

Self-Defence is no offence!



How the Bradford 12 won their freedom

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* The dates shown in italics by the articles on pages 4 to 19 are the dates on which they appeared in Leeds Other Paper. In fact, the paper was out the day prior to the dates given.

* The photographs throughout the pamphlet are mainly of the mass pickets outside Leeds Crown Court during the trial, but a few are of previous Bradford 12 marches in Leeds or Bradford.

PREFACE

This pamphlet has been produced jointly by the Campaign to free the Bradford 12, and Leeds Other Paper. Leeds Other Paper is a weekly alternative newspaper, which began life as a monthly in January 1974. LOP is published by Leeds Alternative Publications Ltd., a workers' co-operative.

We would like to thank members of the Bradford 12 Campaign for the help they gave us in obtaining accurate and up-to-the-minute information on the proceedings in the court room at times when our reporters couldn't be present. We would also like to thank the people whose photographs we have used.

Finally, LOP workers would like to extend our warmest congratulations to the Bradford 12 on their magnificent victory over injustice and racism.

— Leeds Other Paper/Leeds Alternative Publications Ltd.,
July 1982.

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INTRODUCTION

By the Free the Bradford 12
National Mobilising Committee

For eight weeks the jury at Leeds Crown Court heard the case for and against the Bradford 12. For eight weeks the black community was on trial in the courtroom: the central issue was basic, a question of survival - self defence.

What was the response of the press, television and radio? With the exception of the Bradford local paper, black papers, LOP and some socialist and feminist newspapers, the press hardly touched on these vital issues. Brief reports at the beginning and end of the trial were printed. Articles distorted the issue away from self-defence to one of "licence to throw petrol bombs."

Perhaps the press shares the fears of Judge Beaumont who called the defence counsel to a closed meeting to warn them that their line of questioning "would exacerbate race relations in Bradford." Their 'line of questioning' was exposing the ignorance and racism of the West Yorkshire Police Force.

This pamphlet is intended to provide a record of this important trial. It concentrates on what took place in the courtroom. But if the aim of this trial was nothing but to get the 12 off the streets, it was the aim of the campaign to take the defence of the 12 onto the streets, into the black community, with the broadest support possible both nationally and internationally.

Immediately after the arrests last July, 800 people attended a meeting held in Bradford to defend the arrested 12 youths, who were aged between 16 and 24. A statement from the United Black Youth League said:

"Our fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers are attacked and murdered in the streets. The police do nothing. Our homes and places of worship are burned to the ground. Nobody is arrested. Families are burned to death. The murderers and firebombers speak openly of their organised violence against our communities. They are not charged with conspiracy. The politicians and police have failed us. Our youth are our only protection. These young men defended Anwar Ditta, Jaswinder Kaur, Gary Pemberton and many others. Now they have been taken away from us. We must not fail them. We must fight to bring them back. They have defended our community. We must now defend them."

The record of the UBYL was clearly understood. It had stood for the organised defence of the black community. The campaign saw the attack on the UBYL as part of the repression following the uprisings of last summer. A later national leaflet said:

"The events which have led to this trial occurred last July in Bradford. The entire case demands to be seen in the context of the summer of 1981, which saw a dramatic response from the black community to the oppression of the profoundly racist British society. In the face of a systematic harassment by the state through its racist and repressive legislation, police forces and judicial system, as well as violent attacks by racist and fascist organisations and individuals, the black youth erupted in more than 30 towns and cities, from Brixton and Southall to Liverpool and Manchester. With the dispossessed white working class joining the fight against the police, the State was shaken to its core. It was seen to have lost its competence and confidence and repression was its only answer. In a hysterical offensive, with a systematic and highly escalated abuse of police and judicial powers, and indeed with paramilitary violence, the forces of law and order crushed the uprisings.

"The arrest and the trial of the Bradford 12 stand in conjunction with the repressive onslaughts launched by the police on the streets of Brixton and Toxteth...There can be no doubt that the fantasy of the charges levelled against the Bradford 12 is designed to suppress the legitimate political activity of their organisation. Their real crime in the eyes of the State had been their lawful efforts in fighting racism."

THE BRADFORD 12:

GIOVANNI SINGH
ISHAQ MOHAMMED KAZI
SABIR HUSSAIN
PRAVIN PATEL
AHMED EBRAHIM MANSOOR
SAEED HUSSAIN
JAYESH AMIN
TARLOCHAN GATA-AURA
MASOOD MALIK
VASANT PATEL
TARIQ MAHMOOD ALI
BAHRAM NOOR KAHN

Later in the campaign when the issue of self defence against racist attacks was made clearer, 'Self defence is No Offence' became the main slogan:

"...the Bradford police are guilty of sustained criminal negligence. Far from doing anything to stop racist and fascist attacks, these 'upholders of law and order' would appear to be more interested in hiding them. We, as black people, will take the right of self-defence as a basic political freedom.

This basic right is part of our wider fightback against all forms of racism, from the immigration laws to police harassment. Our resistance, especially as expressed in the uprisings last summer, has increased the pressure on the authorities. The police and the media have attempted to run it all down as 'riots' and 'copy-cat hooliganism'. Our genuine anger and rebellion was crushed with paramilitary violence, CS gas, house to house raids and 'special courts'... And it was all blamed on 'political agitators' and 'mindless hooligans'. The case of the Bradford 12 is being used here to illustrate this pet theory.

"This is what we say to the likes of Holland. We as black people will take such action as is necessary to defend our rights...And we will fight against attempts to criminalise such action...The Bradford 12 trial is an attempt to prove that these 12 - some of the most active people in Bradford - organised the 'riot' there...There is no doubt this is a show trial. It is meant to intimidate us...but we will not be silenced."

The campaign had its problems and setbacks. But we emerged victorious and hopefully the problems will teach us lessons for the future.

When the 12 were on remand and appearing weekly in magistrates' courts in Bradford, pickets were organised calling for the charges to be dropped. When bail was granted, it was on severe conditions including a total ban on political activity: the campaign publicised this aspect distributing thousands of leaflets 'Gagged'.

A picket was organised for the hearing in Leeds when the bail conditions were reviewed and slightly eased. Massive demonstrations were organised - thousands marched in Bradford last December and in Leeds at the beginning of April.

500 attended the mass picket for the first day of the trial on April 26th. Throughout the trial regular pickets were organised on Wednesdays and supporters filled the public gallery. On May 25th the picket brought together individuals who had fought deportation and those still fighting - Nasira Begum, Jaswinder Kaur, Cynthia Gordon, Najat Chafee and Pow Shien Leong all came to demonstrate their support for the 12.

People from all over the country came to the trial. Support groups had been set up in London, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, Leeds, Coventry and Sheffield. Support came in other forms from most other major cities including Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow.

Support continues to come in for the 12 both nationally and internationally. Most important abroad was the support from Ireland, from IRSP, Sinn Fein, and Na Fianna Eireann, but also from North America, Sri Lanka, Guyana, Jamaica and other places.

The thousands of leaflets in Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and English will have made sure that the significance of this victory is widely known.

When the courageous jury returned not guilty verdicts, the Bradford 12 were free. But the real victory is for black people in this country. The issue will not go away. There is a long struggle ahead to defend this right - Self Defence is No Offence!



BRADFORD 12 TRIAL IN LEEDS

30.4.82

'FIXED JURY' said the slogan painted by the Town Hall steps, as the trial of the twelve Asian youths from Bradford charged with conspiracy got under way this week.

A strong attack from the battery of defence barristers raised many questions about the way in which the jury panel for the trial was selected, and indeed the way all Leeds juries are selected.

As the matters were being discussed a telegram was delivered to the Judge in the courtroom. It was from Sheffield MP Joan Maynard, demanding a multi-racial jury for the case.

Judge Beaumont MBE rejected defence applications to stand down the jury panel and summon another, or to

adjourn the trial while the matter went to the Lord Chancellor. But after two days of detailed argument, he agreed to increase the present panel by adding on to it next week's one.

The problem arises from the fact that none of the 75 people on the panel is Asian, and only three are black.

Furthermore, all live in Leeds, and none in Bradford.

But, it became clear as the argument went on, the issue goes deeper than that. Of the 75 on the panel, the vast majority, said the defence, were middle class and middle aged.

Defence barristers cited the recent Thornton Heath trial, and last year's Bristol Riots trial, as cases where High Court Judges (more senior than Judge Beaumont) accepted the need to ensure a multi-racial jury.

Mr. Mansfield, representing Tarlochan Gata Aura, said he was not seeking an all-Asian jury, nor a rigged jury, but was "asking merely for an opportunity to achieve in practice a jury panel that more fairly reflects the multi-racial community from which the defendants come."

He added that the Asian population of Bradford was 34,000 out of 430,000, and in Leeds it was 17,500 out of 720,000, according to the latest figures available.

Tariq Ali, representing himself, told the court, to a round of applause from the packed public gallery: "I think it would be impossible to tell a jury of what my experiences and feelings are if there is not even one of my own people on it."

Mr. Alexander, representing Bahram Khan, spoke of the "high political content and severe racial overtones" of the trial. He continued: "No white man can share the feelings of any black man. There should be the opportunity for jurors to be given the benefit of the experience of black people."

ATTACK

Mr. Reece, representing Giovanni Singh and Saeed Amin, told the court that "The Asian community is under attack, an attack which is not given the publicity that it requires, perhaps because the police are not as interested in pursuing these cases as they seem to be in issuing figures of muggings in London."

Mr. Kadri, representing Ahmed Mansoor, spoke of the number of attacks on Asian people in Bradford in recent months and years, and added that whereas Asian people may be able to understand "the fears and desperation of their youth," an all-white Leeds jury could not.

He complained of the systematic denial of the people from Bradford, and in particular the Asian community, from serving on the jury, and said that if the defendants were convicted by a jury which didn't even have the possibility of an Asian sitting on it, they will say that the defendants had "no chance", and that it was fixed.

Emphasising once again that the defence were not



The Town Hall steps on Monday. The next mass picket is Wednesday May 5th.

• No Bradford people sit on Leeds juries

30.4.82

NOBODY from Bradford charged with serious offences has their case heard by a jury which includes Bradford people. That was one of the revelations to emerge from the opening days of the Bradford 12 trial at Leeds Crown Court.

Court administrator Mr. Boothroyd told the court

that the catchment area for Leeds jury panels consisted of Leeds, and extended southwards slightly. He said that it certainly did not extend westwards towards Bradford.

This is despite the fact that all Bradford people charged with serious offences are tried in Leeds.

- Legal arguments rage inside, pickets mass outside. Six arrests.
- 'High political and severe racial overtones' — Defence barristers

at trial

seeking a special or rigged jury, Mr. O'Connor, representing Masood Malik, said, "We are having a special jury foisted upon us. A jury which excludes people from the Bradford community."

On Tuesday afternoon the Judge said that he accepted that the defendants feel they would like some Asian representation on the jury, "and this is a view with which I have some sympathy."

However, he doubted if he had the power to stand down the jury panel and order a fresh one from an area including Bradford, adding, "and if I did have it I wouldn't exercise it".

He pointed out that on the Bradford jury panel for next week, out of 56 names none were Asian.

He then offered to the defence that he would release the 75 people on the jury panel until Tuesday 4th May, when they would be joined by next week's panel of around 80 people, which did include an Asian name.

Mr. O'Connor told the judge that the defendants greeted "with dismay rather than consolation" the news that there was not one Asian juror on the Bradford panel, and only one in Leeds.

ARRAY

He said that the defence will go ahead with a challenge to the 'array', alleging improper conduct in the selection of the jury panel.

Not only did the Leeds panels exclude Bradford jurors, but even within Leeds there was a preponderance of certain postal districts. Out of well over 100 names on the two panels, he said after reading the lists, there were just three from the Leeds 7 area, six from Leeds 6, and one from Leeds 8, all of which are closely and densely populated areas, and are the areas where most of the city's Asian population live.

The Judge released the jury until Tuesday, and was hearing the challenge to the array as we went to press on Wednesday, as well as other matters relating to the indictment.

If the Judge accepts the challenge, then new jury summonses will be issued in accordance with his instructions. If he rejects the challenge, then over 150 jurors including just one Asian, will report to the court on Tuesday to be whittled down to twelve before the charges are read to the defendants and they are asked to plead.

Case continuing.

Hundreds in court protests

30.4.82

Noisy and militant support for the Bradford 12 outside Leeds Town Hall brought a heavy police response on Monday this week. Six arrests were made, a hundreds of people demonstrated against what they termed 'the political trial of the year'.

Trouble started in the morning, when police attempted to prevent the strains of 'Free the Bradford 12!' and 'Whose conspiracy? Police conspiracy!' being heard in the courtroom.

The protestors chanted for at least 15 minutes outside the courtroom windows, alongside the Town Hall, before police managed to force them back around to the Town Hall steps.

Then at lunchtime police told the demonstration organisers that they would not be allowed to hold a march. But after 15 minutes of arguing the police gave way, and the crowded city centre streets were soon resounding to the noisy and lively Bradford 12 march.

ARRESTS

At about 2pm, however, as protestors again began to make themselves heard in the courtroom, the police moved in and the six arrests were made. Three were from Leeds and three from Bradford.

The police press office told LOP that the crowd had attempted to burst through police lines towards the police charge room. An eyewitness told LOP that the police attack was "completely unprovoked".

Another eyewitness described seeing "a man walking along with a placard suddenly picked up under the arms by two coppers and carted off. I then saw a photographer deliberately tripped up by a policeman."

Police told LOP that the arrests were for obstruction of a police officer in one case, obstruction of the highway in another, and four unspecified charges under section 5 of the Public Order Act. All six were bailed after three hours, to appear in court on Wednesday 5th May.

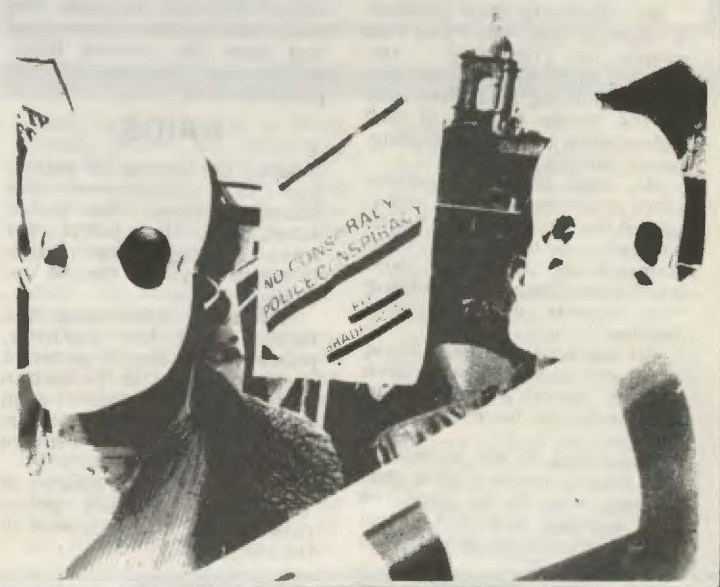
Throughout the day the court's public gallery was also packed, with over 100 supporters of the 12. Outside, demonstrators made the Town Hall Steps their own, setting up stalls selling samosas, curry, orange juice and canned drinks.

The Bradford 12 campaign is urging all supporters of the youths to spend as much time as possible either sitting in the public gallery, or attending the daily pickets of the trial.

The next mass picket, when coaches will again come from many parts of the country, is on Wednesday May 5th.



Bradford 12 supporters old (above) and young (below).



Jury questioned and challenged

DEFENCE BARRISTERS in the Bradford 12 case at Leeds Crown Court used up all their permitted challenges to members of the jury panel on Tuesday this week, before the Prosecutor could begin outlining the police case.

Thirty six jurors were challenged from the overwhelmingly white and middle aged jury panel. The final jury consists of one Asian and four people of either African or West Indian descent. There are seven women and five men.

Each of the jurors were asked four questions; none answered 'yes'. The questions, agreed between the Defence, Prosecution and

Judge Beaumont, were:

Are you or any members of your immediate family associated with or sympathetic to the National Front, the British Movement, or Column 88?

Do any of your immediate family serve in the police force?

Have you or any member of your immediate family to your knowledge suffered loss or damage arising from civil disorder in either Leeds or Bradford?

Last week the Judge rejected a defence challenge to the jury 'array', which complained that all the jurors were from Leeds and none from Bradford.

A demonstrator is arrested outside Leeds Town Hall

Conspiracy - prosecution case

7.5.82

PROSECUTOR Paul Kennedy QC opened his case against the Bradford 12 on Tuesday, after a week of deliberations over the nature of the jury. The trial is expected to last at least another three weeks.

Mr. Kennedy told the jury that on Saturday 11th July last year there was a "considerable disturbance" in Bradford. Windows were broken, property was damaged, and crowds gathered in a menacing way and had to be dispersed by the police.

A week later, on Friday 17th July, a gardener at St. Lukes Hospital found two crates in the undergrowth. They contained 38 milk bottles half-filled with petrol and each fitted with a wick.

TROUBLE

Mr. Kennedy then painted a picture for the jury of events on 11th July. He alleged that Tariq Ali organised a meeting that afternoon at the house of one of the defendants, to discuss making petrol bombs.

He said that the youths were concerned with a group called the United Black Youth League, which had been founded by Tariq Ali and Tarlochan Gate-Aura, adding "its objects do not really matter."

All the youths except Tariq Ali were said to have been at the meeting; Tarlochan was said to have been 'in charge'.

According to Mr. Kennedy, "Tarlochan made it clear that trouble was to be expected that evening and that petrol bombs should be made. The others agreed."

He then dismissed the

suggestion that the petrol bombs were made to defend the black community from an attack by skinheads or National Front members.

Instead, he alleged, they were to be used that evening against the police, and against large shops in Bradford city centre.

Four of the defendants were arrested on breach of the peace charges at around 11.30pm, after spending the evening in a pub: Tariq Ali, Giovanni Singh, Sabir Hussain and Tarlochan Gata-Aura.

"So the danger," alleged Mr. Kennedy, "was to a large extent averted, because the police had arrested those who had been the moving force behind the making of the petrol bombs."

RAIDS

After the crates of bottles had been discovered the following week, the police substituted the petrol for weak tea, and kept watch to see if anybody turned up. Nobody did.

But after examining the bottles, said Mr. Kennedy, police found one fingerprint each belonging to Tarlochan and Ahmed Mansoor: even though the bottles had apparently been wiped to remove any prints.

In the early hours of Thursday 30th July police raids began on the homes of the twelve.

*Case continuing.

Supporters appear in court

7.5.82



HAILED OFF TO THE CELLS: Police arrest a Bradford 12 supporter.

SIX PEOPLE appeared in court on Wednesday, charged with offences relating to the mass picket of the Bradford 12 trial on Monday 26th April. Meanwhile, hundreds of people again massed outside in support of the twelve Asian youths and against the trial.

Mass pickets are being held every Wednesday from 10am onwards. Next Friday, 14th May, there will be a women-only picket of the trial to reflect the support given to the campaign by sections of the Women's Movement. A member of the campaign stressed that there would still be plenty of things for men

to do if they can turn up, including filling the public gallery, and running a creche.

Wednesday 19th May has been made a focus for trade union branches supporting the 12, and Wednesday 26th will see various anti-immigration control and anti-deportation campaigns coming together on the Town Hall Steps.

*As LOP goes to press black community leaders in Leeds are approaching the police to complain of harassment of members of the campaign - full details next week.

7.5.82

14.5.82

"FEARS AND DESPERATION"

The Asian people are under attack!

THE ASIAN COMMUNITY is under attack, Defence Barristers told Leeds Crown Court recently, as the trial of 12 Asian youths charged with conspiracy got underway. The barristers said that white people could not properly understand the "fears and desperation" that Asian people feel as a result of these attacks.

According to a recent Home Office report, a person of Asian origin living in Britain is 50 times more likely than a white person to be the victim of a racial attack. (West Indians are 36 times more likely than white people to be victims.)

FIGURES

One of the Defence Barristers in the Bradford 12 case, Ed Reece, told the court: "The Asian community is under attack, an attack which is not given the publicity that it requires, perhaps because the police are not as interested in pursuing these cases as they seem to be in issuing figures of muggings!"

Some racist attacks are reported in the media, albeit not in a serious way, and the recent following cases, all taken from press reports, are said by the Bradford 12 Defence Campaign to be "just the tip of the iceberg".

In June 1981 white people were reported to be using cars to chase Asians in Huddersfield.

The next month Mohammed Sharif of the Leeds Islamic Society presented West Yorkshire County Council with a list of 25 complaints about racist attacks, requesting that the Chief Constable investigate them.

On 10th July last year a Mr Ahmed was attacked with a knife by two white youths in Bradford. Later that same night a Mr Hussain was abused and chased with a knife.

ARSON

Also in July last year, members of the National Front were said to be attacking people in Bradford city centre. A club doorman was quoted in the *Telegraph & Argus* (13.7.81): "They were going for anything that moved, jumping them and kicking them."

On 24th July the press reported two arson attacks on Asians in Bradford, and the next month an Asian shop was attacked by three white youths, causing extensive damage.

Also in August there was a fire at Bradford's Textile

Racial violence:

"I am charging the police with criminal negligence" — Barrister

"THE LIARS are those who say there was no racial violence in Bradford that weekend. I am charging the police with criminal negligence." Thus Sigbhet Kadri — one of the defence barristers — responded to prosecution arguments that self defence by Asians could not be justified as there was no threat from fascists in Bradford last July.

The argument over racial attacks followed the opening of the prosecution case last week when one side of the picture of last July was being put before the court.

Chief Inspector Ellis, who supervised the police action which led to the arrest of Tarlochan Gate-Aura, Tariq Ali, Sabir Hussain and Giovanni Singh on Saturday 11th July last year, claimed he was unaware of the fears of Asian people about increased racial attacks. He said he did not know of skin heads in the area that night.

He was aware of a national increase in racial tension, but not in Bradford. "Race relations in Bradford are certainly as good as when I found them in 1980 and I'm proud of them," he said. He said he knew of no increase in the number of attacks on Asians.

Four other police officers who were on duty on the night of 11th July gave statements and faced cross examination by defence barristers. The defence was trying to bring out discrepancies within officers' statements and between the four statements.

For example, officer Irvine had made two statements. One was written from his notebook in July after the arrests. That has gone missing. Another was written on 14th August. Some infor-

mation had been 'remembered' by the time of the second statement. "We want a riot", the crowd had been chanting, he said — but it didn't say so in his notebook.

Officer Wright's statement included the fact that one of the defendants was saying "We want to have a riot". But it emerged there was a lot of noise from people and traffic at the time and it would have been impossible to tell who was saying what. It was also dark.

Officer Benn, who arrested Sabir Hussain, was unable to identify him in court. He also wrote two statements and in his second he had said there was a violent struggle when he tried to arrest Sabir. This was not in his notebook.

Defence barrister Jocelyn Gibbs asked him: "Would you consider yourself to be a fair-minded officer?" "I don't know what that means," he replied.

The fourth officer, Manning, is a white Rhodesian who left Zimbabwe in February last year and has worked in Bradford 18 months. He was questioned on his knowledge of the Asian community and he said he knew of no fears in the Asian community or racist attacks in the area even though he worked in Manningham. Defence barrister Mike Marsfield suggested he way lying.

Hall, which houses a West Indian Centre, and which was also being used as a contact-address for the 'July 11th Action Committee', the fore-runner of the Free the Bradford 12 Campaign.

In November Mohammed Arif, an Asian taxi driver, was murdered in Bradford.

On 27th January this year Markham Singh was found near his Bradford home with a fractured skull. Half an hour later three other Asian men were attacked a few streets away by six white youths.

In February this year two black girls were attacked by six white men in Chapeltown,

Leeds.

The Home Office estimates that there are currently around 7,000 racial attacks per year in this country: that is more than 134 every week of the year. Even so, this official figure is thought by black commentators to be an underestimate.

It is against this background that twelve young Asian men from Bradford now stand in the dock at Leeds Crown Court.

'Copies of Self Defence Is No Offence are available from the Bradford 12 Campaign, containing further information about racist attacks — tel. Leeds 439500.

What information did the 'collator' collect?

Barrister probes Special Branch role

THE ACTIVITIES of the Special Branch have come under scrutiny in the trial of the Bradford 12 as LOP goes to press.

On Tuesday, details of the arrest of Tarlochan Gata-Aura were given in court by Det. Insp. Brian Sidebottom, and defence barristers were quick to probe the political nature of the arrest and suggested that information about Tarlochan had been compiled by the Special Branch before his arrest.

Tarlochan was arrested on 30th July last year. Det. Insp. Sidebottom told the court he went to Tarlochan's house, cautioned him and told him about the discovery of the petrol bombs. Tarlochan denied any knowledge of them but was arrested, taken to the police station and questioned.

Extreme

Detectives then searched his flat and took away some literature — including copies of the *New Statesman*, *Race Today* and material on Iran and Ireland.

"When I searched your flat... I found a large number of left wing magazines which go to show that you are a man of extreme views," Det. Insp. Sidebottom said. And he had

gone on to question Tarlochan about his involvement in the United Black Youth League, asking what were the aims of the movement to which Tarlochan belonged.

"The purpose of our movement is to defend our community from the fascists like the National Front, British Movement, and Column 88," said Tarlochan, and gave examples of attacks in Bradford.

In the course of questioning Tarlochan admitted involvement in preparing petrol bombs after hearing that busloads of skinheads were coming.

Phone call

But details of this, and of racist attacks beforehand, were not followed up by Det. Insp. Sidebottom. Under cross examination by defence barrister Mike Mansfield, Sidebottom admitted he hadn't checked out aspects of Tarlochan's explanation. For example, that there had been a telephone call from Daley's Bookshop to the Fourth Idea Bookshop about skinheads coming. Sidebottom hadn't believed what Tarlochan had said.

But he had placed great importance on Tarlochan's membership of the United Black Youth League. Sidebottom said he felt the UBYL might have been responsible

for the petrol bombs.

Det. Insp. Sidebottom was well armed with information about Tarlochan before he arrested him, yet he claimed he hadn't seen him before he arrested him. Under cross examination it emerged he hadn't asked Tarlochan for his name or any such details. Why not? There was no need — Det. Insp. Sidebottom had a photograph of Tarlochan.

Records

Barrister Mike Mansfield had problems gleaning information out of Sidebottom. His common response was: "I don't wish to answer that question".

These were questions about the role of the Special Branch in collating information on Tarlochan before his arrest.

Mansfield gave a list of names of policemen: Chief. Spt. Ellis, Sgt. Davey, Insp. Ricketts, Det. Insp. Tony Smith, Det. Insp. Gilbraith, Det. Insp. Gray, Det. Insp. Blakeley, P.C. Warrel, P.C. Carris, and asked if Sidebottom knew them. He knew five: Ellis, Ricketts, Gilbraith, and Gray.

"Are they Special Branch?" asked Mansfield.

"I don't wish to answer that question," replied Sidebottom.

"Do they have contact with the Special Branch?"

"Yes."

"Would you agree that officers of the Special Branch would be interested in those of political interest due to their political activity?"

"Yes."

The photograph Sidebottom had of Tarlochan had come from the 'Collator's Office', it emerged.

"What is his name?" asked Mansfield.

"I don't know," replied Sidebottom.

"What is the nature of the records?"

"I don't wish to answer that question."

"Do you know about the nature of the records?"

"Yes."

Sidebottom then said the records gave previous convictions... and "general information".

"Does the information necessarily concern illegal activities?" asked Mansfield.

"No, not necessarily," replied Sidebottom.

Case continues.

"I don't wish to answer that question..."

WHETHER or not a bottle of petrol plus rag is an explosive device occupied two days of argument at Leeds Crown Court this week when the Bradford 12 trial entered its third week.

Thirty eight milk bottles with petrol in them were found in Bradford last July. They, plus fingerprints, form the main part of the prosecution's forensic evidence against the defendants who are charged under the Explosives Act of 1883.

Film, photos and statements were offered by the prosecution to show that this sort of petrol bomb is indeed an explosive device. Mr. Cook, from the Home Office, presented a film to jury, counsel and judge which claimed to be a reconstruction of the manufacture of petrol bombs and what happened when they're thrown.

When a petrol bomb hits a hard structure, argued the

prosecution witness, it sprays burning petrol and forms a fireball. In an enclosed space it can cause structural damage. Outside it sprays burning petrol and particles of glass.

'Experiments'

The film was of 'experiments' carried out by the Home Office. But it emerged that no record had been kept of experiments that were not recorded on the film; nor of the material edited out. Further no control for the experiments had been carried out to compare bottles filled with petrol with the effects of bottles filled with other substances, or empty. The supposed 'scientific' basis of

the Home Office film was challenged.

Asked why he didn't carry out control tests when similar experiments were carried out a second time three weeks later, Mr. Cook said: "It's not policy."

At the end of the first day of this debate the judge, Judge Beaumont, ruled that the film, photographs and so on were all admissible as evidence. But he had not yet ruled whether a decision on whether they are explosive devices or not was a point of law, or a point of fact. If he eventually rules it a point of fact then the jury will decide on the evidence he has allowed to be presented in court. If he decides it's a point of law then he, the judge, will decide the matter himself.

*Case continuing.

**Law
or
fact?
Explosive
or
not?**

21.5.82

Barrister stopped over police "insensitivity" charge

JUDGE Beaumont tried to stop defence barristers in the Bradford 12 trial last week when they touched upon a raw nerve — police insensitivity to racial attacks.

A major part of the cross examination of prosecution witnesses has concerned the reality of racial attacks on black and Asian people in Bradford, and the police refusal to recognise their effect on the black community.

It is important because one main defence argument is that petrol bombs were prepared for self defence against attacks by skinheads. Barrister Sighbat Kadri pointed out that if they were for self defence then they were lawful. Kadri, cross examining Det.

Insp. Sidebottom (who had previously admitted he had not followed up claims of attacks), held up a form which is the official Home Office form for collecting information on racist attacks. Sidebottom had not seen it and said he didn't know what it was. He also did not know that West Yorkshire had been one of the areas under study for a Home Office report.

Asked if he considered he needed special training for multi-racial work, Sidebottom said not. Barrister Kadri then commented: "This is

precisely the insensitivity I'm talking about".

Judge Beaumont stopped Kadri immediately and told him to sit down.

But barrister Russell took up the argument and gleaned from Det. Insp. Sidebottom that he didn't know of a local fascist paper called *New Order*, didn't know of specific attacks. She said he had singularly failed in his duty and after further questioning the Judge again intervened, closed the court, and held a secret meeting with barristers.

Such discussion could worsen race relations in Bradford, it was felt, but others saw it as police negligence and ignorance being kept from public

exposure in the court.

Further ignorance emerged. Sidebottom did not know of National Front meetings in Bradford, nor of Asian councillors who had complained against racist attacks. He did not know about a delegation of community leaders who went to the Bradford police before 11th July last year.

Tariq Mahmood Ali, defending himself in the trial, asked if Sidebottom knew that right wing organisations were boasting that they had infiltrated the police to get hold of files, would he say that would be nasty and dangerous? Sidebottom said he didn't see the possibility of such a thing.

On the increase in organised fascist violence, Tariq Ali was allowed by the Judge to read out an article from the *Bradford Star* headed 'Nazi patrols in streets', where it talked about vigilante patrols in Manningham.

Another detective, Huntingdon, was questioned similarly on racist attacks. He didn't know of the Home Office forms and said he didn't keep any statistics. He, too, hadn't seen the National Front paper *New Order*, nor an article on White Power in *Police Review*.

He did admit to incidents with skinheads in Bradford centre, but said they were not alarming and didn't involve Asians.

It was agreed that a catalogue of information on racist attacks, raised by the defence, should be drawn up and be passed to the jury. This will include three sections: Bradford Leeds, and national, covering both before and after 11th July last year.

21.5.82

Defendant "struck three times"

THERE ARE ways and means of extracting the truth... and ways of extracting "statements". Much depends on the statements supposedly made by the defendants in the Bradford 12 trial as it is the mainstay of the prosecution case against most of the twelve accused. But in the last few days the police have been challenged by the defence barristers who suggest fabrication, intimidation, and physical violence against defendants.

One defendant, Ahmed Mansoor, was hit by the police during questioning, it is claimed. Others suffered threats, long and arduous periods in police custody, and the usual bargain offer: tell us what we want and you can go home'.

Barrister Paddy O'Connor took up the statement allegedly given by Masood Malik. Every part of it, an hour and a half's worth, was in the form of replies to questions put by the police. It certainly wasn't dictated by the defendant.

O'Connor said the police

had manipulated Masood. He had made two statements; the second started: "Further to my previous statement I would like to clarify the points which I did not mention before..."

O'Connor asked Det. Insp. Sidebottom whether these were really the words of an 18 year old Yorkshire lad? "Yes", said Sidebottom.

O'Connor then read out one of Sidebottom's own statements which began: "Further to my previous statement I would like to clarify the points...". It was word for word the same as Masood's. "Did the 18 year

old lad draft your second statement for you?" the barrister asked Sidebottom.

Extracting a satisfactory statement from Saeed Hussain had required a night deprived of sleep and lengthy intense interrogation by numerous police officers.

Questioning began in the evening — his second statement was around midnight. Eventually he was allowed to complete the night in a cell with three other people with only a wooden bench between them.

At 10.35 the following morning he was questioned again for over an hour. By then he was tired, sleepless and worn out — and D.C. Porter admitted this was so.

Helena Kennedy, barrister for Saeed Hussain, said 198 questions had been put to him in all, and what happened was worked out by the police after the interrogation. D.C. Porter agreed this was the case.

But Helena challenged the whole treatment and questioning of Hussain. "You talked about 'you lot from the jungle,'" she told Porter, and said he was one of the three policemen brought in to deal with Hussain as "heavy boys to break Saeed".

"I put it to you that you suggested to Saeed that since his lot were always complaining about harassment you would let him know what it was all about." Porter denied this.

Helena Kennedy claimed Hussain was struck three times on the head before he "admitted everything".

21.5.82

'Left' & 'right'

SOME ODD attitudes as to what the political 'left' and 'right' mean emerged in the Bradford 12 trial when police detectives were questioned by defence barristers.

When Tariochan Gata Aura had been arrested police moved into his house and searched through books and magazines, coming to the conclusion that Tariochan was a man of "extreme views". Among items removed was a copy of *New Statesman*, which, detective Huntingdon illuminated the court, was taken because there was a picture of a police man on the front.

Barrister Mike Mansfield asked him what he considered 'left wing' to be.

"Anyone who is against the police or against the general running of the country," came his unbiased reply.

What did he consider to be extreme? It depended on the individual.

Did he consider Enoch Powell to be extreme? No.

His political analysis went much deeper, though. When Barrister Russell checked on his definition of 'left wing', he repeated it for her. What about 'right wing'?

"Anyone who conducts himself within the general running of the country," said detective Huntingdon.

If left wing was extreme, what about right wing? He said he hadn't looked at it this way. When asked if the National Front is a right wing party? he said: "I had never realised that. I have never been biased in any way."

14.5.82

Catch on costs

DEFENDANTS who are appearing daily at Leeds Crown Court have not so far been allowed travelling costs to and from Bradford, nor any allowance for subsistence.

But they face a major problem: they are not currently working yet the DHSS say they are not technically available for work — because they have to be in court — and therefore cannot receive supplementary benefit.

So far the court has said it doesn't have the power to grant legal aid to cover their costs, and has not ordered the DHSS to do so.

Legal aid has, been granted to an important defence witness from Japan, to pay for travelling and subsistence costs.

Not Guilty — Judge

28.5.82

JUDGE BEAUMONT has accepted that Sabir Hussain and Saeed Hussain are not guilty of manufacturing explosive substances with intent to damage life or property. He will direct the jury to return verdicts of not guilty. They still face conspiracy charges, however.

As the defense began its case in the trial, Judge Beaumont did not accept submissions that the prosecution had failed to prove that damage to life and property had been intended by the Bradford 12; nor that the explosive substances were made for unlawful purposes. The judge also accepted that petrol bombs are an explosive substance.

14.5.82

Supporter complains of police attack

HELENA CONINGHAM, of Hyde Park, Leeds, claims she has been harassed and physically attacked by police recently after she was caught fly-posting in support of the Bradford 12.

After being picked up fly-posting she was charged with littering, bill-posting and breach of the peace offences by police officers from Ireland Wood. But two nights later she was sitting in her garden when two police walked up the road and questioned her.

"They asked who I was and where I lived and so on. I wouldn't say anything as I wasn't doing anything wrong," she told LOP.

"Then they grabbed me by the arm. I tried to run off but they caught me. They grabbed me and got me in the road. They kicked me and dragged me along to Brudenell Road."

They threatened to charge her with assault and for breach of the peace.

She later gave them her address and name and they eventually let her go. For the next couple of nights there was an Avenger parked outside which, she says, followed her round to a friend's place and back again later.

She hasn't been charged with anything or heard any more about the incident. But she is lodging an official complaint to the police.

28.5.82

Detectives probe political campaigns

A HEAVY interrogation into his political beliefs is claimed by one defendant in the Bradford 12 trial to have taken place before he was officially arrested and charged. The police replied it was merely a little 'talk'.

Tariq Ali, defending himself in the trial, said police had invited him to the police station after visiting his house on the morning of 30th July last year with Special Branch Officers. At the station he was not arrested and charged until 5.15 that evening.

During that time Tariq says he was asked at length about his political beliefs by Det. Insp. Windle. The inquiry included questions about his involvement in campaigns in Britain such as anti-deportation campaigns, H-Block, about his views on the police and about his views on South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, and about apartheid generally.

No 'chat'

Det. Insp. Windle couldn't remember much about the interrogation but admitted speaking about organisations that Tariq Ali belonged to and supported.

Windle didn't think any Special Branch officers were present although he admitted that other police officers may have come in and out during the questioning. He hadn't taken a detailed statement — only 'brief notes'.

Tariq Ali put it to Windle: "that there were Special Branch present. The atmosphere was not like a chat — it was a heavy political interrogation."

Connections

Det. Sgt. Vickerman backed up Det. Insp. Windle, denying an interrogation, but said Tariq had "told us about political matters before you were arrested".

The Special Branch were in the team that visited Tariq's

house, admitted Windle. They were there, he said, "to determine connections between disturbances in Bradford and riots in Liverpool, Brixton..."

A photographer was also with the raiding team of seven police officers — "to photograph before and after the visit to ensure there were no complaints", according to Det. Sgt. Vickerman.

But, although Tariq had not been arrested at the time, he was not allowed to be present during the search of his home. Tariq also said in court that he made repeated requests for a solicitor which Det. Insp. Sidebottom, who questioned Tariq after he was officially arrested, denied.

Tariq had gone to the police station on the morning of Thursday 30th July and arrested at 5.15 that evening. It was not until 5.45pm on Friday that he was interviewed by Detectives Sidebottom and Huntingdon, and eventually charged at 11.30pm.

Last straw

Throughout the period from 5.45 to 11.30pm, Tariq says he made no comment in answer to police questions. Tariq completely denied the police version of the course of that interview. He did make his own statement, which he wrote himself. That is all he accepts is true.

Tariq said he was then taken away and thrown into a cell. "They then threw a British Movement fascist skinhead into my cell and three police officers stood outside laughing at me, asking what I'd do about it." Det. Insp. Sidebottom denied this.

STOP PRESS: Wed. 26th
Jayesh Amin has been acquitted on both charges of making and conspiracy to make petrol bombs with intent to endanger life or damage property.

28.5.82

No solicitors for Asians

A BLANKET BAN was placed on visitors of any kind — even solicitors — when police arrested and questioned the Bradford 12.

Det. Ins. Holland, the man in charge of criminal investigation of the twelve, said the reason was: "Because it became obvious that we were dealing with people of Asian ethnic origin."

"We had only one interpreter and visitors could have spoken to the defendants in Asian languages and messages could have got out whose content we would not have been able to check. So I had to block all visits."

Barrister Edmond Alexander asked if he thought solicitors might have perverted the course of justice.

"I had to guard against that possibility so I ordered the defendants to be held incommunicado until 9am on Saturday."

Holland also took personal responsibility for objecting to bail, which meant some months in prison for many of the defendants before being eventually released.

He also put on the bail condition when they finally got bail, that they attend no political activities or meetings.

"Police officers must be prejudiced and discriminatory to do their job. Prejudice is a state of mind drawn about from experience.

"Searching long haired youths in bedraggled clothing could produce drug seizures, and searching West Indian youths wearing tea cosy hats and loitering in city centres could detect mugging offences.

"Subordinate officers are expected to act in a discriminatory way; that is against those people who by their conduct, mode of life, dress, associates, and transport, are most likely to be criminals."

Det. Insp. Holland; deputy head of CID in Bradford; the police officer in overall charge of the criminal investigation of the Bradford 12 — speaking at a conference of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedures, Oxford, September, 1981.

28.5.82

Police challenged on attacks and prejudice

IT WAS Det. Insp. Sidebottom's last appearance in the Bradford 12 trial as the prosecution neared the end of presenting its case. He had led the raids and arrests and had earlier in the trial admitted he'd failed to follow up defendants' statements about racial attacks and skinheads. He'd simply not believed them.

Having offered to check out police files in Bradford, Sidebottom was again put under cross examination.

A file 1½" thick had been prepared by the police and as defence barrister Mike Mansfield went through a catalogue of attacks on the Fourth Idea Bookshop, Sidebottom checked the police record.

Convicted

One by one he confirmed them: August 30, 1977, shop had four windows smashed by the Regional Chairman of the NF, George Wright, and another of their local election candidates, Frederick Harris, as well as their local Secretary Jack Smith. All subsequently convicted; August 31 1977, threatening 'phone call: "We'll burn you to the ground. You Jewish bastard. Heil Hitler!"; November 9, 1977, YP received a 'phone call from '11th Hour Brigade' claiming responsibility for attacks in London and Newcastle, and saying they're going to move in on Bradford; November 14, 1977, letter

from South London threatening to burn down the shop - plus swastika and anti-semitic and anti-black stickers; August 12, 1978, two known members of National Front tried to start fight in shop, damaged door; August 26, 1978, one of NF members involved in previous incident, plus another person, entered shop threatening staff with a chair... Aug 12 incident NF members found guilty...

At the end of this, Sidebottom stuck firm to his denial of organised racial or fascist activities in Bradford.

"Race War"

Sidebottom had earlier claimed that he relied on the *News of the World* and the *Express* for his information about disturbances across the country last year.

Barrister Mike Mansfield produced copies of the *News of the World* from 12th and 19th July last year which said gangs of skinheads had attacked blacks in London - Sidebottom had not read it.

In the 19th July issue a page was headed "Race War" and referred to coachloads of skinheads - Sidebottom had not read it.

Sidebottom prefers to believe the attacks were simply against the police.

Barrister Sighbat Kadri took up the same argument and said: "You and all the other police officers in this case have been trying hard to



tell a lie that there was no racial violence in Bradford or elsewhere."

When Det. Insp. Holland, the officer in overall charge of the criminal investigation of the twelve, was cross examined by defence barristers he too said he had not followed up defendants claims of a threat of a skinhead invasion.

Tarlochan Gata Aura had mentioned a 'phone call from Daley's bookshop to Fourth Idea bookshop, about skinheads. Holland had ignored it. He told the court he'd not checked it out because "I knew what the answer would be". He said the Fourth Idea had a record of attacks and would therefore confirm Tarlochan's statement.

"It was extreme left wing so you couldn't rely on them?" asked barrister Mansfield.

"Well, it was frequented by left wing students and the like who would turr. up at every protest meeting in Bradford whatever the subject, therefore it was unreliable."

Tarlochan had said the petrol bombs were for defence against attacks by such organisations as the National Front, the British Movement,

and Column 88. Had he made any checks on these?

"The Special Branch files had no information regarding these organisations," replied Holland. "I had never heard of Column 88."

Holland had admitted knowing a lot about Tarlochan's political activities before arresting him on 30th July. Asked if the information had come from the Special Branch, Holland replied: "I prefer not to answer that question."

Barrister Mansfield eventually put it to Holland: "Are you prejudiced?"

"No," replied Holland.

To which Mansfield read out a quotation from Holland speaking at a conference of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedures in Oxford last September.

In it he said: "Police officers must be prejudiced and discriminatory to do their job..." He referred to long haired youths and West Indians in "tea cosy hats" and said: "Subordinate officers are expected to act in a discriminatory way; that is against those people who by their conduct, mode of life, dress, associates, and transport, are most likely to be criminals."

Proceeding



4.6.82

"Put yourself in my shoes" - Asian youth

"I ask you to put yourself in my shoes and ask what you would have done," 19 year old Masood Malik told the jury as the Bradford 12 trial entered its sixth week on Tuesday.

In a statement from the dock Masood said that he was born in Bradford. On Saturday 11th July last year Tarlochan told him and some others of reports that coachloads of skinheads were coming to Bradford to attack black people.

Masood said he had been to one previous meeting of the United Black Youth League, although he was not a member.

He says he was feeling very scared on 11th July after hearing of the threatened skinhead invasion. He lives just two or three minutes walk from the city centre, his sister is blind, and his father was old and ill (he in fact died during the current trial).

He told the court that the petrol bombs were made not to attack anybody, but in case they were needed for self-defence. "They were to be used only to scare people off who couldn't be scared off in any other way," he said.

Bahram Khan and Ahmed Mansoor also made statements from the dock.

Ahmed was born in Bradford

in 1965 and left school last year. He had not found a job at the time of his arrest. He too had been to one or two meetings of the United Black Youth League, but was not a member.

He described how Tarlochan passed on the information about the threatened skinhead invasion, saying "Remember what happened last week in Southall, it could happen here."

Ahmed said that his parents are very frightened of racist attacks, and added that on July 11th last year there was a lot of talk of the Pakistani family that had been burned.

"I did think people could be attacked because they had been before," he told the jury.

"There was no thought in my mind about rioting, or rioting against the police," Ahmed continued, "and I wasn't thinking about attacking buildings or people. It seemed we needed some defences in a hurry, just in case."

So the petrol bombs were made, although "I got the impression they might never be used; just as a last resort."

When arrested by police two weeks later, he added, he was hit on the side of the head, and also signed a statement he didn't make.

Petrol bombs for self-defence, court told

TARLOCHAN GATA AURA accepted sole responsibility in court last week for making 38 petrol bombs. But he denied that they were made to hurt anyone or to damage property.

He told the jury in the Bradford 12 case that the devices were made on his suggestion to build 'a shield of fire' to protect black people from a threatened onslaught by fascist thugs.

The Defence case opened on Wednesday 26th May, a month after the trial began. Tarlochan's barrister Mike Mansfield told the jury that "the prosecution has to prove Tarlochan Gata Aura's intent to endanger life or property or an unlawful purpose. If you doubt that and think that he might have genuinely believed that his people were threatened, then his course of action, however extreme his actions, was lawful."

Tarlochan then described the events of July 11th last year. Rumours were abounding that coachloads of fascists and skinheads were coming to attack Bradford's black population, as they had attacked Southall the week before.

SHIELD

Most of the Bradford 12 had a discussion that afternoon about the threat. "Under normal circumstances," Tarlochan told the court, "we would have to mobilise the whole community, but under the special circumstances we did 't have the time."

He then suggested making petrol devices "to erect a shield of fire to deter any attackers from coming into black areas because we feared not just attacks on people but on homes as well."

He denied prosecution allegations that the devices were for throwing at police officers, large shops or for causing any kind of large scale disturbance. "They were purely for self defence," he added.

"Given what had happened in Southall, in Deptford, in Coventry where Satnam Singh Gill had been stabbed to death by skinheads, given what had happened in Walthamstow I feared that death could have been a consequence of a skinhead attack on Bradford," Tarlochan went on to say, adding "My personal experience is that the police have never defended our community. There is an absence of a will to help."

Asked how he intended using the petrol devices, Tarlochan said he "envisaged a long line like Brick Lane

or Lumb Lane whereby fascists and skinheads would be coming up from one end towards the black population in large numbers, and if we were able to notice them coming up towards black areas I would personally only throw them, and I think that goes for the rest, in the middle of the road. Not 38 simultaneously but one, maybe two, letting them know, indicating to the attackers to go away".

Under cross-examination from prosecutor Paul Kennedy, Tarlochan denied that he bore a grudge against the police. He said that they had failed to protect his community from racists and fascists.

"If Hitler had been stopped building the Nazi movement," he added, "he would not have had six million Jews killed in the gas chambers."

Kennedy said that this was not an accurate parallel, however, because "the German police were not an impartial body".

"Maybe you don't know what it is like to be black in this racist society," Tarlochan said to Kennedy, "In such a situation the only thing you can think of is the measures you might take to defend yourself, and this was all my mind was concerned with at the time."

*case continues.

"Maybe you
don't know
what it
is like
to be black
in this
racist
society..."

JULY 11th 1981

People feared racist attacks

4.6.82

REPORTS of skinhead invasions, reverberations from Southall, shock at the murder of the Khan family in Walthamstow, widespread fear of racist attacks, this was the scene last July 11th. This, say the defence barristers in the Bradford 12 case, is what was in the minds of the youths who made 38 petrol bombs to defend their community.

A woman who works at Daley's Bookshop in Bradford told the court that on July 11th she heard reports of skinheads coming to attack Bradford. She telephoned the city's 4th Idea Bookshop, which had been a target of fascist attacks many times previously. Daleys closed early that day.

Four workers from the 4th Idea gave evidence, including examples of the attacks they had suffered. It was while visiting the shop that day that Tarlochan had been warned of the skinhead attack.

A representative of the Community Relations Council then told the court that racial violence has occurred on 'many occasions' in Bradford, and had increased since 1976.

He said that during the week prior to July 11th "the community was on edge and rumours were flying around. People thought there could be something serious going to happen. I was fearful in my own mind. The whole black community was feeling insecure."

□ □ □

Mr Piara Singh Khabra, the president of the Indian Workers Association in Southall, gave evidence of the skinhead invasion of Southall on Friday 3rd July last year.

He said that the Indian community was a closely-knit community, and that what happened in Southall had an impact elsewhere, including Bradford.

Asked by Defence Barrister Mr. Kadri, what he would expect young people to do if attacked by skinheads, Mr. Khabra replied "to defend themselves in whatever means possible." Asked if the community would understand it, he replied "Yes."

Mr. Khabra agreed with Tariq Ali, who is representing himself, that when hundreds of skinheads attacked Southall on 3rd July "the whole community put up a very brave resistance against them, and they haven't been back since."

□ □ □

Mr. Zikrullah Khan, the chief reporter of the *Daily Hang*, a Pakistani paper which sells widely among Asians in Bradford, told of the murder of the Khan family in Walthamstow on 2nd July last year. He said

that in the week after the Walthamstow and the Southall events his paper reported speeches made by Asian leaders saying that the police had failed to protect Asians, and calling on Asians to defend themselves.

Peter Nichols of the Walthamstow Fire Brigade, who was involved in the Khan fire which killed a woman and three children, then told the court that after the deaths "we compiled a list of suspicious fires in the past two and a half years. We found 13, and they all involved Asian people. There were seven deaths."

□ □ □

Mr. Jim Tarchodene told the court of events in Luton on July 10th and 11th. He is a Luton County Councillor, and also represents a string of other organisations.

On Friday 10th he says, he received a number of phone calls both from reporters and from people claiming to represent the National Front and skinheads, saying that fascists were coming from North London, Leicester and other places on the motorway to attack black people in Luton and elsewhere.

He said that the black community in Luton was very worried about the threatened invasion, particularly as there had already been a number of racist attacks on the mosque and the Sikh Temple.

On both the Friday night and the Saturday daytime, he said, there were groups of skinheads roaming the city centre, some as large as 50, abusing black people. Damage and injury was caused.

Mr. Tarchodene recognised only 'a handful' of the youths, and is convinced the vast majority were from outside the area.

He agreed with Tariq Ali that there were many links between Asian communities in Luton and in Bradford. Many Bradford Asians have settled in Luton and vice versa, and visits to the Mosque were frequent.

□ □ □

Concluding the evidence on Tuesday two Asian bus drivers in Bradford told the court of racist attacks against them last year. Both men had to have several weeks off work, but the police took no action.

Anwar Ditta in court

4.6.82



ANWAR DITTA told the court that Tarlochan Gata Aura had been the chairperson of the campaign to bring her children to this country from Pakistan.

She said that even when the campaign looked hopeless he had never suggested any violence. "Even when the appeal was lost, Tarlochan did not allow me to lose hope", she said, "He stuck with me when a lot of others just melted away."

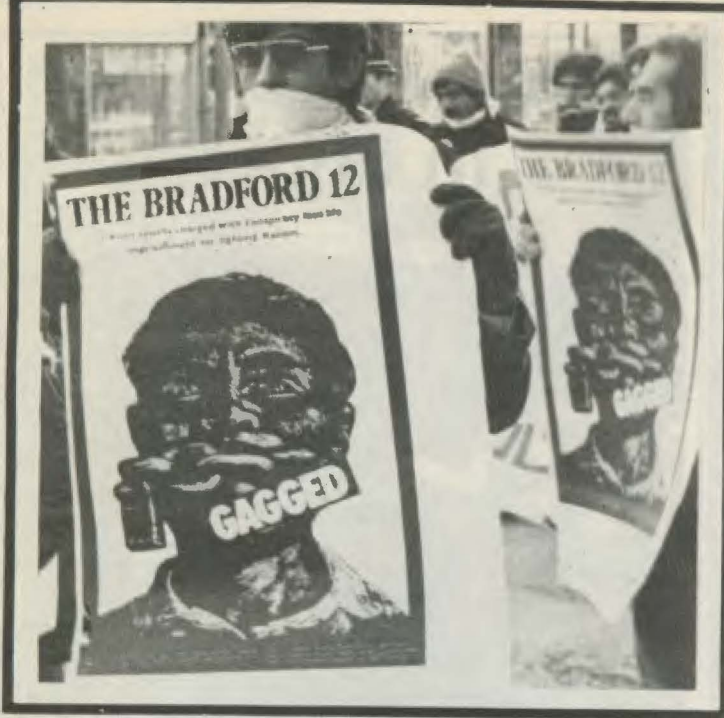
While campaigning together and speaking at meetings throughout the country, both Anwar Ditta and Tarlochan heard many accounts of racist attacks.

When she finally won the right to bring her children to live with her in Rochdale, Anwar and Tarlochan came into the public eye and, she told the jury, they were themselves subjected to a large

number of abusive letters from fascists.

Anwar Ditta told of how attacks and threats had affected her personally: "At nights I can't sleep in my own home. We have to keep buckets under the front door in case petrol is poured through the door and set on fire. My children have been threatened with violence. Everybody is affected if they are black."

Anwar Ditta testified in the courtroom in support of the Bradford 12. Joining last week's mass picket of the trial were others who have fought similar battles and are also supporting the youths. They included: Jaswinder Kaur, Nasira Begum, Cynthia Gordon, Pow Shien Leong, Nasreen Akhtar, Najat Chafee, and representatives from other campaigns throughout the country.



POLICE officers were accused of lying and of blinkering themselves to the extent of racist attacks, as defence barristers' closing speeches got underway in the trial of twelve Asian youths at Leeds Crown Court. Judge Beaumont, meanwhile, has ordered an end to 'political speeches' in the courtroom.

Evidence ended last Thursday, 3rd June, for the youths who say they made

petrol bombs last July only in self-defence against a racist invasion.

Despite the fact that the case took ten months to come to trial, Prosecutor Paul Kennedy's closing speech on Friday relied entirely on statements either made or alleged to have been made within two days of the youths' arrests last July.

This week Mike Mansfield began the defence barristers' closing speeches by examining in detail the police evidence which, he said, had been discredited. He went on to argue the defendants' case for self-defence.

BLINKERS

On Tuesday barrister Paddy O'Connor said that police officers, despite being trained and professional witnesses, had been caught out "bare-faced lying".

He said that the police and the prosecution had made "an extraordinary display" of themselves, revealing a "problem of consciousness" about racial violence. He said that the police did not want to know: they had blinkered themselves.

And the black community are asked to trust the police force which employs Detective Inspector Holland, who has stated that "police officers must be prejudiced".

The prosecution had opened the case saying that there was "no threat at all" to the Asian community in Bradford, and ended it by saying that the level of racial violence was "acceptable".

But black people know different. "There were no

No politics please, we're British

11.6.82

immigration controls when British soldiers went to India," Paddy O'Connor continued; "There was no second class citizenship for British businessmen and soldiers who went to India.

"But when Asians wanted to come here, they were degraded, pushed into the ghettos, and forced into second class citizenship.

"And when they see racist groups on the rise and racist violence increasing, 'ignore it' say the same people who went over to India, and who pushed them into second class citizenship when they arrived here.

"Who are you supposed to turn to? To the very people, the very state that took each of those steps?"

FAILED

He said that the prosecution had failed to show that on 11th July last year these youths should have told themselves that the police would protect them. They had failed to disprove the self-defence argument: the defence did not have to prove it.

Judge Beaumont intervened, saying: "don't make any more political speeches."

Paddy O'Connor responded by reminding the jury that "Politics are about relationships between people. It is a funny country when a political speech is considered an insult before open-minded people. A political speech may actually be something to be proud of."

He said that questions of self-defence were usually about the right to use force. But in this case no force was used, no injuries were made, and no damage caused.

The case concerned preparations and precautions for an eventuality. He pointed out that the government of this country is making preparations, in self-defence, for "the destruction of mankind."

Masood Malik, O'Connor's

client, had an honest and instinctive reaction to a situation on July 11th last year. "Is he to be branded a criminal for that?" he asked.

The Judge is expected to begin his summing up at the end of this week.

* Case continuing.

11.6.82

Police were warned of skinhead attack

BRADFORD POLICE were warned of a skinhead invasion to attack black people last July, the jury at the Bradford 12 trial heard last week.

Tim Whitefield, Community Relations Officer for Bradford, said that on July 9th he telephoned the police. He told Detective Inspector Malcolm Richards that there were rumours of skinhead attacks and, he says, the police had information confirming the rumours.

This contradicts the denials of more than 20 police officers in the trial that the police had any knowledge of rumours or invasions.

Marcia Singh of Bradford Law Centre added that on July 11th large groups of Asian youth were patrolling and monitoring the streets. "If the skinheads were to attack, we would respond," he said.

It's a political trial barrister tells jury

"I address you with one foot in the dock," Asian defence barrister Sighbat Kadri told the Bradford 12 jury on Tuesday this week.

"What kind of trial is this?" he asked, in his closing speech. A political trial, he answered.

He pointed out that for 1,800 people and half a million sheep in the South Atlantic the British government sent an armada and said that aggression must not be allowed to pay.

But in Bradford thousands and thousands of black people are living in fear of racist attack, and nothing is done.

"The only difference," he said, "is their colour."

11.6.82

Youths tell jury of their fears and their beliefs

11.6.82

"We are all politicians," 18 year old Saeed Hussain told the court during the Bradford 12 trial last week.

"Politics is not about passing degrees at Oxford and Cambridge. Every ordinary day, for every ordinary person is politics.

"Not being able to pay the rent or fuel bills is politics. Not being able to feed your family, that's politics. Not being able to afford school uniform, that's politics. Living in slums with damp, that's politics.

"On top of this, if you are black you have to deal with fascism and racism, which does not seem to exist in the dictionary of the West Yorkshire police force. But if you ask any black person, he or she will be able to tell you what it means."

Saeed Hussain also spoke of the effect on his family last July when they heard of the firebombing in Walthamstow when a woman and three children died, and of the fascist attack on Southall: "It affected my mother so much that she got my brother to seal up the letter box. Southall and Walthamstow usually seem quite far away, but on that day, it seemed like the end of our street."

Other defendants made statements to the jury from the dock, describing the fear

they felt on 11th July last year, when they heard that skinheads were coming to attack black people in Bradford.

The statements also described the threats and promises, intimidation, physical violence, denial of food and sleep, and denial of solicitors that they suffered in the police station after their arrests.

Tariq Ali told the jury that he had learnt of self defence "in the racist jungle of the school playground."

He went on: "If I am confronted by a situation where hordes of murderous thugs are about to attack my people, and if the authorities have done nothing about it, then I would have no alternative but to use those means of defence that are appropriate to the attack. I hope I would have the courage to do so because this is my belief.

"And if they send me to prison for life, then so be it."

* Case continuing.

Judge misleads jury — claim

18.6.82

Judge Beaumont's summing up of the Bradford 12 case to the jury has been criticised as containing several misdirections.

Defence barristers pointed out a number of errors or disagreements, until they were stopped and told that further points "would be a matter for the appeal court."

Legal sources point out that Judge Beaumont gave the jury misdirections relating to both the law and the evidence on explosive substances.

He also told the jury on several occasions that in his view petrol bombs are explosive substances, although it was a matter of dispute in this case with expert witnesses on both sides. He added that it was only his opinion, and "need not influence" the jury.

Judge Beaumont has also been criticised for failing to draw the jury's attention to the fact that in law the first and primary test of a self-defence argument is what was going on in the defendant's mind, not what you or I or the detached onlooker would have done in the same situation.

Judge Beaumont told the jury that if they were satisfied that on 11th July last year the youths were fearful of a skinhead attack, or that that might have been the case, then they should find them not guilty of making

explosives with intent to endanger life or damage property.

The charge of conspiracy to make explosives for an unlawful purpose might be "more appropriate", he said.

These remarks were felt by many in the courtroom to be a clear indication to the jury that, in the Judge's view, if the youths were found not guilty on the first charge, they should be convicted of the second.

In his closing remarks, which appear to ignore the special circumstances in Bradford last July 11th, Judge Beaumont said:

"If you are satisfied that the bombs were made for defence, or that that might have been the case, you have to ask yourselves is that legitimate and reasonable self-defence? You set the standard.

"If you feel that having a store of devices to use against opponents, if you think that is beyond reasonable self-defence, and that chaos and confusion in the country would follow, then they are guilty" of the conspiracy charge.

The Judge's summing up will doubtless feature in any of the Bradford 12 cases which appear in the Appeal Courts.



Emotional scenes as Leeds jury acquits the Bradford 12

18.6.82

WILD emotional scenes accompanied the acquittal of the Bradford 12 at Leeds Crown Court on Wednesday.

Defendants, barristers and supporters hugged each other, and they broke out into spontaneous applause as the jury left the court.

The jury finally returned to the courtroom to return its 10-2 majority verdict at 11.20am. All defendants were acquitted on the charge of making an explosive substance (petrol bombs) with intent to endanger life or property, and the further more serious charge of conspiracy to make an explosive substance.

The verdicts mean that the defence case — that the petrol bombs were made for self def-

ence against a predicted fascist attack in Bradford last July — was accepted in full.

The jury retired to consider their verdicts at 10.30am on Tuesday, but when they still hadn't reached any verdicts on either of the charges facing the youths by 5.20pm, they were taken to a hotel to spend the night.

During over six hours of their deliberations, the corridors and buffet of the courtroom building were heavy with tension.

The defendants, their relatives, their close friends, and large numbers of

WE SAY

18.6.82

The Not Guilty verdicts in the Bradford 12 case are a vindication of everything the twelve youths and their supporters have been saying.

Despite the police conspiracy to jail the youths, and to criminalise the United Black Youth League and militant black politics in general, justice has in the end prevailed.

Justice has prevailed not because the legal system guarantees it. But because of the sustained campaign throughout the country on the youths' behalf; because the barristers were not afraid to take politics into the courtroom; and because the jury returned a courageous verdict.

But although the State has lost an important battle against the black community, this is only one battle in a long war.

The twelve youths have suffered months in prison, and further months on very restrictive bail conditions, awaiting trial. The last year has undoubtedly caused them and their families great distress.

But the effects go wider, as the police intended. The United Black Youth League was deprived of its most experienced and founder members. And the precious time and energy of militants throughout the country have been tied up in this case.

And now that the trial is over we can expect renewed pressure to restrict who can sit on juries. Already suggestions are being made to disqualify the millions of people who have ever been convicted of an imprisonable offence, however minor, rather than those who have actually been imprisoned, as at present.

If we are to defend critics of the State, and of the powers-that-be, then we must resist this onslaught with as much vigour as we resist other escalations in the State's armoury against us, such as plastic bullets.

supporters thronged the building, waiting.

Nervous optimism mingled with despair, tears with hugs, words of support with discussion of the campaign if any of the youths were jailed.

At 4.30pm the jury were called back into the courtroom. They looked as tired as the defendants, and their supporters in the packed public gallery.

The foreman told the Judge that they had not reached unanimous verdicts on any charge. Judge Beaumont told them that he could now consider a majority verdict, if at least ten people agreed.

After a further forty minutes deliberation the Judge was told that the jury had not reached any majority verdicts either.

They were sent to a city centre hotel to spend the night.





Some of the jubilant Bradford 12 defendants as they left the court last Wednesday. Unfortunately the police officers wouldn't pose for our photographer!

25.6.82

Bradford 12 inquiry demand

Sighbat Khan, who was one of the defence barristers for the Bradford 12, has called for an inquiry into the way the youths were prosecuted. After the youths were all cleared of conspiracy and explosive charges by a Leeds jury last week, Sighbat Kadri reaffirmed his view that it had been a political trial.

25.6.82

Things are getting back to normal down at the Town hall, which had been dominated for eight weeks by the Bradford 12 trial.

Mysteriously, when the trial opened on April 26th, the back and side entrances to the building were locked, with signs directing people to the main entrance. And sure enough, as soon as the trial ended last week, the entrances were unlocked and the signs removed. You can't have people running riot all over the place now, can you?

But that's not all, the petty-minded bureaucrats of the Town Hall decided last Wednesday that they were not going to open the buffet, because all day Tuesday it had been full of Bradford 12 - defendants and supporters. They even stopped people playing cards to while away the hours before the jury reached its verdict!

Nothing, however, could dampen the feelings of joy at the acquittals, and the celebrations which went on until the early hours of Thursday morning.

Somewhat different feelings were doubtlessly in the minds of more than 20 Bradford policemen who the jury have found to be liars.

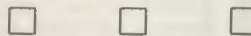


7.5.82

It's nice to know that despite their sophisticated surveillance equipment, its still possible to fool the police, albeit unintentionally. At the mass picket of the Bradford 12 trial on Monday 26th April a leaflet was handed out announcing mass pickets for subsequent Wednesdays, meaning from Wednesday May 5th onwards. But what happened on Wednesday April 28th? A whole load of police in riot gear turned up, that's what. Ho, ho, ho.

It reminds me of a story a few years

ago about some students putting up a poster on November 5th, reading: "Remember, remember the 5th of November. Anarchist Society coach trip to the Houses of Parliament. Coaches leave 10pm". As anticipated, the only people who responded to this call were two Special Branch officers, who must have felt mighty stupid at the absence of either a coach or anarchists.



14.5.82

Once again I'm persuaded to put pen to paper over the strange behaviour of our heroes in blue and the Bradford 12 case. Apparently on Thursday morning last week a man approached some of the pickets on the Town Hall steps, claiming to be a student of social history. He wanted a copy of the Defence Campaign's bulletin and was generally chatting, when his cover was blown: he was recognised as being a Bradford policeman, wearing a wig! Tut tut; you'll have to try better than that, lad.

A year ago next weekend, on Saturday 11th July 1981, this country was in flames. In cities up and down Britain young people fought battles with the police, and the names Toxteth, Brixton and Moss Side in particular were on everyone's lips.

But those rebellions were not the only thing taking place at that time. On July 2nd a Sikh household in Walthamstow were the victims of a racist arson attack: a woman and her three children were burned to death. On July 3rd hundreds of racist and fascist skinheads invaded Southall and beat up local people until Asian youths repelled them.

In Asian communities throughout the country the days around July 11th saw fears and rumours of further racist attacks. Asian communities had seen enough to know that the police would not protect them.

It was against this background that in Bradford on that day some Asian youths made 38 petrol bombs to help protect their community from a racist invasion. And although they were never used, the decision to make those devices led to twelve youths standing trial for two long months at Leeds Crown Court, before a multi-racial jury found them not guilty of all charges on June 16th.

Two of the Bradford 12 defendants talked to LOP after the trial about their experiences and their feelings.

The Bradford 12 Campaign

has large debts to pay off as quickly as possible, and is appealing once again for donations from supporters. These should be sent (postal address only) to:

National Treasurer,
Free the Bradford 12,
Box JK,
59 Cookridge Street,
Leeds 2.

FREE!

Bradford 12 talk to LOP

2nd July 1982

SAEED HUSSAIN was 19 years old when he was arrested at his Bradford home last July. He had been a member of the United Black Youth League, (UBYL) and in fact helped to found it just three months before the arrests.

LOP: What were the politics of the UBYL?

SH: It was basically an anti-racist and anti-fascist organisation, aiming to unify the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities. We were involved in various campaigns, against deportations and in defence of black people. As far as I know, there isn't another organisation trying to unify both Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. There are separate organisations.

The leadership was active and experienced in various other organisations in the past, they had that experience and understanding and took a different approach.

Most black organisations tend to form out of an event, out of anger, such as The Asian Youth Movement in Bradford after the 1976 National Front march. But the UBYL was formed consciously.

LOP: The UBYL supported anti-imperialist struggles, including Ireland, didn't you?

SH: Yes. We acted in support of the hunger strikers, and openly supported all anti-imperialist movements. We felt very strongly the need for links with anti-imperialist movements nationally and internationally. We were attempting to do that. It was a class-conscious organisation.

LOP: I believe that at the time of the arrests the UBYL was starting an investigation into racist attacks and the attitudes of the police. Is that right?

SH: Yes. There was a cafe burnt down on Leeds Road. We were working on that,

and the person responsible was a member of a fascist organisation. There were indications of some kind of relationship with police detectives in West Yorkshire.

LOP: Were you surprised during the trial when the police showed such ignorance of racist attacks?

SH: No I was not surprised, when the officer in charge of the investigation could stand in the box and admit being a racist. The question was constantly put why didn't we go to the police if we felt a threat, but I don't think I have to answer that, just look at that last sentence.

LOP: Although you were all found not guilty in the end, in a sense the state got something out of it, and the arrests...

SH: You mean the state to a certain extent eliminated the UBYL? Yes that's true.

LOP: How did you feel when the jury said 'Not Guilty'?

SH: It's impossible to describe. It will take a long time to sink in. It's a feeling of relief that something's over. But something new must start. Your whole life has been in bits and pieces, you don't know where to start and pick up again.

LOP: How important do you think the defence campaign was? And did it boost your spirits to see so many people sat in the public gallery?

SH: Well, I look at it this way. Without the campaign, we would not have got the barristers we did. Without those barristers, we would not have got the jury we did. And without that jury, we would not be free.

I knew why I was there and I was going to stand by it regardless of the end result. But it was a tremendous

"I'm still getting used to

VASANT PATEL was 20 years old when the Bradford police arrested him last July. And although, like all the defendants, he was cleared of all charges, he had already spent three months in prison in Wetherby before bail was granted.

"We were locked up 23 hours a day. There was nowt to do, just read a book or listen to the radio all day. We were treated as very violent prisoners, classified as 'AA', top security. We weren't allowed to mix with the other prisoners at first."

There was "quite a bit" of verbal racism from the prison screws, though no violence. "They would tell us that we'd never get bail, and that we'd be sent to prison for years."

When bail was eventually granted, after High Court applications in London, the conditions included a ban on political meetings or demonstrations. "When we did come out none of us thought of running away."

Vasant says that the last year "has really dragged along. It was always on your mind. I knew we were all not guilty, but you could never say I'm going to walk out free at the end of this trial. It seems strange now, to have nowt hanging over your head. I'm still getting used to being out."

□ □ □

Vasant signed a statement in the police station on the understanding that things would then be easier, and he would get bail. But signing that statement instead led to months of imprisonment, a year of worry, and a trial that could have led to many years in prison. What advice would he give young people being held in police stations? "Don't say nothing at all, just ask for a solicitor. If the coppers say such and such a person said this about you, that don't mean anything."

"It was my first real contact with the police. I really didn't realise the police could be such bastards. You hear stories

boost to the spirits to see the people in the public gallery and the pickets outside the courts.

People say it's victory for the Bradford 12. But it's not. It's *freedom* for us, but victory for black people generally: the right to defend ourselves. The end result will encourage black people to not simply lie down and be murdered, but to take actions to prevent it happening.

LOP: How do you feel about the jury that you got, and the fact that the trial was in Leeds rather than Bradford?

SH: It is said that every person has the right to be tried by their peers, and that was being denied us. The barristers worked very hard to get the jury which we did get in the end. The authorities had insisted on transferring the case to Leeds, and I can't see any reason but that the Bradford community would not be able to try us. Justice has been done in this case, but I still say the judicial system is corrupt.

LOP: And what of the way the press treated the case?

SH: They generally quite deliberately diverted the issue into a petrol bomb case rather than what it really was, a self-defence case.

Last July, as the arrests were being made, there were massive headlines about petrol bombs being found. I was the fifth or sixth person to be arrested, and I had already read about it in the paper and seen it on the TV. Giovanni actually watched it on the TV with the policemen who were at his house arresting him! And yet when we were in the police station we were denied access to solicitors for several days because allegedly we could get information out to warn others of the arrests. But it had already been on TV, in the papers and everything.

LOP: Like the others, you eventually signed a statement in the police station. Did the police tell you you were going to get bail?

SH: They told all of us that. I wanted to believe it, but didn't really. You are very tempted when these things are said. You are under mental pressure. You feel confused and anxious, you'll do anything to get out. It's their job to get statements out of you. It's their profession, and they're very good at it. They had to have a signed statement because it was the only evidence they did have against me.

LOP: And what would you say to people being held by the police, after your



Vasant Patel and Saeed Hussain outside the court after the trial.

experiences?

SH: Don't say a word. Don't sign anything.

LOP: What lessons have you learned from the last year?

SH: In a way I'm glad that this thing happened, glad I went through it because the amount of knowledge and understanding I've gained could not have been gained by any other means. I suppose that's my compensation.

being out" - Vasant Patel

about them, but you think they might be exaggerated.

"They tried to make us scapegoats for what was happening in the country at the time. They thought they'd caught the people who were masterminding these things. They knew Tariq and Tariqochan beforehand, and they wanted the people they knew and who were active."

Vasant was not a member of the United Black Youth League, which several of the defendants belonged to, but "I was involved in the campaigns for Gary Pemberton and George Lindo," two people wrongly convicted and later released. "I don't think the police were very happy about what happened in those two cases."

□ □ □

Support for the Bradford 12 came from many different sources and many different countries. "It was nice to know that people outside England were taking notice. It gives you confidence that

there are people prepared to do something.

"There was support from quite a load of women's groups, most I hadn't heard of before.

"People in the campaign in Leeds worked really hard, and also came from London and other places to stay here during the trial, giving up whatever else they were doing."

□ □ □

Asked if he thought an all-white jury (which was looking likely as the trial opened) might not have listened to their defence, Vasant said "I don't think an all-white jury would have understood as much as the jury we did have."

And, finally, what effect will the successful campaign and the not guilty verdicts have on the Asian community in Britain? "Well it's *not* a licence to make petrol bombs. It will give people an awareness that they can do something if they are to be attacked. You can defend yourself."



It is my belief that when a people are attacked, it is their right to act in self defence. The nature of that defence depends upon the nature of the attack... We decided that an organised defence of our community was necessary. In my view, the defence of black people, of all working class people, who are threatened by the menace of fascism, necessitates the forming of defensive organisations. It was with this in mind that we did what we did.

— Tariq Ali, while in custody,
July 1981.

Tarlochan Gata-Aura:

Given what had happened in Southall, Deptford, in Coventry where Satnam Singh Gill had been stabbed to death by skinheads; given what had happened in Walthamstow; I feared that death could have been a consequence of a skinhead attack on Bradford. ...My personal experience is that the police have never defended our community. There is an absence of the will to help... The police have always protected the fascists... Maybe you don't know what it is like to be black in this racist society. In such a situation, the only thing you can think of is the measures you might take to defend yourself.

Bahram Noor Khan:

I was worried for my family and also for my dad who has a shop near to Manningham which was the main area the skinheads would attack... also for the community.

Masood Malik:

I had read and seen on TV accounts of, for example, the Deptford fire in which 13 black children died. Even though my knowledge of Urdu is limited, I could read enough to know that such incidents happened... There were a couple of incidents about two weeks before 11 July... After the 11 July I remember an arson attack on the Leeds Road cafe... When my older brother found out about the attack, I remember him mentioning something about sealing our letter box up because we had fears of someone squirting something through to start a fire.

Ahmed Mansoor:

I did think people could be attacked because they have been before. I thought even if the police were there, it still wouldn't stop all the attacks, because they never seem to manage to stop them.

I knew about Southall the week before already. I saw it on the news and a lot of people talked about it, and it was in the newspapers. People started to get more worried... My parents are frightened and nervous in case anyone attacks our house or anyone outside. There have been a number of incidents in Manningham near us...

Vasant Patel:

I first became aware that people viewed me differently — that some people could hate me because I am black — while still at school. In my early teens I first experienced a personal attack on the basis of my colour alone... (UBYL) There was nothing that I could see which was illegal or violent about the organisation. The people involved seemed genuinely concerned about the problems of black people in Britain.

Giovanni Singh:

I went to about twenty meetings where we discussed which campaigns we should support... I also went to a demo in

Bradford 12's words in court

Extracts from statements made from the dock

Coventry about a man who had been murdered by some skinheads. On the demo there were about 10–15,000 people and about 500 skinheads came. The police refused to move them and there was violence. This also added to my suspicion of the police.

Pravin Patel:

I have read articles on racial attacks not just in Bradford but other parts of the country... When I have read things like this, I have had fear inside me thinking that my family of someone I love might be attacked or killed in a similar manner... It's just like these kind of attacks can happen to anyone...

Saeed Hussein:

I got into political thinking by the kind of processes of thought that went on when I was at school. It was the way I was made to feel as an alien. It was a continuous feeling.

I have always been interested in what happens and the way it happens. I joined the Kashmiri Nationalist Movement at the age of 14 and attended local meetings and demonstrations. I read the literature regularly which involved all the struggles that were going on everywhere, the Palestinian struggle, the South African struggle and that's when I came to ask myself questions, who are these people and what are they fighting for?

We have in this country certain people called politicians. My view is that there is no special category under which certain people come, we are all politicians. Politics is not about passing degrees at Oxford or Cambridge. Every ordinary day for every ordinary person is politics. Not being about to pay for the winter fuel bill — that's politics. Not being about to feed your family — that's politics. Not being able to afford school uniform for your children — that's politics. Living in slums in the damp — that's politics.

On top of this, if you're black, you have to deal with racism which doesn't seem to exist in the dictionary of the West Yorkshire Police Force. But if you ask any black person he or she will tell you what it means...

We began the UBYL about 6 to 7 months before we were arrested. The basic aims and objectives... are simple. They were to unify the black community. We were generally anti-racist and anti-fascist.

Sabir Hussein:

I am concerned generally about questions like skinheads and racist attacks. I do believe that if they attack us we have to defend ourselves. Everyday life is inescapable.

Tariq Ali:

Everything you have heard so far about the charges against us is about a human reaction — our action in defence of our people... The threat of fascist terror affects everyone of you and not just black people... But there is a reign of terror now for black people. The institutions that subjugate them, and the highest authority in this country has approved of this terror...

The only reason I was raided in the first place was because of my political association. They carried out a political interrogation before anything else... then the bail conditions... not to attend any political activities. After our arrest, 800 people came together in a meeting for our defence. The community understood that this was a political trial... There whole case against me amounts to nothing but a political prosecution. It is aimed at my political views. It is nothing but to get me off the streets. At that like I fought for my people. I am not a terrorist but a victim of terror.

Jayest Amin and Isaaq Kazi did not make statements in court.



Tarlochan Gate-Aura after the verdicts of Not Guilty.

Letter to Supporters/Witnesses et alia

During the proceedings I never really imagined that the day would be so near when I would be writing a letter of fraternal greetings and revolutionary saultations to all those people who helped to make our victory possible.

Since our arrest on the 30th July 1981, there have been many vicissitudes both inside the campaign and in and among the defendents themselves. With hindsight, even the detrimental aspects in their own way were a stepping strone to the present victory. When the campaign first started in Bradford, it had the unqualified support of the local community. Due to a variety of reasons:

internal power struggles, open sabotage, opportunism etc., there was a time when in effect no campaign existed in Bradford. At the same time the defendents were shattered in small groupings. It must have been a terribly difficult task for the comrades involved in the campaign to maintain some sort of unity outside. It was at times extremely demoralising to see the defendents so disunited. But at the end of the day we have all emerged victorious.

The real heroes of this struggle are the Jury. It is they who braved the bullying and refused to compromise and returned an acquittal across the board. I salute them for the courageous stand that they took.

There are four fundamental reasons for the present victory. The backbone of them is the political campaign **OUTSIDE THE COURT**:

- 1) The campaign
- 2) The defence counsel
- 3) The jury
- 4) The internal unity of the defendents

Without the campaign it is doubtful whether we would have had the defence counsel that we did. Without the defence counsel we would not have had the Jury that we did. Without the Jury that we had, we would not have been acquitted. We would have been buried under the ever-growing mountain of injustice against black people.

The acquittal has meant for us our personal freedom. Although freedom is such a sweet thing, humanity would not have missed 12 faces if they had been crushed by the pillars of Imperialism. The real victory is for black people. For Self Defence is not an Offence. All of us must take steps to organise defensive forces in our communities and arm ourselves with whatever we consider reasonable to defend our communities. It is unlikely that the state will leave this decision be as it is. At this moment there are stirrings of discontent in the upper echelons of authority. Although our freedom is not endangered, the principle achievement that came about as a result of our acquittal is defended with much more determination.

The State made a mountain out of a mole hill. In so doing, they made a monument to our beliefs. That is, we will defend ourselves by whatever means necessary.

Finally, to all brothers and sisters who came on demonstrations, pickets, public meetings or whatever else they did as a gesture of solidarity, I send my humble greetings. To all those people who came and gave us support as witnesses, or whatever, I send my greetings.

In solidarity,
Tariq M. Ali



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congratulates the Bradford 12
on their victory over the State
and announces

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Leeds Black Film Festival,
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c/o 191 Belle Vue Road,
Leeds 3.

**Congratulations to the
Bradford 12
on your victory
from supporters of
Socialist Challenge
in Leeds**

Congratulations to the Bradford 12, the
Defence Campaign and the defence lawyers.
In supporting the Bradford 12 we defended
the right of black and white women to
defend ourselves against violence and racism.
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everywhere.

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Dear Comrades,

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warm greetings and solidarity. Your victory
against the racist British state is a victory
for the whole working class. It is a defeat
for the vicious plans of the racist state to
criminalise those defending the black
community. We once again congratulate
you and wish you success in your further
struggles. Venceremos! Solidarity,
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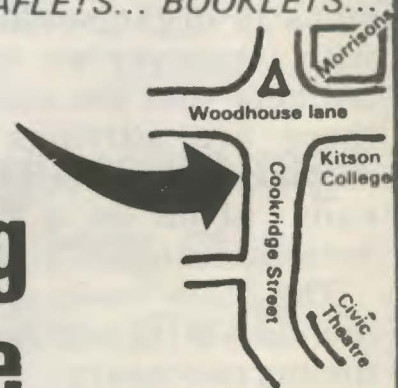
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salutes the Bradford 12.
Your victory is a victory
for all black people, and all
oppressed people fighting
imperialism!**

**Congratulations to the
Bradford 12 on your victory
from the Corner Bookshop
162 Woodhouse Lane
Leeds 2.
Tel. Leeds 454125.**

**The Troops Out Movement of
England, Scotland and Wales
congratulates the Bradford 12 and
the Defence Campaign on their
magnificent victory.**

Like Irish republicans in Ireland and in British jails, the state has failed to criminalise the Bradford 12 and the black community. But the struggle goes on, their will be casualties, and the state will take prisoners. Support the 54 Irish POWs held in England in their demand for transfer-on-request to N. Ireland jails! "Like the lark, I too have the spirit of freedom" (Bobby Sands). Solidarity.
Leeds Troops Out Movement,
Box 1969,
59 Cookridge Street,
Leeds 2. (send s.a.e. for information pack.)

**Friends of Chun Hee Leong
and Pow Yean Leong Defence C'ttee
send their solidarity & greetings
to the Bradford 12 on their great victory.
Fight for Pow Yean Leong's Right to Stay!
PYLDC, Box L, 59 Cookridge St., Leeds 2.**

SOME OF THE ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE SUPPORTED THE BRADFORD 12

Bradford: Guru Govind Singh Sikh Temple, Guru Nanak Sikh Temple, Ramgarhia Sikh Temple, Islamic Centre, Hindu Cultural Centre, Bradford Trades Council, AUEW (Eccleshill Branch), TGWU (1192), Bradford District Labour Party, Bradford North Constituency L.P., Undercliffe Ward L.P., Green Lane Youth Centre, Bradford University S.U., Bradford College S.U.

Leeds: Sikh Temple, Islamic Centre, Trades Council, TGWU (ACTSS), ASTMS, Equity, Come-Unity Collective, Out of Work Centre (Swarthmore), Third World First, Leeds University S.U., Leeds Poly Labour Club, The Standing Conference of Pakistani Organisations, Muslim Council, Federation of Indian Associations, First Base Youth Centre, Shape-Up-North, NALGO (LEEDS), Leeds Poly SU, Leeds College of Printing SU, Women Against Imperialism

Nationally: Pakistan Muslim Welfare Assoc., Shree Lohana Mahajana (Ashton-u-Lyne), Indian Workers Association (GB) Pakistan Women's Organisation, Bengali International, Federation of Bengali Youth organisations, Birmingham Youth Movement, Dewsbury Asian Youth Organisation, Sikh Gurudvara (South London), Jamaica Society, (Manchester) West Yorkshire County Association of Trades Councils, Lambeth Trades Council, Hackney Trades Council, Wandsworth Trades Council, Camden Trades Council, Westminster TUPS Branch (APEX), ACTTS Central London, ACTTS South London, ACTSS (SW London), ASTMS 507 Branch, GGNWU (MATSA) Central London, ASTMS No15 Div Council, NATFHE (Kilburn Poly), Lewisham NALGO, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, Bakers Food and Allied Workers Union, Hackney NUT, City and East London College NATFHE, North Hammersmith NUPE, Ken Gill (Chair, TUC Equal Opportunities Ctee), Cliff Williams (AUEW Convenor), Martin Eady (NUR London Vice-pres), St. Paul's L.P. (Bristol), Battersea L.P. (Queen's Town Branch), Ealing-Acton L.P., Hornsey L.P., Holborn and St. Pancras L.P., West Lewisham L.P., Tony Benn MP, Lord Ted Willis, Kevin Moore (Lambeth Council), Merle Amory (Brent Councillor), Peter Tatchell (Bermondsey L.P.), Big Flame, Hyda Park Socialist, Jewish Socialist Group, Revolutionary Gay Men's Caucus, Irish Republican Socialist Party, Armagh Co-ordinating Group, Latin American Women's Group, Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association, Christians against Racism and Fascism, Troops Out Movement, Young Communist League, Achilles Heal, National Association of Disabled Writers, Migrants Action Group, Southampton ANL, The Spade, Hammer and Pen Society, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-op, Blair Peach Memorial Fund, Wandsworth NAME, 121 Books, Lewisham Way Centre, Independent Film Makers Co-op, Brent Community Bookshop, North Islington Law Centre, Thamesdown CRE, Birmingham Community Assoc., Newsreel Collective, Journeyman Press, Sheba Feminist Publishers, David Edger, Ron Halverston (CP Chair), Asquith Gibbs (Lewisham CRC), Wally Brown (Merseyside CRC), John Willis (Film maker), University of York S.U., London Student Organisation, National Union of Asian Students, National Union of Students, Middlesex Polytechnic Students Union, Coventry Poly S.U., Manchester Poly S.U., Black Students Alliance (Essex Univ.) Sussex University S.U. Hammersmith College S.U. King's College Socialist Society.

Kashmiri Workers Assoc. Bangladesh Workers Assoc. Bangladesh Welfare Assoc. South East Region TUC. London L.P. Wandsworth NALGO, London CARF, Birmingham CARF, Indian Workers Association, Hind Mazdoor Lehar, Pakistan Workers and Peasants Party, Black Liberation Front, Khan Family Defence Committee, Reggie Yates Defence Campaign, Paul Worrel Campaign, Richard Cambell Campaign, Mohinder Singh Defence Campaign, West London Defence Committee, Brixton Defence Committee, Liverpool 8 Defence Committee, Namibia Support Committee, Co-ordinating Committee for the Defence of Iranian People's Struggle (Manchester), Women Against Imperialism, NCLL, Huddersfield Action Committee Against Racism, Peter Hain (Putney LP), Revolutionary Communist League, IMG, Revolution Youth, SWP, ANL, RCP/WAR, RCG, CP (GB), Millan Community Project (SL), Wandsworth CCR, ACTSS (Branch 41214), Socialist Organiser (Sheffield), Asian Youth Association (Sheffield) Black Consciousness Group (Sheffield), Asian Women Community Workers Group, Lambeth NUT, Asian Solidarity Society (NELP).

Sikh Gurudvara (Glasgow), Bengali International (E London), Asian Action Group (N London), Moss Side Peoples' Centre, Community Workers & Voluntary Org., Coventry Youth Movement, Luton Youth Movement, Friends of Nareen Adhtar, Friends of Nasira Begun, Friends of Jasvinder Keur, Cynthia Gordon Action Group, Bangladeshi Divided Families, Sultan Mahmood Support Ctte. Friends of Chun Hee Leong, Najat Chafee Defence Campaign, Parveen Akhtar Defence Campaign, Save Ayesha (Oxford) Friends of Mohammed Butt (M'ster), Shirley Graham Campaign, Race Today Alliance, Caribbean Labour Solidarity, Wages for Housework (UK), Black Women for Wages for Housework, Wages Due Lesbians, English Collective of Prostitutes, Women Against Rape, OWAAD, IRSP (M'ster SG), N.E. Lancashire Campaign Against Racism, Oldham Campaign Against Racist Laws, Campaign Against Racist Laws, Essex Law Centre, Hounslow Law Centre, Quaker Community Relations Council, Alliance of Radical Methodists, Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, Halifax Multi-cultural Festival, Lewisham CRC, Tameside CRE, York CRC, Swindon CRC, Asian Soc (Warwick Univ SU), St. Johns Col SU (Manchester), Manchester Univ SU, UMIST SU,

Internationally:

All India Co-ordinating Ctee for Working Women, Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left), Indian Peoples Assoc. of N. America, People's Progressive Party (Guyana) Sinn Fein, Na Fianna Eirrean (Sinn Fein Youth Movement) Irish Republican Socialist

London Inst. of Education SU, Kingston Poly SU, London College of Printing SU, Sheffield Univ. SU, W. Lewisham LP, Bridlington LP, Queenstown LP (Battersea), Hornsey Vale LP, Moswell Hill LP, Poole LP, Hornsey LPYS, Northampton LPYS, Legal Action Group, Islington Bus Co., Sheffield Centre Against Unemployment, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Bournemouth Womens Group, Spare-Rib Collective, Outwrite Collective, Schools Against The Bomb, Gay Rights at Work, Peoples National Party, Workers Revolutionary Party, Lancs Assoc. of Trades Councils, NERTUC, Southwark Trades Council, Brent Trades Council, Birmingham Trades Council, Lambeth NUT, Wandsworth NUT, NUPE (Hammersmith Hosp), NUPE (exeter), NUPE (Bristol) NALGO (Lambeth), NALGO (Newham), NATFE (Inner London Regional Council, NATFHE (N. London Poly), TGWU (Bournemouth), TGWU (Liverpool) ACTSS (Edinburgh), Hotel and Catering Workers Union, Nat Graphical Assoc. Union of Communication Workers (Bristol) CPSA (E.London) CPSA (Scotland), AUEW (Yarmouth), AUEW (TASS) (16), ASTMS (London, NUR (London Dist. Council), Joan Magnerd MP, Ron Brown MP (Leith), Jo Richardson MP, Peter Hain.

Party, US League of Revolutionary Struggle (ML) Workers Communist Party, Canada (ML), Party of Labour Belgium, Demograzia Proletaria (Rome) Comite. Unitaire Francais Immigres, Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (France) Centre d'Etudes Anti-Imperialiste.

**Until
all are free,
we are all
imprisoned**



“The State made a mountain out of a mole hill. In so doing, they made a monument to our beliefs. That is, we will defend ourselves by whatever means necessary.”