommendations now form part of a dossier to be used as a campaigning and information tool. Additionally, the Project also helped build support for the rallies organised by the Newham Seven Defence Campaign and the Justice for Pryce Campaign.

WORKING
CONFERENCE

RACIAL ATTACKS IN NEWHAM AND THE FIGHTBACK

Saturday 23rd March '85

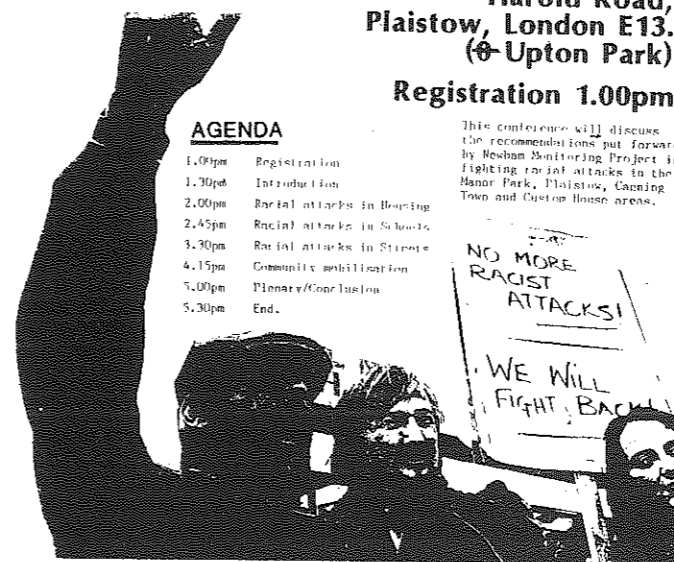
Harold Road Centre
Harold Road,
Plaistow, London E13.
(Upton Park)

Registration 1.00pm

AGENDA

- 1.00pm Registration
- 1.30pm Introduction
- 2.00pm Racial attacks in Housing
- 2.45pm Racial attacks in Schools
- 3.30pm Racial attacks in Streets
- 4.15pm Community mobilisation
- 5.00pm Plenary/Conclusion
- 5.30pm End.

This conference will discuss the recommendations put forward by Newham Monitoring Project in fighting racial attacks in the Manor Park, Plaistow, Canning Town and Custom House areas.



NMP NEWHAM
MONITORING
PROJECT
285 Romford Road, Forest Gate, London E7. Tele: 555 8151

Funded by
Newham Council
Anti-Racist year

INVITATIONS TO SPEAK

Yet again, the Project has been heavily involved in giving talks to various local and national community groups/voluntary and statutory institutions. We receive a large number of invitations, and welcome the opportunity to present our views, and ensure that information about our work gets out to as many people as possible. We were particularly glad to speak to children at a number of schools, but especially schools in the south of the borough, about the high level of racist attacks in E.16.

Over 1985 we have visited local youth clubs, many of the local centres for the unemployed, NUT meetings (including the borough NUT meetings), social services meetings, local Labour Party wards, local NALGO 'shops', and the executive meetings of local black organisations.

In addition, a considerable amount of our time is taken up with assisting students and researchers (both individuals and from organisations).

GREATER EMPHASIS ON EDUCATIONAL WORK

During the year the Project's workers gave talks on the issues arising from the Newham 7 and the Pryce cases to numerous anti-racist and black organisations, students groups, trade union branches and political organisations around the country.

Although the educational aspect of our work is extremely time consuming, we intend to place a greater emphasis on it in future, because of its enormous potential to draw more people into anti-racist activity. We were extremely pleased with the response of a talk we gave to staff involved with training from the South East District Housing Office, whose patch covers some of the worst-affected areas of racial harassment in the borough.

SUPPORT FOR LOCAL AND NATIONAL CONFERENCES

The Project also gave substantial support to several local and national anti-racist conferences, ranging from a Conference on the legal responses to racist attacks (held jointly by the Society of Black Lawyers and the Haldane Society) to conferences on *Racism and Elderly Asians* (hosted by Eastwards Trust), *Racism and Asian Youths* (held by a local youth club) and a major rally on apartheid (organised by Newham Anti-Apartheid Group). We also participated in GLC Conferences on *Women and Policing*, *Racist Attacks and the Community Fightback*, and *Racism and Housing* as well as a major meeting in November 1985 on *Racism in the Media*. We were also asked to address conferences on the new Public Order proposals organised by CROWD (Campaign for the Right to Organise and the Withdrawal of Dissent), and the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, as well as one on *Policing and New Technology*.

FIGHTING RACISM ACROSS EUROPE

One initiative we were involved in and would specifically like to mention was a major conference to form a campaigning network of European anti-fascists held in Belgium in September 1985. We were able to speak on the situation vis-a-vis racism and fascism in England. Speakers at the Conference warned us of the violent wave of racism and fascism sweeping across Europe. We also gave evidence to the European Commission for Inquiry into Racism and Fascism, which presented its final report towards the end of 1985, and painted an equally stark picture of the rise in racism.

WORK WITH OTHER GROUPS

IN THE BOROUGH

In addition to mailing all affiliates and emergency service volunteers, all statutory organisations concerned with racism and racial harassment regularly receive our literature, as do local advice agencies, black community groups and political organisations. NMP now works closely with about ten local solicitors, and we are also members of the local Legal Action Group.

Productive working links have been forged with a lot of local groups, in particular the Newham North West and Newham North East Labour party branches, Newham Women's Group, Eastwards Trust, NISAS, Indian Workers Association, Gujarat Welfare Newham NALGO and school NUT groups. NMP also has a close relationship with many individuals working in other public services in the borough, especially community and social workers, teachers, housing and education staff. We sit (as co-opted members) on the Council's Police Sub-Committee and the Council Working Party on Anti-Racist Education. Co-operative links also exist with the Race Relations Unit and the Community Relations Sub-Committee. A particularly close working relationship has been formed with the newly-organised South Newham Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Committee. We have also benefitted from help and advice from Newham Voluntary Agencies Council.

NMP has also received help and case referrals from local centres for the unemployed, advice agencies and organisations of black youth, such as Stardust Youth Club. During the course of the year, we have had close liaison with the Newham Asian Teachers Association and other teachers involved in the provision of anti-racist education.

OUTSIDE NEWHAM

NMP has always had a close and mutually beneficial working relationship with the GLC Police Committee Support Unit and the Ethnic Minorities Unit, both of which have consistently provided us with help, advice and support. Apart from contributing articles and information to *Policing London*, we keep the GLC informed of developments vis-a-vis racial attacks and police harassment in Newham. In turn, they act as a vital source of information, should the need arise. We also benefit from a regular newspaper-cuttings bulletin sent out by the Police Committee Support Unit.

We would like to thank the staff of both units (and especially the officer we liaise with at the Police Committee Support Unit) who have always been extremely helpful to us. During this, abolition year, looking back we feel that the Police Unit has managed to make policing a real issue in London, ensuring it is debated across a wide cross-section of the political spectrum and beyond the narrow confines of the academic world.

We also have an excellent relationship with *Searchlight* and would urge our supporters, and readers of this report, to subscribe to a magazine which provides anti-racists everywhere with a first-hand, monthly in-depth account of racist and fascist activity across the country. Over the last year, we in Newham have been greatly aided by the sterling work of *Searchlight*, not just in exposing the NF's involvement in the anti-Newham Council campaign over the McDonnell eviction (in which we were proud to play a small part) but in exposing other unsavoury fascist activities in the borough.

We also maintain very close links with the newly-formed Anti-Fascist Action, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism and the Institute of Race Relations.

Working links exist with All-London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism, African Refugee Housing Action Group, Campaign Against Police Repression and other monitoring groups, especially the Community Alliance for Police Accountability (Tower Hamlets) and the Greenwich Action Campaign Against Racist Attacks. We have also forged links with ad-hoc, anti-racist campaigns in London and around the country (e.g., the Hackney Anti-Deportation Campaign, Campaign Against Racism in Schools, Tower Hamlets, etc.).

Due to the common nature of our work, we hope to strengthen our links with East and South-East London anti-racist groups. Apart from mounting joint campaigns whenever possible, we hope that these contacts will provide a forum whereby we learn from each other's experiences, and a means of strengthening our capacities to fight the severe problems that face us across East London. Such collaboration, with the funding squeeze which is bound to occur over the coming years, is vitally necessary as we strive to build a broad-based, mass anti-racist campaigning movement, respected in the community, and with the potential to cut across municipal boundaries.

NMP & THE MEDIA

NMP has continued to receive extensive coverage in the media over 1985 and a considerable amount of our time is spent providing information and research material to press, television and radio.

A spate of racist attacks over the summer brought a deluge of press interest and we find that along with CAPA in Tower Hamlets we have become the media's first port of call. Throughout the year, NMP was reported in all the major newspapers, including *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Observer*, *Sunday Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*. Feature articles on the Newham 7 case and racism and the police appeared in several national newspapers and ranged from the analytical and constructive (see *The Guardian* 17.7.85) to crude attempts to justify the police and gloss over their racism. The *Daily Mail*, for instance, in an article which spanned an entire page, spoke of a revolutionary police method to tackle racial harassment pioneered in Newham. In reality this turned out to be nothing more than a supposedly improved method of recording racial statistics. Only four lines of the entire article was devoted to NMP's critique of the police — hardly a 'balanced' report by any criteria — and was in effect nothing more than a straightforward propaganda piece no doubt fed straight to the paper from Scotland Yard's press office.

PRESS COVERAGE ON NMP

NMP was also reported in *City Limits*, *Time Out*, most of the alternative press and the black press (*Daily Jang*, *Asian Times*, *Caribbean Times*, *Voice* and *New Life*). We have also been mentioned in *Searchlight*, *Policing London* and bulletins of local Labour parties, trade unions and black groups. The overseas press has also contacted us, with articles appearing in the Indian and Far Eastern press, the *New York Times*, the mass-selling French daily *Liberation*, not to mention the West German, Scandinavian and Australian press. Most of these reports have been favourable to us. In terms of radio and television coverage, *Capital Radio*, *Radio London* and *BBC Radio 4* have broadcast stories on our work. The national news channels, *London Plus* and *Thames News* have also approached us and we have given them considerable help. We also helped *Yorkshire TV* with their *First Tuesday* programme and the *London Programme* (produced in the aftermath of the Kassam Killings) which revealed that 1 in 4 Asians in East London had been attacked and that the overwhelming majority had very little confidence left in the ability or willingness of the police to do anything about these attacks. We have also helped the *BBC Schools' Programme* do a documentary on racist attacks, and independent film companies do education programmes on issues like the *Police Bill* and

Neighbourhood Watch. Towards the end of the year we worked closely with the BBC Open Space team to produce a programme, *The Dividing Line* which will be screened in early 1986.

We have no editorial control over most of these programmes and newspaper reports but do feel most strongly that too often, and this implies especially to television, journalists just 'rush in' when something sensational happens, when what is really needed is a far more serious, consistent and long-term approach. One exception to this has been David Rose of *The Guardian* who continues to provide thoughtful and well-researched articles on issues on and pertinent to Newham.

We regard it as very important to maintain publicity as racist attacks and police harassment of the black community should not be taken for granted. Publicity is an essential way of raising public concern, which in turn puts pressure on the authorities to respond more positively. People should not be afraid to 'speak out' for fear of being labelled 'extremist' or 'anti-police'. Additionally, given the lack of police accountability and their failure to respond to racist attacks the least we can do is use the media as one of the only tools presently at our disposal to draw attention to a serious case.

RACIST STEREOTYPES GROW

Media reporting of race and racist attacks was analysed at length in our 1984 report. However, since then, and after Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham (see *Searchlight* for detailed articles on the media coverage of the 'riots') things have taken a turn for the worse. In general coverage has confined itself to traditional stereotypes of black people. But the *Daily Mail* in particular, in its haste to describe black people and their culture in pathological terms, has even managed to pioneer some new stereotypes. 'Black racists' abound from their pages. Afro-Caribbeans who possess a criminal culture and Asians who impose their traditions and customs upon an ever-tolerant white society. As for racist attacks, they either don't happen or are a part of a worrying trend of 'gang warfare'. Victim and aggressor are treated equally, or the victim is seen to have brought an attack upon him or herself. There is, of course, no attempt to check the accuracy of police press releases and police-fed stories continue to be regurgitated absolutely uncritically. As the victim of a vicious racist attack commented: 'The press is like the Guinness Book of Records. If your wound is not the longest or the deepest they are not interested'.

FOCUS ON THE *Newham Recorder*:

The *Newham Recorder's* coverage of race, analysed a length in previous Annual Reports, shows no signs of improvement. In fact, the situation is so bad, that examples of bad reporting can be quoted from almost every issue, with the *Recorder* presenting information on a very selective basis and giving little or no space to those groups opposed to their or the police's particular viewpoint. The police have continued to use the *Newham Recorder* as a vital source of propaganda for themselves — it has been used for instance to provide personal biographical details on friendly home beat bobbies, to justify specific police operations and to push the Police Consultative Forum without any space being given to groups who oppose the Committee to have their say. This is all part of a general strategy — the aim of which is to cultivate the local media, by feeding it with stories and by using it to legitimise policing operations and gloss over issues of racism. In so doing, the *Recorder* sometimes reads like a police broadsheet.

One example of these criticisms was an article that appeared in the *Recorder* (17.1.85) under the blazing headline 'The Force Go Public — Lawmen's

Fight For Community Group'. A lengthy column was devoted to the willingness of the police to open their doors as never before, and in an 'exclusive interview' two local Chief Superintendents spoke of their vision of a consultation group and also how concerned they were about the lack of progress the Council has made over this. The Council's argument that they were — quite rightly — undertaking a lengthy consultation exercise and the reservations of community groups about such a committee, hardly interested the *Recorder*. In fact, the views of these groups and the Council only contributed to a fifth of the article. In comparison, the success of schemes such as neighbourhood watch and other community policing schemes are taken for granted, in spite of much evidence to the contrary.

ANTI-RACIST PROPOSALS SLAMMED

It is quite evident that when the Council or any other local organisation makes a progressive anti-racist move, not only is the editor there ready and waiting to attack it within his own editorial column but a barrage of letters from people with name(s) and

address(es) supplied rapidly follow, inundating the letters page in subsequent weeks. For instance, in January 1985, plans were announced for Hindi-teaching at Little Ilford School. The headline in the *Newham Recorder* was 'Row As Pupils Are Forced To Learn Hindi' and the *Recorder* went on to say that an angry response came *only* (our words) from 'some pupils and parents who claim it is a waste of time'. This was later backed up by a spokesman for Newham Council who said that 'objections had come from a very limited number of white families'. However, in the weeks that followed the usual name(s) and address(es) supplied letters began to appear. The frequency of this pattern, and of such letters, always relating to an issue on race and always with the identity of the author concealed, is something that we feel should be watched very carefully in 1986.

COVERAGE OF NEWHAM 7 MARCHES

It is precisely these kind of distortions presented in the *Newham Recorder* and other local and national papers that feed the racist backlash. At the end of this section we print an article by the CARF (Campaign Against Racism and Fascism) section of *Searchlight* (June 1985) which provides an anti-racist viewpoint of the first Newham 7 march which throws into sharp focus the distortions of the *Recorder's* coverage.

Following the police dispersal of the first march and the 33 arrests (see section on Newham 7) the front page of the *Recorder* was totally devoted to the views of local police who 'were under fire from both sides involved' in a march that 'erupted in violence'. This was followed by a middle-page spread on 'mob fury at police station' (just who considers the anti-racist demonstrators as a 'mob' remains unanswered). A picture of a seized spiked knuckle-duster was presented on the front page alongside the main report. However, not a single person arrested was charged with possessing a spiked knuckle-duster. Contrary to police evidence, independent observers and press photographers confirmed in court (although their observations were not taken on board and reflected in court decisions) that nothing apart from a few placards and cans of drinks were thrown at police nor was equipment or weapons of any kind taken into the police station, which would have been fairly obvious given the small entrance to Forest Gate police station. By implying that local police had their hands tied by instructions from senior police officers, the report presented an entirely distorted picture of the police adopting a 'softly softly' approach. This sympathetic picture of the police just carrying out their duty not only flies in the face of all independent evidence but fails to even acknowledge the views put forward by the Defence Campaign. The impact of the entire coverage was to criminalise the Defence Campaign, stereotype the demonstrators as a bunch of rowdy trouble-makers 'hell-bent on violence' and

bias the proceedings against the people arrested that day. In fact the march represented a massive turnout of mainly local people, with support from anti-racist groups nationally who came out on the streets in an impressive display of community protest over the Newham 7 case.

Two weeks later, and the *Recorder* was at it again (16.5.85). Under the headline 'Riot Rages In The Park' it created a totally distorted picture of what was an extremely peaceful march right until its dying stages (see section on Newham 7). What were actually minor scuffles was blown up into a fully fledged 'riot'.

Needless to say, the *Recorder* viewed the march from the police's perspective, never questioning for one moment there was any other way in which it could be seen. The views of the Defence Campaign on how the 'trouble' started were ignored. The *Recorder* dwelt on police injuries and did not concern itself with the injuries of the many demonstrators who were openly beaten by police officers and which was confirmed by independent observers. Nor was the *Recorder* concerned to put the march in its proper context — totally ignoring the events leading up to the march, the march itself, and the magnificent community support the case had received. Its focus on the events at the end confirms us in our belief that the coverage was solely for the purpose of criminalising the demonstrators and marginalising the Defence Campaign.

THE McDONNELL CASE

The TV coverage of the McDonnell case (see article at the end of this section) was for us just another example of irresponsible media journalism. Not only did it play into the hands of racist sentiments, but it fuelled the racist backlash and gave neo-fascist groups opportunities to exploit the case turning it into a cause celebre.

Although we were initially involved with the *TV Eye* programme on the eviction we felt that their journalistic approach was totally irresponsible and in the worst of press traditions. Their sensationalised coverage earned them the condemnation of large sections of the community throughout East London and led to a boycott by anti-racist and black groups and detailed complaints to the IBA. As we noted in our 1984 Annual Report what 'media people' fail to understand, especially within television, is that coverage which might make good viewing for some leads to increased attacks against black people whilst at the same time allowing racist and fascist groups to surface and orchestrate events so as to get publicity. This certainly happened as a result of the McDonnell case. *TV Eye's* collaboration with white racist tenants in Tower Hamlets and their stage-managing of a meeting organised by these people to fit in with their filming plans merits the strongest public condemnation.

'NIGHTMARE CLUB' ROW RAGES

HEADLINE 'NOT JUSTIFIED'

IT was quite unjustified for a black community and social local newspaper to refer to a centre despite fierce proposed community centre opposition. A petition had been signed by more than 360 angry residents whose report of controversy over main worry was noise, the plan, said the Press Council.

Mr. Peter Cartwright, It upheld a complaint senior community relations against the Newham officer of Newham CRE, Recorder by Newham complained that the headline Council for Racial Equality was misleading and offensive (1985). Newham CRE and was likely to encourage a complained that a headline hostile and derogatory view on a report of controversy of community centres run by over plans for an Afro-Afro-Caribbean peoples. As Caribbean community centre far as he was aware, no-one was inaccurate, was not had used the word "night-justified by anything quoted mare" to describe the in the report and was likely proposed centre.

The newspaper ran a story Duncan, said the word headlined "Nightmare Club "nightmare" in the headline Row Rages". It said reflected the depth of feeling councillors had approved among residents, supported controversial plans for a by an MP and a hospital,

over the effect they feared the centre would have on their lives and environment.

The London Borough of Newham was associated with the complaint.

The Press Council's adjudication was:

Nothing in the report published by the Newham Recorder and nothing in its evidence to the Press Council warranted the headline reference to a proposed Afro-Caribbean community centre as a "Nightmare Club".

There is no evidence that the phrase was a quotation though it was presented in quotation marks. It was both inaccurate and, taken with the report, quite unjustified and likely to encourage racial hostility.

The complaint against the Newham Recorder is upheld.

By COLIN GRAINGER and PAT COUGHTREY
COUNCILLORS have approved controversial plans for a black community and social centre in Plaistow—despite fierce local opposition.

Their move came after the centre's promoters accused opponents of being racist.

Leaflets urging black people to "fight racists" by packing the council meeting had been distributed.

Eighty demonstrators had peacefully lobbied the council's secret Labour Group meeting on Monday—when the decision was taken to approve the plan.

As a result of the leaflets, the protest organiser warned all but an official delegation of five not to attend Tuesday's full council meeting.

The proposal, by the Newham African Caribbean Alliance, to develop a former cycle shop in Barking Road, went through with just four abstentions.

More than 360 angry residents signed a petition. Their chief worry was noise, especially at night.

Newham South MP Nigel Spearing and health administrators had already expressed concern. They were worried about the close proximity to Plaistow Hospital, which cares for elderly patients.

Hospital leaders knew of the development a month ago, when protestor Mrs. Sylvia Johnson told them.

Newham Health Authority immediately voiced their concern and the transport manager sent a letter to Newham Council pointing out fears over car parking and access for fire and emergency vehicles.

NJA member Cllr. Julie Garfield conveyed those feelings to Monday's group meeting.

The group wanted a 3 a.m. extension on Fridays and Saturdays, but later agreed to a midnight curfew.

But residents say evening meetings would provoke noise, parking and disturbance problems.

An alliance spokesman said councillors had received racist letters over the proposal.

The unattributed leaflets said: "Some racists who are opposed to black people organising themselves have opposed planning permission for our centre."

The council earmarked the base in November last year. Planning applications were first submitted in April.

Mrs. Johnson said the protestors were "upset" and would consider calling for a public inquiry.

An NACA spokesman said some councillors had been told locals would "burn it down" once it was built.

In the *Right to Reply* programme on Channel Four on 25 January the last and significant word on the programme — which should be that of the viewers — came in a short outburst by *TV Eye* reporter Peter Gill, answering complaints about the *Racial Outlaws* programme shown on the previous Thursday night on the main channel.

"You want editorial control, Mr Murshid," Gill said after Kumar Murshid of the Federation of Bangladeshi Youth Organisations, based in Tower Hamlets, East London, commented that "if programme makers can't co-operate with us on the ground then they shouldn't be here."

That is the nub of the *TV Eye* row: television crews coming into local communities and feeding parasitically off the "local story". This week, racism in London's East End; next week, glue sniffing in Glasgow. "We found ourselves in the position of providing the latest twist in the story," said Gill. "We were instrumental in informing tenants that they were to be sued — next thing we knew was that a meeting was happening and we were invited".

'Twist' is the operative word. What *TV Eye* did was to 'set up' a meeting of tenants on the Stifford and Exmouth Estate in Tower Hamlets through a researcher, Frank Simmons, knocking on doors in Clark Street, an area where most of the tenants live who are signatories to a petition to the GLC headed 'Petition against moving Asian families onto Clark Street' (actually omitted from the programme graphic). Simmons was attempting to identify people who held racist views. But not only were the tenants unaware of the impending action against them by the CRE until told by him, they were offered encouragement, being unwilling to be interviewed singly, to get together. The result was to give them increased confidence to express their obnoxious views and encourage intimidation towards potential Asian tenants in the area.

Exposed

At the meeting on 8 January, filmed by *TV Eye*, was Ralph Harrison, accompanied by three cronies, exposed in last month's *Searchlight* as having strong backing from veteran fascist Lady Birdwood. He is neither a local tenant, coming from the Brick Lane area more than a mile away, nor a council tenant. He did not appear in the film yet played a leading part in the meeting according to eyewitnesses, stirring up the tenants to fight the CRE and the GLC and openly recruiting for his 'whites only' group Fairplay.

Eyewitness accounts said the meeting was virtually run by *TV Eye*, suggesting the petition be re-signed, asking for 'action' to be 'cut' so a portion could be filmed again. People were asked to restate their comments to camera. And all the while, the whole meeting was put in the context of 'freedom of speech' being at stake rather

Outrage in East London at coverage given to racists

TV Eye — blurred vision



Sadhana Ghose — 'play researcher'.

than incitement to racial hatred. This was further confirmed in the programme by the NCCL's Larry Gostin emphasising they had a right to petition, although in a letter to the *Guardian* (1 February) he changed his tune, claiming his answer was 'cut' and that "The CRE is charged with enforcing the Race Relations Act and it was absolutely right to take legal steps to prevent unlawful inducement to discriminate".

Likewise, when *TV Eye* filmed an NF demo in support of Mrs McDonnell in Clemence Avenue, Canning Town, linking up their theme of 'is legal eviction the right answer?' there is no mention of who the man is they filmed presenting the case for the McDonnell family facing eviction for racist behaviour (who have evicted at least 8 Asian families according to Cllr Fred Jones, chair of Newham Council Housing Committee).

It took the local paper, the *Newham Recorder*, after *Searchlight*, to identify the man as Steve Brady, a leading member of the League of St George, known associate of wanted terrorists he has helped safehouse and a regular at the annual fascist beano at Diksmuide in Belgium.

Amongst the many other points about both the programme and the way it was made which has angered community groups and others across East London are two major ones involving misrepresentation by a *TV Eye* researcher, Sadhana Ghose, who has been dragging herself across the media since the programme, throwing out helpful comments such as how anti-racist groups "were inflaming the situation, by forcing these eviction policies" (*Voice*, 3 February) and how television programmes are stopped from putting the Asian view "by left wing

groups like CAPA who use people as political ploys". Her ploy was to approach CAPA (Community Alliance for Police Accountability) on 20 December and a social worker for the London Diocesan Board of Social Responsibility, stating she was a freelance journalist who needed background research material for a series of plays she was writing on the lives of Asian people in London. She obtained access to four extremely frightened isolated and vulnerable Bangladeshi families who have been suffering a barrage of abuse, intimidation and attack.

Previously, on 7 December, the other researcher Frank Simmons, who did say he was from *TV Eye*, approached CAPA — and not the acknowledged race relations body Tower Hamlets Association for Racial Equality (THARE) — to ask for assistance in 'setting up' a racist attack. It was proposed that a TV crew could wait in the home of a family which had been suffering a constant level of harassment and film an attack actually in progress. This was refused. The idea was then changed to one where actors or researchers would be the 'victims'. This was also refused as likely to provoke racist attacks.

TV Eye subsequently persuaded Newham Council to give them a flat near the McDonnell's to carry this out, despite the fact the McDonnell's had already been served with an eviction notice and had gone quiet.

On 7 January, the day before the tenants' meeting, Ms Ghose phoned the church social worker and fixed up a visit, bringing a 'friend' who turned out to be Peter Gill of *TV Eye* and who pressurised the social worker to release the address of one of the victims of a serious attack.

It was only by a chance visit on 15 January to the Miah family that she was horrified to discover camera crews had visited the family on 6 and 9 January. The Miah family had previously been seen by the 'playwright' Ghose on 27 December.

Mr Miah, who does not speak English very well, did not want his family filmed. Two years ago his wife Sara Biba was hospitalised after being attacked by a gang with a metal-studded plank. He was frightened, but Ms Ghose promised him they would be rehoused in another flat before the film was shown. Immediately after the cameras left on 9 January, having filmed outside the house in full view of neighbours, Mr Miah was attacked and, shortly after, lighted matches put through his letterbox. He signed a sworn affidavit stating this, to try along with other groups

and individuals to get an injunction in the High Court to stop the programme.

Mr Justice Woolf declined the injunction only three hours before transmission, but did extract an undertaking from Thames that producer Linda McDougall and her colleagues would reconsider those parts of the programme which identified Mr Miah and his family with a view to exciting them, or rendering them so they could not be identified. The programme that went out clearly showed the family and the location of their flat.

On *Right to Reply*, on 25 January on Channel 4, Peter Gill stated that as a result of *TV Eye's* efforts the family had been rehoused in a safe area of their choice. But not before the programme as they had promised. From investigations, it is clear *TV Eye* have had no contact with the Borough Council. The Borough's Housing Director has confirmed this. The family have been rehoused through several month's pressure by CAPA and the church social worker.

Such was Ms Ghose's concern that she visited the family at 11.30pm after the broadcast on 17 January and after asking Mr Miah whether the family was alright she proceeded to question him as to why he had gone to court to try to stop the programme and who put him up to it.

Gill also criticised the Bishop of Stepney, present in the studio "and others like you" for not highlighting the "underlying social consequences of race (sic)" which "should be examined". Unfortunately, *TV Eye* failed to show or discuss anything of bad housing, high rates of unemployment or any other aspect of poverty or social conditions in East London. They even failed to ask the simple question — who did daub 84 Clark Street with 'no Paki' slogans and nail pigs trotters to the door? Did they come from outside the area or from the estate?

During the programme, the reporter says "many of the incidents on their own are minor, but community workers point out their cumulative effects". These effects — creating a climate in which much more serious attacks, involving injury and death can and do occur — are not mentioned and neither are the community workers called upon to explain what they believe at all. An analysis of the programme shows that only about ten per cent (161 seconds) of the show's 26½ minutes was given over to those speaking in favour of legal action against racist behaviour.

But because of the line of questioning, even this is concerned with the legal aspects



Front page exposure by *Newham Recorder* of Brady's presence at McDonnell-NF demo — not mentioned by *TV Eye*.

with no room for any explicit condemnation of that behaviour. And although some 30 per cent of the broadcast is used to let victims of racism speak about their experiences, they are not allowed to state their opinions about what they have suffered save for a short time (19 seconds) when a previous Asian neighbour of the McDonnells in Newham states his agreement with their eviction.

In effect, *TV Eye* portrayed people as passive victims and did not report the resistance to racism which is being waged by the local black community and others. There was no restriction placed on the McDonnell family's overtly racist opinions ("I hate the Pakis, they should go home"; "this is our country, we come first") without contradiction or qualification by the reporter. A convicted racist attacker, Mark Stanley, is shown as a loving father and allowed to explain and excuse his actions in attacking Mr Hanif Ali with a metal-studded plank — Mr Ali's side is not given.

Since the programme, racist attacks and harassment has continued unabated. In Newham, NF youths disrupted the Council's January meeting hurling eggs, books and chemical 'bombs' at councillors, chanting obscenities and racist slogans, and giving Hitler salutes. Cllr Anne King was injured in the shoulder when attacked by one of the nazi thugs. Fred Jones chair of the Housing Committee responsible for the eviction decision on the McDonnell family has been struck by a speeding car, had his windows smashed, hate phone calls, sometimes in the early hours and a replica coffin delivered to his home, along with a death threat written on Met Police memo paper. His home is now under 24-hour police watch.

The *TV Eye* film makers are doubtless tucked up in bed in some 'nicer' area — in the case of Ms Ghose a quiet, semi rural village near Chesham in Bucks. The only thing that rattles the windows there is the wind!

Many TV journalists start out 'in the print'. Is that where some of them pick up bad habits? For instance, how did the newspapers react to the news of the *Searchlight* exclusive expose of Fairplay's Ralph Harrison's link with Lady Jane Birdwood and Joy Page?

● Robert Hutchins, *East London Advertiser* editor for more than 14 years responded: "No, we don't want this sort of thing... why shouldn't he have political affiliations... they say he's a racist, well he's entitled to say what he wants (even if it breaks the Race Relations Act?)... he might just as well be a member of the Young Communist League or *Militant* as far as I'm concerned". When was the last time the *Advertiser* gave such uncritical and extensive coverage to *Militant*, then?

Mr Hutchins was not concerned that his reporter Ken Hayes (well known East End sleuth) had failed to reveal in his report of the tenants meeting filmed by *TV Eye* that Ralph Harrison was present, nor that his paper had given an uncritical platform to racists.

In fact, Mr Hutchins never has been 'very concerned'. Ten years ago when a reporter asked him why pictures and stories featuring black people rarely appeared in the paper, he replied "we don't want pictures of coloured people (sic) it puts off the readers. They're only a small part of our readership and, anyway, they never get in touch with us". Hardly surprising if it were true! A check through recent editions not unsurprisingly reveals that it is still apparently his policy with one edition having only one picture (and then one person in a group of white people) and in other editions one or two pictures out of an average of 30.

● One national paper reporter said it was too much to try to write up the *TV Eye* affair: "We would have to get the community groups' side and then *TV Eye's* side and it would end in thousands of words, far too long". Wasn't there a racist attack or daubing since the film was shown which could be attributed to its effect? That was the only way they could do a follow up.

● Another national paper wouldn't touch it. The reporter who usually does that sort of thing apparently, was busy covering the Ponting trial. Oh well, the racist attacks will just have to wait.

● Another local paper took the information but the reporter needed 'evidence'. Would he believe the transcript of a phone call? Or of a pub conversation? No, no, more 'evidence'. Anyway, he said, you can't go around calling people racist particularly if they had a conviction for it. Oh no??

● A radio reporter felt sorry for the tenants who said that if a brick was aimed at the window of 84 Clark Street (the daubed flat) and missed, it could hit number 86 and the construction of the flats might confuse the dreaded brick hurler. It did not occur to him to ask whether the brick hurlers came from outside or inside the estate, and whether tenants would have been out seeing any brick hurler, or whoever, off, depending on the colour of skin and nationality of the intended victims. Back went the radio reporter to ask the proper questions...

And so it goes on with the media. When will reporters begin to cover racism seriously, extensively and think of their attitudes and arguments? And stick around after the 'good copy crisis' continuing to monitor and cover racist attacks and harassment, and, as the *Newham Recorder* did, dig long and hard into the background, and the perpetrators. We have some way to go on this one...

Newham: the story the press did not tell

Whenever black people take to the streets to protest against racism, the press have sought to criminalise their action. From the Black Day of Action, to Colin Roach and the Newham 7, the press have taken it upon themselves to popularise police stereotypes. Black people are seen as a 'threatening mob', 'unruly' and 'unlawful', sometimes harbouring 'dangerous criminals' in their midst.

The press coverage of a national demonstration against racist attacks and in support of the Newham 7, held on Saturday 27 April in Newham was no different. Despite the fact that police 'snatch squads' attacked the demonstration outside Forest Gate police station, and prevented it from completing its course, the *Sunday Mail*, the *Sunday Mirror* and other papers wrote of the "angry mob" who laid "siege to a police station". Below, CARF prints an eye-witness account of what really happened in Newham on 27 April.

An eye-witness account

The march got off to a peaceful start, with some 3,000 people leaving Plashet Park at 2.00 pm. The march was not just for the Newham 7, but also for 'justice for the Pryce family'. Last November, Eustace

Pryce, a 16-year-old Afro-Caribbean youth, was stabbed to death by white racists in Newham. Asian and Afro-Caribbean youth were there in strength.

The organisers had reached an agreement with police that the march would stop outside Forest Gate police station for five minutes. But when police broke this agreement by jumping over barriers separating them from demonstrators and arresting Asian and Afro-Caribbean youth at random, the trouble began. A CARF reporter witnessed the first arrest, which occurred when an Afro-Caribbean youth was jumped on by several police. By the time the youth reached the station, his shirt had been ripped off his back. None of the 10 people arrested were allowed to walk in a dignified manner to the station — instead, their heads were held in arm locks, and their feet barely touched the ground.

Official observers (not part of the march) were pushed into the crowd, and when they objected they were told to "get in" or "be nicked". One observer had his camera confiscated, and others attempting to record the numbers of officers responsible for the worst violence were openly sneered at by officers, who laughingly begged them to take their numbers also.

Young children were racially abused and assaulted. One Asian man told CARF how he was punched in the face. When a friend

tried to get the offending officer's number, the policeman shouted out: "If you want my name Paki it's Watts".

Having successfully hijacked the march in this way, the police proceeded to hold it captive outside Forest Gate police station for about four hours. They did this by promising that the 10 people arrested would be released in 10 minutes. But 10 minutes drifted into an hour, then two hours, and so on, whilst a few people, but not all, were released.

In the meantime, the police continued to harass demonstrators. One boy, sitting on the campaign lorry, was snatched and taken to a police car where he was interrogated. And whilst the minutes ticked by, police reinforcements from all over London began to amass in the side-streets. Thus, some four hours later, when the crowd had dwindled to a few hundred, the police were able to move in and (as the press so charmingly put it) "clear the streets".

There was no official warning. But the unofficial warning came when several police officers violently dragged a black girl from a wall by her hair, for no reason. Having incited the crowd, the police moved in to attack the demonstrators. In the pandemonium that followed the police drove a wedge between the demonstrators and pushed them down the high street in opposing directions. Not content with this, they actively pursued people down Romford Road into the neighbouring streets attacking everyone on the way. Many people were thrown onto the ground by police — and women, in particular, were held by the hair, and punched in the face — sometimes by several officers at once.

A more openly violent police force

This was the first major black demonstration since the miners' strike. It is clear that police tactics deployed in the coalfields (and so often used against black people in the past) are now being transferred to 'public order' situations throughout the country — and once again it is black people who are getting the brunt of it all.

The Newham 7 Defence Campaign is to defend all the 33 people arrested during the march — 11 of whom have been charged so far. Another march was held on 11 May, the theme of which was to defend the right of black people and anti-racists to demonstrate at all.

But for the anti-racist movement as a whole some serious questions remain unanswered. First, how can we protect ourselves from an increasingly violent police force? And what can we do about a media that perpetuates police lies and shields them from public scrutiny?

IN this column each month CARF will reproduce racist reportage and remarks by public figures. We need your contributions. The racism could be crude, subtle or unintentional, but we hope through this section to make writers and readers more aware of how racial matters are dealt with. Send to CARF c/o *Searchlight*.

Storm over Bongo

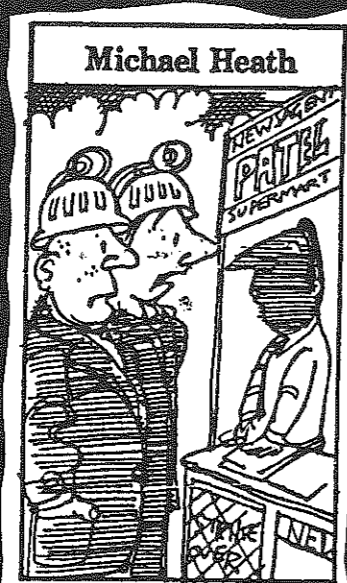
Mr Alan Clark has offended some Labour MPs, and been invited to resign, because he is alleged to have referred in private to 'Bongo Bongo Land'. . . . The important question is whether it is in a proper sense offensive to blacks who live here. There is an ancient English tradition of referring to other races (and the French above all) in jocular and genially abusive terms. . . .

Daily Telegraph leader, 7 February 1985.

Holding the front line

The long-suffering people who work in Immigration Control are our front line of defence for the British way of life. Britain wishes to remain British, but if the immigration officers were to shut their eyes, who can doubt that great alterations would take place in the population. . . . It may seem difficult to

believe in hard-up Britain, but the world is full of poor people who will try anything to get here.
John Vincent, *The Sun*, 20 February 1985.



The Standard, 4 March, 1985 (would anyone believe that fifteen years ago, this cartoonist worked for the anti-racist magazine *Race Today*?)

1985 was a year of consolidation for the Project. The move into new premises at last gave us a secure base from which to work. New workers and increased involvement from the local community has given the Project a fresh impetus in terms of new ideas, greater work output and a high profile. We can now confidently say that the Project has established deep roots in the local community, speaks with authority and articulates the experiences of those suffering from racial and police harassment. Through campaigning work, we have ensured that issues of racism are not swept under the carpet and have forced local institutions to take a more positive anti-racist stance. We have armed local black people, especially youth, with the knowledge that there is an organisation they can turn to for help and not have their rights abused by the police or their problems ignored by the local authority.

GROWTH OF NMP

The evolution of the Project over the last five years has been built upon the hard work put in during the initial two years when there were no full-time workers but dedicated and isolated anti-racist individuals. At a time when the fight against racism wasn't considered fashionable, they sought to draw the attention of the authorities to the racist epidemic in Newham, and the total lack of police assistance. It is a tribute, both to these people, and to campaigns like the Newham 7, that today we have forced an awareness of issues of racism on the local authority and police, in the process securing debate and, on paper at least, forcing local agencies to take on board an anti-racist dimension to their work. The one body that has consistently failed to wake-up to racism remains 'K' division of the Metropolitan police.

We would like to pay tribute to the dedicated work of our Emergency Service Volunteers, successive Management Committees, and the support provided by affiliated groups. Without the support of these people and others we would not be able to function — it is as simple as that. They keep us informed of attacks, help organise for campaigning events, and act as a call-out system of support for victims of attack. This commitment is our major weapon in helping the victims of racial harassment and in monitoring the activities of 'K' division with its far greater and more sophisticated resources.

ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE

As we have remarked previously, the way we work is a reflection of our role in the community as an

independent grass-roots based campaigning organisation. As we outlined in our introduction, the nature and pattern of our work is determined by the Project's membership and by the people coming in to see us. We are accountable to these two groups of people. Through regular affiliation campaigns, we have managed to secure support from some 43 local organisations and 120 individuals — affiliation being open to anyone who lives or works in Newham and agrees with our aims and objectives as outlined in our constitution.

Ensuring organisations and individuals affiliate to NMP is not just a paper exercise. We seek to involve the widest possible number of local people in our work and have never seen full-time workers as a panacea to all the problems we face. The Project cannot substitute for the community, its role and function is strictly defined, and it does not have control over events and decisions affected by wider political forces.

Apart from handling individual cases, publicising them and campaigning around the issues raised, what NMP can do is to give encouragement, and act as a catalyst to the growth and development of community self-organisation through community defence campaigns etc.

AGM AND MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Annual General Meeting in February gives affiliated groups and individuals the opportunity to shape and influence our work. Quarterly meetings give members the further opportunity to question the work done over the last quarter and outline perspectives for the next. Regular training sessions, and meetings for volunteers on our emergency service, helps us to keep links with those most closely involved in the Project. A Management Committee of 14 — 10 elected by the AGM and 4 co-opted — then carries out the policies of the Project as laid down by the AGM and at subsequent quarterly meetings. It also 'supervises' the full-time workers and provides them with active support (we attempt to have the widest possible representation of local groups on the Management Committee). Through involvement in community defence campaigns, regular public meetings and outreach work, we try to involve as many local people as possible in our work and decision making. We see this as a two way flow of information. We get to know of cases and learn from the experiences of local people and at the same time make individuals and organisations aware of our work hopefully getting them more involved in the process.

HOW THE OFFICE IS RUN

Three full-time workers and an administrator run the 382 Katherine Road office which is open from 9-6pm. They undertake all of NMP's cases. They also attend many evening meetings and undertake work and activities on behalf of NMP at the week-end. Overnight, and at week-ends, the fifty plus volunteers, who are fully trained by NMP, maintain the emergency service. Working on a rota basis they receive backing from our network of local solicitors, photographers and people ready to go out and visit a victim on a call-out basis.

Local black youth who have been in touch with us over the last year and to whom we owe a particular debt help in the office work and administration. We also benefitted from having a placement student, Clare Ibberson over summer as well as a local person, Ashfaq Mohiuddin. They were an enormous help in the campaigning work of the Project, and in servicing our computer, as well as helping us in the short-run with the move to the new building.

Towards the end of the year Cilius Victor started working for us on a short-term project to publish in a book form the history and work of NMP over the last five years and an analysis of the growth and development of racism in Newham over the century and the community fightback.

INTO 1986

In our previous Annual Report we stated that in 1985 we hoped to touch areas where as yet anti-racist policies have not been fully developed. We have remarked elsewhere on the initiative taken by the Housing Department which has adopted a positive anti-racist stance and is proving more responsive. However, as we commented previously, this does not mean that racist attacks on housing estates are going to stop. We will continue to advise, help and give support to families who are attacked and ensure that the council policy is implemented properly and in the spirit in which it was originally conceived. We will adopt the role of a 'watchdog', monitoring the implementation of the policy through the handling of individual cases by the housing Department.

We are very concerned with issues mentioned elsewhere in the Report — the definition of racial harassment, continuing cases of insensitivity to policy by staff against the wishes of the council and in particular the non-response of the police. To this end, we will attempt in the coming year to initiate meetings with the Department and press for more pressure to be put on the police to respond positively to racist attacks. However, if the police do not respond to attacks in the south of the borough, and if a targetting system whereby black families are moved to London E16 in numbers so as to support one another is not adopted, there will continue to be a drift of families moving out of the area.

PRIORITY AREAS

In 1985 we prioritised the worst affected areas in Newham in terms of racist attacks — London E16 and E12 — this will continue into 1986. SNARF was formed as a direct result of this priority and we believe that it will grow in strength. NMP will continue to give it every assistance possible so that it develops as an independent anti-racist movement doing long-term anti-racist work, countering racism, educating and minimalising racist influences, in the South of the borough.

EDUCATION AND HOUSING

Education continues to be a source of concern with an increase in attacks in and around schools. There has been a reluctance to recognise the level of these attacks, devote adequate resources to tackling them, or display initiatives similar to those adopted by the Housing Department.

Throughout 1986 our special sub-groups will concentrate on these two specific areas, monitoring and initiating discussion, promoting positive anti-racist policies and ensuring they are put into practice. Through the education sub-group we hope to devote more time to push the case for anti-racist education as opposed to mere multiculturalism, and develop a black parents' pressure group on education, ensuring that as Newham schools go 'community' they do not miss out on the anti-racist dimension.

In the next year the police sub-group will monitor the implementation of the Police Act and its effect on local black people. We aim also to publicise the dangers posed to civil liberties by the *Public Order* proposals and will continue to monitor the progress of a police consultative group if one is formed in Newham, monitoring its effectiveness, or lack of effectiveness, as the case may be.

MORE ACCESS TO THE COMMUNITY

In 1985 we began to set up outreach advice sessions to make ourselves more accessible to the community. The first such session was set up in London E16 with SNARF. Since then, we have been inundated with requests for similar sessions elsewhere in the borough and we hope to start sessions soon in Manor Park, Plaistow, Silvertown and Stratford/Forest Gate. We also aim to increase liaison with schools and youth clubs and particularly combat racist ideology amongst young people and ensure that they know of their rights.

Over 1985 we initiated moves towards the development of a comprehensive support service for people facing racist attacks and police harassment. More volunteers have been involved with our case-work but we hope to gain the participation of even



PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

The future we do NOT want

more people in 1986 and by so doing improve the efficiency of the emergency and monitoring service, and offer more practical support to victims. This will also help us keep abreast with policing experiments and strategies as they affect black people in the borough and keep us in line with the Project's long-term aim to keep on developing as a genuine community based organisation.

ANTI-RACIST RESOURCE CENTRE

We have made great strides in developing the Project as a local anti-racist resource centre. With the move to new premises we hope to consolidate these developments. We now have audio visual film, and computing facilities which are used by other local groups too. We also hope to develop full print facilities over the next few months too.

The Project's three exhibitions on racism and policing, cassettes and video recordings, publications and newspaper cuttings, pamphlets on the Newham 8/Newham 7 issue (to be completed in 1986) and the history of racism in Newham and the community's fightback (due to be completed in mid 1986) and a dossier on recommendations and strategies for combatting racial harassment are resources which we hope will be extensively used by local people. The film made by the *BBC Open Space* programme about the Project and our own film on the Newham 8 and

Newham 7 cases and related issues will form, with other documentaries and films in our collection, an important tool for use by the local anti-racist movement. Other anti-racist pamphlets and film strips for educational work, new literature about the Police Act and the Project's services and the development of an anti-racist community library are also planned. Our ultimate aim is to stock a comprehensive range of literature on race and policing for the use of the local community, and provide an essential information network around the borough. Emphasis would be put on outreach work, in terms of giving talks, and winning affiliations and seeking to initiate community action against racism.

The horrendous increase in racist activity in East London is only going to be solved by strong community organisation. **The ultimate success of the Project and our work, depends on your active participation.** At the end of the day resources can never be a substitute for the widest possible involvement of local people and groups. The increase in racist attacks and the strengthening of the ideology underpinning them means that racism could easily become a major issue at the next General Election. As such there is a need to be ever-vigilant. **We would ask you not just to read this Report and file it away but to affiliate to the Project if you live locally, form anti-racist structures if they do not exist in your area, win the battle against racist ideas in your workplace, tenants' association, or any other organisation you are involved in.**

AFFILIATE ORGANISATIONS

Affiliation to NMP is open to anyone who lives or works in Newham and agrees with the aims and objectives of the Project as stated in the constitution)

1. PLASHET BRANCH LABOUR PARTY
2. ASIAN LADIES GROUP, HAROLD ROAD CENTRE
3. ST STEPHENS BRANCH LABOUR PARTY
4. MANOR PARK BRANCH LABOUR PARTY
5. DEAN AND CO.
6. NEWHAM CND
7. NEWHAM CITIZENS ADVICE BUREAU
8. INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION (G.B.) LONDON EAST
9. NEWHAM RENEWAL PROJECT
10. GUJERAT WELFARE ASSOCIATION
11. SOCIETY OF ST FRANCIS
12. RAMGAHIRA SIKH GURDWARA
13. STARDUST YOUTH CLUB
14. NEWHAM COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
15. URBAN STUDIES CENTRE
16. ZEBRA PROJECT
17. NEWHAM NORTH EAST LABOUR PARTY
18. EASTWARDS TRUST
19. UPTON BRANCH LABOUR PARTY
20. NEWHAM LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS
21. GREATFIELD BRANCH LABOUR PARTY
22. NEWHAM IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL ADVICE SERVICE
23. STKERING COMMITTEE OF ASIAN ORGANISATIONS AGAINST RACISM
24. SAHALI WOMENS GROUP
25. SINGH SABHA (LONDON EAST)
26. PLASHET SCHOOL NUT GROUP
27. NORTH EAST LONDON POLYTECHNIC LABOUR CLUB
28. PAGE ONE BOOKS
29. NEWHAM WOMENS GROUP
30. INTERNATIONAL ASIAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION
31. NEWHAM NALGO SOCIAL SERVICES SHOPSTEWARDS COMMITTEE
32. COMMUNITY LINKS
33. OUT OF WORK CENTRE
34. SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
35. NEWHAM NORTH WEST LABOUR PARTY
36. CUMBERLAND SCHOOL NUT GROUP
37. BEHNO KI MILAN ASIAN WOMENS GROUP
38. MILAN GIRLS PROJECT
39. FOREST GATE WARD LABOUR PARTY
40. CASTLE WARD LABOUR PARTY
41. EAST LONDON ACTSS (NEWHAM BRANCH)
42. NEWHAM ASIAN WOMENS GROUP
44. CANNING TOWN MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION

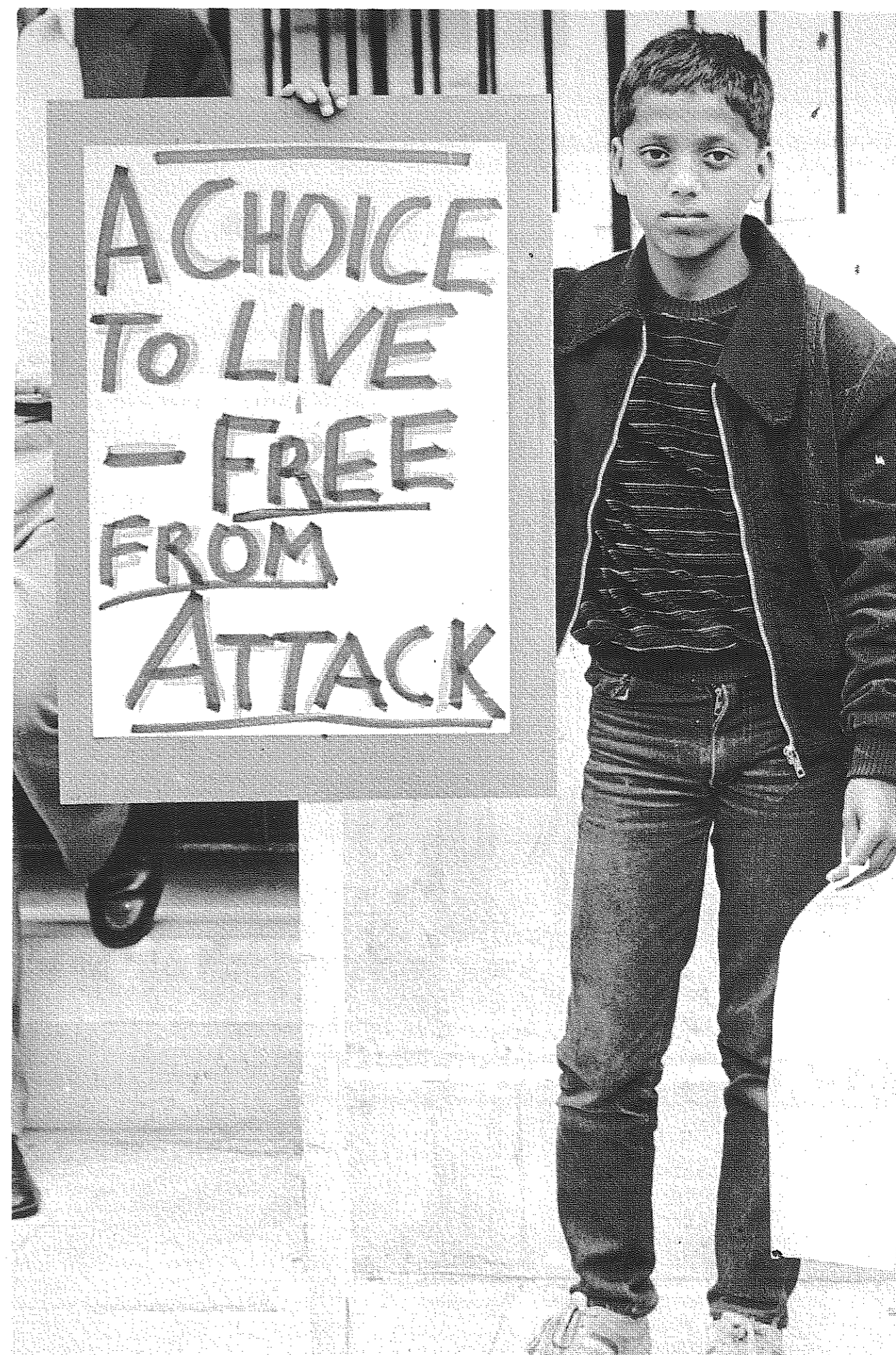


PHOTO: DAVID HOFFMAN

The future we do want - join us in fighting for it!

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

HERBIE BOUDIER	Chairperson	Newham Renewal Project
MAGANBHAI PATEL	Deputy Chair	Gujerat Welfare Association
CILIUS VICTOR	Joint Treasurer	
GULSHUN REHMAN	Joint Treasurer	NISAS
KARUN THAKAR		Aram House
BARBARA LUMSDEN		
HARDEV DHESI		Indian Workers Association
ILONA ARONOVSKY		
PAULYN GAILLARD		
CLLR STEVE TIMMS		

WORKERS

CAROLE BURGHER (from 1.3.85)	Caseworker
UNMESH DESAI	Outreach and Development Worker
SUNDER KANGESAN (from 15.4.85)	Research and Information Worker

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WHAT YOU CAN DO

Inform us of any racist attacks (including grafitti, abuse, damage or other incidents) you know of or any attack you think has a racist motive.

Inform us of anyone you feel has been harassed by the police on racial grounds, have had their rights abused, or unnecessarily detained without charge. If charged, ask them to come and see us. Let us know of any policing tactic in the borough that you feel needs drawing attention to.

Bring to our attention anyone who feels that the police have acted improperly in any way and wish to make a complaint.

Advertise our 24 hour service. We need more volunteers - join the service and encourage others to participate.

Invite us to talk about our work to a meeting of your union branch or any community group/political party you may belong to.

Join our sub-groups on Housing and Education to develop and campaign for positive anti-racist policies in these areas. Make use of our anti-racist resource centre.

Affiliate to Newham Monitoring Project, come to our meetings (detils from the project) and publicise our activities in whatever way you can.