## PRIME MINISTER

LIFE.

DAVID DIMBLEBY INTERVIEW WITH LORD SCARMAN AND GEOFFREY DEAR ON "THIS WEEK, NEXT WEEK", BBC 1 ON 24 NOVEMBER

24/11/25

I attach the transcript which arrived just too late for Questions today. You may be interested to glance through it.

It does not in fact contain any reference by Lord Scarman to the fact that the inner city problems cannot be resolved by throwing money at them. It does, however, offer one or two useful quotations on the following issues:

- (i) Lord Scarman says the recommendations in his Brixton report for improving police relations with the Community have been carried out;
- (ii) he emphasises that riot is itself criminal and that the first priority is to re-establish law and order when it breaks down;
- (iii) he says we should beware of drawing too sharp a distinction between damage to property and risk to life. The truth is that the first can lead to the second;
- (iv) Lord Scarman endorses the police request to have plastic bullets available when riots get quite out of hand;
- (v) Lord Scarman says the key difference between this year and 1981 is the intrusion of organised crime, making use of disaffected youth. "The police have got to act vigorously to enforce the law against these criminals, and the police have got to act firmly if they do succeed in stirring up disorder and riot".

You will see, however, that Lord Scarman also makes much of the need to get the "underlying social trends" right.

He says there must be some sort of link between social deprivation and the riots.

MEA

(Mark Addison)

NB: THIS TRANSCRIPT WAS TYPED FROM A TELEDIPHONE RECORDING AND NOT COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL SCRIPT: BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF MIS-HEARING AND THE DIFFICULTY, IN SOME CASES, OF IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS, THE BBC CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS ACCURACY.

THIS WEEK, NEXT WEEK

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RECORDED FROM TRANSMISSION:

1300

BBC-1

DATE:

24th November, 1985.

DAVID DIMBLEBY:

Lord Scarman, are you satisified that
the recommendations you made in the Brixton report for improving police
relations with the community, have been carried out, and if so, why did
this rioting erupt?

LORD SCARMAN:

Myself I think they have been carried out. They have not been, of course, developed to a logical completeness which one expects and hopes for. But they have certainly been carried out. I don't think there is any panacea for the prevention of riot, I think you can have admirable community relations as indeed they have in Handsworth. You can have an admirably disciplined force, and you can still have, a tense situation, which is the creation, certainly not of the police. Something which can spark off a riot. I have always thought from 1981 onwards that the law and order situation in our inner cities is a fragile one, and it will remainfragile until the underlying social conditions are put right.

DIMBLEBY: /N Geoffrey Dear, you say in your report, you stress, it that you had a good relation between the police and the community, with no signs of tension, now do you think that Lord Scarman's view of this, that the things he suggested in his report are adequate or is this something which is quite different from social deprivation and from the relationship between the police ? You have a different argument about why the riots started ? GEOFFREY DEAR: Not really. I think the riots start for a cause, they never occur ..... And social deprivation of which there is a goodly measure, and I won't parade the reasons because we all know them, but there is a lot of it there. And there must be some sort of link or liason between the two. But what has happened in Handsworth which sets it apart significantly from Brixton in 1981 is that relationships were good, Lord Scarman knows it, he went there in '81, we and we have developed it further since. What we failed to do and have consistently failed to do throughout the country, was to get to that very small number of disaffected, young, criminal afro-Carribeans. Small in number, by no way representative even of afro-Carribean youth, never mind afro-Carribeans as a whole. And the bridges that were sought to be built with them were never really built, we will continue to do it, but it was there that the trouble lay. You mentioned in the start that we had come down on drugs inthe ddays, I think you said days, before the

riot, in fact, the last action by the police for drugs in Handsworth was

2 month's before when warrants were executed on two premises where drugs

were ..... (INTERUPTED)

DIMBLEBY:
But hang on, you said it was drug dealers, protecting their patch that led to the riots ?

DEAR:

Yes well I was going to go and finish if I may, and say that those dealers having been raided, then found that their supplies were getting less and less, that the screw was being turned on the supply route way up above them. And it was that frustration that caused them eventually torreact. There, a very small ..... group who were in no way representative and who therefore were operating in a way in which the news of what they were doing didn't leak out.

LORD SCARMAN:

I think our discussion is getting bogged down in words. Of course there is a criminal element in any riot. Riot is itself, criminal. And then when you look at the story it doesn't matter what story you take, the Brixton story in '81 or any of the three stories in 1985. There is a criminal spark which sets it off. Then you have got in the inner cities, this comparatively small number; frustrated, alienated, bitter, young, black men. And they are there to be set alight through sheer frustration and with the way it goes, once it starts of course, a lot of other young blacks who are not alienated, join in, either for the excitement or out of sympathy and loyalty to their own people. And then the police taken by surprise, as they can be, and almost invariably will be if things are going well, have the effort, the very difficult effort of restoring law and order. I think it is on the restoration of law and order that perhaps we should concentrate.

DIMBLEBY:

Geoffrey Dear, why do you say in your report, I mean you say it as a sort of - not an excuse - but explanation for how things have got as they have. If I can quote you, society as a whole has been persuaded to excuse patently criminal behaviour by groups that have set themselves apart from the consensus values of society, why do you say that and what is your evidence for saying that and how does it affect theaway you as policemen have to deal with it?

DEAR:

I say as

to evidence, I don't know, you would have to agree or disagree as you see fit. I believe it is a fact that in the early days, for very good reasons, people who were socially motivated and had a social conscience, developed to a high state, were trying to excuse the behaviour of that small group I talked about, by pointing to quite pat ently the things they were suffering from; deprivation in its broadest sense. And we are excusing it, and I think what has happened is that a small number of those, those criminals have used that as an umbrella or a shield, and have developed their activity to a point where they are now totally resistant to any form of criticism against them. Of course if a policeman comes onto

the scene he then automatically seems to be now, accused of harrassment whether harrassment is there or not. That's dangerous, it is dangerous for two reasons; it allows you have a group flourishing in society which is patently wrong, and it also has a shading off effect where the black community as a whole is in grave danger of being tarred with the same brush.

DIMBLEBY:

conflict between the need to prevent crime happening and to pursue criminal acts when they have been committed, and the need for good relations in these inner cities with large numbers of disaffected blackS living in them. ?

There is a problem, it is not a problem LORD SCARMAN: without a solution, it is a problem which a civilised society such as ours' has to solve. And I believe we are on the way to solving it. Let me say that one can discuss at very great length exactly how this that or the other riot occurs in this that or the other, inner city. I don't think it gets you very far now. I think what we have now got to do is to lift our eyes and say what is it we are seeking to do, faced with this riot-prone society that we find inour inner cities, and the answer is two-fold. First and it is first, we have to re-establish law and order when law and order breaks down. Secondly, we have to understand the social conditions which creates the riot-prone society. That is something different from saying that social conditions causes riots, Riots are caused or brought about by men committing or seeking to commit criminal offences. You have to restore law and order. But at the same time, you have to be aware that you are going to continue with a riot-prone society unless you get the social conditions right. And therefore, what you have to pursue is double objective, although I would say there are aspects of the same objective, the rule of law in the sense of the maintenance of law and order and social justice.

DIMBLEBY:

point you made, the methods of controlling riot. Now, Geoffrey Dear, in your report you argue that the police should have had plastic bullets for use in Handsworth and that way they could have controlled the rioting, Can you first of all explainwhy you want to see plastic bullets used and why you think ...... had they had them .....?

DEAR: cut the riot time at least.

Had we had them we probably would have

DIMBLEBY: them ?

But you do believe you should have had

DEAR:

Yes I do, yes.

DIMBLEBY:

Why do you think that ?

DEAR: I think that society holds to itself the right, or should hold to itself the right to protect itself in the final analysis. Years ago, Victorian, Georgian England before a police force were established, the military were called in and fired lead bullets and I would never, ever advocate that. But society there took a very severe sanction against those who were rioting. Now at the moment we have a little bit left to do in terms of the way in which, we organise ourselves, mobilise communicate, move our policemen about, using the conventional shields and batons that we have got. But if that fails and patently it did fail at Handsworth and as I understand it, it also failed at Brixton this year and certainly at Tottenham, then you have, are opposed with the situation where the police with shields can't cope and when you have exhausted everything else and you have started on this spectrum of saying we will try to remove social inequality and injustice, we will police in a sensitive way, we will enforce the law with discrimination, all the way through that spectrum, at the end of it all, I think we are left with the position as, where as we saw in Handsworth certainly, people were killed, a third of a mile of property was burnt to the ground, fifteen million pounds worth of property was destroyed, and in those circumstances and only that sort of very grave end of the opportunity, then I think we have got to move up one notch which is to baton rounds I believe rather than I said in the report to CS Gas or water cannon.

DIMBLEBY:

Lord Scarman, in his report in Brixton says it should only be used when there is a real apprehension of loss of life, is that your view or would you use it sooner?

DEAR:

No, I thought I had just said exactly the same thing, that you had two people killed and fifteen million pounds of the property damaged, isn't that grave ?

DIMBLEBY:

what Lord Scarman says, what about just damage to property, injury to people, what about a riot when you don't know, anybody, you can't tell if somebody is going to be killed in the riot?

DEAR:

Sitting here, academic circumstances are very difficult to draw a parallel. What I said and what I continue to say, and I repeat myself here is that in the grave..... and final analysis baton rounds should be used. I don't see them being used early I don't see them being used as some sort of flip option. But in the final analysis if you have got people who are being killed or certainly are likely to killed, and a whole street on fire, then I would thought that most people would vote for them to used.

DIMBLEBY:

Do you believe it is possible, Lord
Scarman, to have, in the hands of the police a weapon like that as a
weapon of last resort, without it in the end becoming a weapon if not
a first resort, at least of more regular use than was originally intended?

LORD SCARMAN:

I certainly think it is possible, it is a matter of police discipline, police training and of the exercise of responsible control by senior police officers. Let me say this; /5

It is so easy to draw a distinction as has just been drawn in our discussion, between damage to property and risk to life. The truth of the matter is, the damage to property can achieve such proportions that itself is a danger to life. And one of the tasks of the police when a riot develops is to prevent it becoming more and more intense. Not only must they contain the riot, they have got to diminish it to lower the temperature. Now, in the early stages of a riot, I would have thought there is no place for the use of plastic bullets, but a riot can develop portentous symptoms and then the police, not only for their own protection, not only for the protection of the public, and perhaps, not only for the protection of the rioters, may have to use plastic bullets, in order to secure that breathing space which is very well described in Mr. Dear's report which will enable them to diminish the intensity of the riot.

DIMBLEBY:

you urge in your report, should be building bridges with the inner city societies, with the black communities, can those same police be the people who fire these bullets in a riot situation or should it be somebody different?

LORD SCARMAN:

The answer is yes, do you want the army to enter every riot, the answer is the army must enter no riot at all. The police happens to be the civilian force available, and the only civilian force available. At the end of the day, if riots cannot be contained and their risk to the community reduced, without some weapon for which a plausible case is made on behalf of the police, that we would have to think a very long time before we denied the police that weapon.

DIMBLEBY:

But why do you reject the idea of one sort of policeman for doing the community policing, and another to be used in the event of riot as a w y of crushing insurrection ....?

LORD SCARMAN:

Quite frankly, that is a travesty of my thinking and I believe it is a travesty of Mr.Dear's thinking. It is one police force and all policemen must have the community relations aspect of their work as much in their mind as law enforcement aspect. Because it is part of a seamless, fabric of police responsibility and the truth of the matter is, if you have as we are beginning to have, good community relations you will find that you are getting responsible elements of the vocal community, black, brown or white, all of them, working with the police, and then they would begin to understand that a riot can arise in a fragile society by accident. However it arises, once it does arise, the riot has got to be suppressed and ultimately if it becomes really intense then you have to use very drastic measures.

DEAR:

If I may follow on on that, you seemed Mr. Dimbleby, you were suggesting that if the same policeman was using a baton round then automatically there is a rift between him and society as a whole. I shall tell you that the Asian community, particularly the shop keepers have very grave doubts about the efficacy of policing, following Handsworth, because it was their property that was burnt down. And they were calling for very draconian measures indeed by the existing police. Now although some sections would nearly not have applauded the use of baton rounds, the rest of the society in Handsworth, ninety odd per cent of it, would have clapped to have seen it used, /6

because they wanted the riot stopping. So I think in fact, used properly and sensitively, you don't need a third force the CRS injected into the British system at all.

DIMBLEBY:

But can you rely on your police force to handle, first of all, potentially a very dangerous weapon safely. And secondly, if there is an accident as there may well be if baton rounds are used and somebody gets killed, perhaps a child gets killed. Won't they effectively destroyed any of the connections they have made with the community, ... I put to Lord Scarman ?

Pear:

Yes of course they do, there are two points tothat. Firstly you trust us with lead bullets with firearms. And although this perhaps, given one or two current events this year is not the best of analogies to draw. It is a very fair one I think because the record overall is one of immense discretion and maturity I think, in the use of police firearms overall. With one or two noteable exceptions. I just thought the record was very good actually.

DIMBLEBY: exactly that point ?

You don't think there is a problem in

DEAR: I can see a problem, I can see a problem in giving that sort of weapon to anyone. But I think our record in terms of maturity of handling even more potentially dangerous weapons is very good. So far as the risks are concerned, baton rounds are designed to hurt. It is said that the impact is much the same as being struck by a cricket ball, hit by a first class batsman as I said in the report. They are designed for that, they do occasionally kill, twelve times I think in Northern Ireland. But if you weigh that up against the hundreds and thousands of rounds that have been fired in that unfortunate province, the numerical chances are very slim, tragic though + Lose twelve cases undoubtedly are, you should also I think, hedge in the issue and use of baton rounds with things like giving warnings over loud speakers or with flying placards, which ought to take away most chance of the child being involved in it. The innocent bystander, you can reduce your chances there.

DIMBLEBY:

wanted to pick up with you in this report. You talk about leaflets, pamphlets being handed out inHandsworth, during the rioting, telling people how to make petrol bombs and with the heading on them, 'today's pigs', referring to the police, 'tomorrow's bacon'. And you say this isn't, in your view, an important factor, are you right to ignore a possible political element in the rioting that has been going on ?

DEAR:

No, we didn't ignore it. But those leaflets didn't come out until the second day of the riots, and I don't think that they - I don't think that people needed to read them quite honestly. They knew very well how to make petrol bombs without that. We said that in that particular riot there wasn't a political dimension. Now in other riots, undoubted there are. But in Handsworth, on those two days in September, there was no political involvement, other than those who sought to involve and didn't actually mesh in with the society they were working with.

DIMBLEBY:

Lord Scarman, would you, looking back on your report of '81 now in Brixton, in the light of what has happened in these riots, in the autumn of 1985, want to make any changes in what you put in that report, want to alter any of the suggestions you made or want to add proposals in the light of what's happened?

LORD SCARMAN:

I want to alter nothing, I would want to omit nothing, I would like to add really one comment. In 1981, we were not faced with the intrusion of organised crime, making use of disaffected youth. That is the new factor. It is a very dangerous factor and it has to be tackled in the two ways we have been discussing. The police have got to act vigo rously to enforce the law against these criminals, and the police have got to act firmly if they do succeed in stirring up disorder and riot. Therefore that is an added factor, but basically, I remain of the view that the recommendations in the Brixton report, still require to be followed and developed and I wouldn't modify them in any way at all.

DIMBLEBY: both very much indeed.

Lord Scarman, Geoffrey Dear, thank you

THIS WEEK NEXT WEEK 24.11.85

DIMBLEBY:

That discussion was recorded yesterday afternoon at the King's School in Canterbury. Now, in Birmingham this afternoon the Rt Rev Hugh Montefiore, the Bishop of Birmingham, and with him there Anthony Beaumont-Dark, Conservative MP for Birmingham Sellyoak. And here in London with me, James Hunte, Chairman of Birmingham's Community Relations Council and a member of the Police Committee that would have to decide whether the Chief Constable could use plastic bullets or could be provided with plastic bullets. Mr Hunte, there have been reports this week in response to what Geoffrey Dear said that black youths have said if the police use plastic bullets they'll use guns. Do you believe that that is so and that is what'll happen?

CLLR JAMES HUNTE: Well first of all I'd like to say this to you that in the discussions which just took place the British public wouldn't believe that there were one hundred and twenty six people arrested that are not Afro-Carribean or black and most of the Afro-Carribean referred are to are black youths or youths who were born in this country. There is a sense of isolation from a substantial number of people who feel that the basic needs are not met and they are rebelling, not only in Handsworth but throughout the country and in all the recommendations made by Lord Scarman, I think that he needs to look back at it and add two single words - honest and meaningful - discussions or whatever is going to take place - honest endeavours to fulfill those obligations.

DIMBLEBY:

But he did say, and I don't want to
go into that side of it today, but he did say that that was his
first point and Geoffrey Dear in his report says that the deprivation
in the inner cities is clearly lies in the background to the rioting.
But what about the point that they were discussing that I want to
discuss with you about how riots, once they've happened, should be
handled?

HUNTE:
Well I would say this that I felt
his suggestions on bullets would produce further bullets. I think it
would produce retal iation. I think we've got to find a way of dealing
with the social problems of the inner city instead of start talking
about bullets.

DIMBLEBY:

What do you do when, as in Handsworth,
you have a riot in which, as you remember, two people were killed,
when you have to control that. You are saying they should not use
plastic bullets even though Mr Dear says it would be a way of
preventing people getting killed?

HUNTE:

When we had a previous riot whereby things came back to normality in a matter of minutes, the police attitude today is completely different to that one. I think exsuperintendent Webb is a model of the type of policing that is needed in a sense, so that can bring a sense of wanting to be a part of that community. We used to be family and he had contact with every community leader and nearly every identifiable person that could be constructive in the community. That don't exist any more.

DIMBLEBY:

Well what do you think will happen if he does decide that he must have plastic bullets and his police force is equipped with?

HUNTE:
One, he won't have my support and I feel he won't get the support of the police authority. I think we've got to get down to the basic needs and problems of the community socially and I think most of us is willing to work with the police and to help deal with community involvement.

DIMBLEBY:

When, as happened in Handsworth, according to the Dear Report, a group of drug dealers decide to set up the police, to ambush them, to set fire to a place, to start stoning them and throwing Molotov cocktails. That is his description of what happened.

HUNTE:

at the police station before it happened. We had a idea of what was going to happen and it is not only drug dealers or anything. It didn't start by drugs. He can continue to mislead the public as much as he want to. We know what was the starting of the riots and we know that it was insensitive of arresting people which the people who were standing around feel a bit concerned about it. Yes, drug dealers might have capitalised on that and a number of other people as well.

DIMBLEBY:

Well the court cases perhaps may reveal something about that and we obviously can't talk about it for that reason specifically. But let me ask you this - if it did happen that the police did use plastic bullets, do you say that young blacks in Handsworth would turn to guns?

HUNTE:

Everybody, not only young blacks. The same kind of people who were arrested, blacks, Asians and local English and Irish, the whole lot.

HUNTE:

I am not justifying violence in any way at all. All I'm simply saying that violence breeds violence. And unfortunately at this moment that is what is happening to a community that needs social needs.

One of the Birmingham MPs, what do you think of the proposal that the police should have plastic bullets that Geoffrey Dear put forward and the effects it would have that James Hunte has just described?

ANTHONY BEAUMONT-DARK MP: Can I first of all say that I thought James Hunte's comments were thoroughly inflammatory. And entirely unjust to Geoffrey Dear to say more or less that he has seeked the confrontation with Afro Asians is the most sheer nonsense and one of the most dangerous statements that he could have made. That's the first point.

DIMBLEBY: what he said.

He's just saying Afro-Carribean is

BEAUMONT-DARK: As far as Afro-Carribeans or anybody else, the Chief Constable does not seek confrontation. He had nothing to gain from the riots in Handsworth or anywhere else. He had many officersinjured, same as lots of innocent people. As far as baton rounds are concerned I wish they weren't always called plastic bullets. Bullets are meant to kill. Baton rounds are meant to deter and if they stop -cause you will bear in mind one of the great changes that's taken place in the mob violence that is now growing up today under skilled agitators - is that they do throw projectiles and they throw them a very considerable way. What those projectiles do to police and other people is to maim and to kill. The baton round is meant to break up those mobs and keep those mobs from stone throwing distance. That in the end is a good thing. Now, of course some people get killed. There is not much need for innocent people to get killed because if people taught their young people to keep away from mob violence, innocent people would not get killed. To say that innocent people are picked out by the police, most people who go for mob violence get hurt because they've gone there either to watch it or to take part in it.

DIMBLEBY:

But can I clarify one point. These riots take place in place where many people are living and going about their ordinary business until the time of the riot. Are you saying you'd take the risk of innocent people being killed. You would be prepared to see the police take that risk in order to prevent deaths and further damage to property.

BEAUMONT-DARK

All these things are risks. I believe that in the end we should come down on the side of those innocent people who want to have law and order and we should come down on the side of the forces that will keep that law and order. You see one of the problems that comes about with some of the ethnic problems we have is the very understandable one. People choose and I would do the same if I lived in what was from ethnic origins a foreign land, they choose to live in areas together which is the most understandable thing in the world. But it is the assimilation into society, into the host society, that does cause the problem and until the Community Relations Councils and we of the host community get down to solving that problem, we are going to have disaffected groups because they feel strangers in what is now their land but feels like a foreign land.

DIMBLEBY:

Hugh Montefiore, can you take us back to the actual problem of rioting in your city of Birmingham that happened in Handsworth. What is your reaction to what Geoffrey Dear said about the use of plastic bullets in extremist, in those circumstances? Are you for or against?

THE RIGHT REV HUGH MONTEFIORE: Well the people that I've talked to who saw what was happening with their own eyes, said that the police were put into an impossible position. And I think that this society must see that the police are sufficiently protected. On the other hand, I don't yet think that the situation has come, and I hope it won't come, when we need to use, or when we must or are forced to use, plastic bullets. Which I prefer to call them because bullets are there to hurt. And I think it might come but I hope rioting won't get to that stage.

DIMBLEBY: Even though it might have meant that the two Asian shop keepers in Handsworth didn't die?

MONTEFIORE:

Even though it might have meant, because I fear, and this is my fear, that once you start using them, a lot more people are going to die because there is going to be an escalation of violence with lead bullets. Now, I fear that. I think it's rather like an arms race. Terrible to say this. But I can see that the situation may come when we must protect our police in that way and protect people and clear street.

DIMBLEBY:
two comments?

James Hunte. What do you say to those

HUNTE:

Well I mean, Beaumont-Dark is usually a nice fellow but he's got this one wrong. The Bishop is absolutely right. I would agree with him, I think the time has come for me to get down to more serious talking like we had years before, four or five year before.

DIMBLEBY:

You are on this Committee, the Police
Committee, that as I understand it has to agree whether plastic bullets
should be used or not and Geoffrey Dear says he wants them. Are you in
a position to veto the use of them?

HUNTE:

He wouldn't, I could say the present local authority is against that. I think they want to do something about the social problems and there is no way.

DIMBLEBY:

Are you going to be able, sorry to stick to one point, are you going to be able to veto the use of plastic bullets from your police committee or are you, can the Home Office override you and go along with Geoffrey Dear and issue them regardless?

HUNTE: We won't be a party to any use at all.

DIMBLEBY: And you veto the use?

HUNTE: Oh, yes.

DIMBLEBY: Anthony Beaumont-Dark?

BEAUMONT-DARK:

No, in the end with respect James, they cannot veto it because he can appeal to the Home Secretary that he cannot efficiently run his police force. But Geoffrey Dear may I

just say, he didn't say he wanted to use them. He thought that, had he had them available, they might have been helpful in stopping the violence. Surely, I'm sure James agrees with this, what we all want to do is to stop violence. But when violence has taken place and is escalating when that mob's growing and lots of local people told me they were more terrified than anybody else, isn't it better to have a short sharp stop of it than bluntly letting it go on and on, the stone-throwing and policemen were getting injured and I think, frankly, if it had gone on, policemen could have got killed. If they hadn't withdrawn. Now who wants police to withdraw, that has to be dangerous for police to have to withdraw. They have to keep that thin blue line or we'll have a thin red line and that red line is local people ...

DIMBLEBY: Well, thank you very much Mr Beaumont-Dark. Let's leave that at this point because that's a debate that is going to continue now that Geoffrey Dear has made his point. And thank you very much James Hunte.