

## Internal Bulletin 2

May 27 Thursday

Tarlochan in witness box. cross examined by J. Robertson. Asked about what he communicated to the others. Said that: "Given what had happened in Southall, in Deptford, in Coventry where Satnam Singh Gill had been stabbed to death by skin-heads, given what had happened in Walthamstow, I feared that death could have been a consequence of a skinhead attack on Bradford. All of the areas that fascists have attacked have been predominantly black areas, and so Bradford would not be unique. This is what I communicated to the others." Asked about alternative methods of defence, he said: "In my view, it would be best to mobilise as many people as possible onto the streets, but this is possible only under normal circumstances, where there is enough notice. In this case, there was only a few hours." Asked about the police, he said: "My personal experience is that the police have never defended our community. There is an absence of a will to help. The case of Matloob, of the Shazad cafe in Bradford, went to show this. He had complained endlessly to the police of harassment and the police said they would take action only after any attack took place."

TG again confirmed that he took responsibility for whatever action they had taken. He agreed that none of the others would have taken the actions they took, if it had not been for his personal judgement.

TA cross examined TG. TG confirmed that the two of them have known each other since 1974 and that they have a long history together. 1976 was an extraordinary year in the lives of both of them. The year of the NF demonstration in Bradford and Gurdip Singh Chaggar's murder in Southall. They were both involved in discussing defensive measures as a result of an upsurge in 'Paki-bashing' in Bradford. The Asian Youth Movement eventually came out of this.

Details about 11 July and their movements that day. TG confirmed that he had told TA about the petrol bombs only after they had been made outside in the road of Pemberton Drive. He confirmed that in the police station on 31st July when they had all been held incommunicado, and there was a confused situation, he, TG, was asked to come and speak to TA on TA's request. He told the court that he said to TA, in Punjabi: "I asked you to sign whatever they asked for and you could get bail." He confirmed that he had got this impression from the police. He confirmed that TA had been centrally involved in Anwar Ditta's campaign, together with himself. That when Anwar's children arrived at Manchester airport, a lot of the national papers and media were present. He, TG, was in photos in a lot of the papers.

TG confirmed that TA and he had worked, hand in glove, on the Gary Pemberton case. When they were in the AYM together, they organised the Black Freedom March for which they organised a big conference in the Queens Hall. He told about the camera in a police van outside the hall. When this van was challenged, a lot of police officers, including senior police officers, turned up. This was reported in all newspapers the next day as 'Black Activists under Police Surveillance.'

TG cross examined by prosecution. "Did he personally have any grudge against the Bradford police?" TG denied this. Asked about attacks on 4th Idea bookshop. Pros. said that the police had attended promptly on the occasion of every attack. Asked TG what more the police could have done to give protection. TG replied: "It is not just a matter of protection. The police knew of the fascist attackers and their activities. They could have prevented any attacks happening in the first place."

1976 NF march taken up. Pros. pointed out that the Trades Council had organised a counter demonstration against police advice and that the counter demonstration was escorted by the police. TG denied this and said that it was the NF who were protected by the police. Pros. said that the police had no powers to stop the NF march and nothing more could be expected of them than that they took to prevent disruption. TG pointed out: "If Hitler had been stopped building the Nazi movement, we would not have had six million Jews killed in the gas chambers." According to the press, this "is not an accurate parallel because the German police were not an impartial body."



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According to the pros. the police were only protecting the school where the NF were holding their election meeting. For this they bore the brunt of a violent attack by protestors. TG insisted that the police were protecting the fascists. According to the prosec. neither body on its own would have caused any disruption at all. TG pointed out that the Asian community in the area would have independently reacted to the presence of the NF in their area.

Pros. also took up the question of an attack on a bus driver that TG had mentioned. Said that such attacks weren't necessarily racial. Then he went on to the abusive letter that UBYL had received. Pointed out the failure on the part of UBYL to report it to the police, or take any steps to stop such letters. Took up the question of harassment of Matloob in Shezad cafe. According to him, it was just a matter of a grudge between the owner and harassers. TG pointed out that the harassment had been organised; on occasions they had come with sticks after pub hours and the police were called. They said that they could not do anything until an attack took place.

Question of the Harrogate march was also brought up. TG denied the pros's suggestion that they had gone to the march to fight skinheads and that the fight did not occur only because there were too many skinheads.

P asked TG whether the thought violence should be met by violence. TG asked him to expand on the question. P said that he had said that the purpose of the UBYL was to defend the black community - "Were you prepared to use violence for that defence?" TG replied that he could not give a yes or no answer. "It depended on the situation. In a case such as that of Anwar Ditta for example, the defence takes the form of building up massive support gradually and on informing people of the issues concerned. In such a case no violence would be necessary. But under extreme circumstances, where lives are threatened, we would have to use extreme measures."

Went on to the events of 11 July. Pros. pointed out that if he had heard rumours from the 4th Idea, that coachloads of skinheads were coming to Bradford, it was important to have more information to identify the coachloads and know how much time there was before they arrived. No steps had been taken to get that information. TG replied that he was panic stricken in that situation: "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. This was all my mind was concerned with at the time." TG was asked whether he had thought of informing the police. He said no - "Because my experience of the police led me to believe that they would not have done anything about it." He gave another example of an attack on a waiter in the Kashmir cafe where police officers came onto the scene in time to see the attackers run away but did not do anything about it. When TG went to complain to the police they did everything possible to discourage him and in the end they got the waiter not to cooperate with any complaint.

"If they had wanted to, they could have stopped the NF demonstration in 1976. But the police did not take any precautions at that time. They could have prevented fascist activity before, and they have never taken steps before. That is why I felt that they would not take any steps to stop a gang of skinheads coming into a black area." - TG.

Pros asked if the people in the black area in Manningham had been alerted to the possibility of attack. TG said it was the responsibility of TA to do that. Pros went on to the statement made in police station. Pointed out that the statement accepted responsibility with TA for the petrol bombs. TG denied that he had ever said anything of the sort. "If TA was responsible for them, I'm sure he himself would accept it. But he was not and I never said he was." TG said that the two detectives who had given evidence had deliberately lied. Pros pointed out that TG had been involved in a dishonest incident involving the taking of a car on 10th July. Asked if his word should be taken against the police. TG said yes, "You must remember that the police were responsible for what happened to George Lindo." (details given.)



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TG confirmed that the idea of the petrol bombs was his own. Asked whether he had thought of other forms of defence, he said yes, we organise and mobilise the whole of the community to defend itself. "This has been my practice in the past." Pros asked if any other methods had been discussed at the meeting in Pemberton Drive. TG said that arming ourselves with sticks had been suggested. We did not take that up because it would involve direct contact and people could be hurt. Pros pointed out that a person could be burnt to death by the petrol devices made on this occasion. TG replied that that was not the purpose of the devices. The purpose was to deter the attackers from coming and attacking the whole community. He denied that he had told people to expect a riot in the evening or to throw petrol bombs at police or big shops.

There was more detailed questioning about the meeting and the things that had cropped up at the meeting. Pros asked whether the rumour that had been heard in the morning had proved correct. TG replied that he had been in town and discovered there was a hell of a lot of people there. Some people were talking about the skinhead attack there - just general talk. This had confirmed his earlier impression.

Pros moved on to the details of making of the petrol devices. Asked why TG had felt it necessary to wipe off the fingerprints. TG said because the police do not like to see people walking around with such devices. "I had taken a precautionary measure, in case our community was attacked." P asked him why he thought it necessary to hide the petrol bombs from his own community if they were made for their defence. TG replied: "Because they could be misused." "That is why I asked the others that nobody else was to know and they weren't to be used until I said so."

He was asked how he envisaged they would be used. He talked about Brick Lane and explained that there "fascists, skinheads have rampaged through the Lane, hurting people and throwing lethal devices into houses. That is the situation that I envisaged. I had thought of the devices to throw them in front and not at the attackers." P asked where they were to be used. TG replied that: "You keep on making me out to be an individual with a fantastic and precise plan. I was in a panicky situation and I was to use them as a last resort."

P asked if he had ever used the phrase "the police are the instruments of oppression. TG denied this. P asked if this was his view. TG said: "If the police are oppressing any section of the community, then they are oppressors. My experience did not allow me to trust the police. I have seen a Sikh man from a gurdwara picked up by the police and locked up in the police station.... he he done nothing and could not even speak english. If that is what is happening to my people, then i must judge the police by that. My view last July was that the police would not protect the black people, but the fascists." P asked if he was suggesting that had something to do with the police's own outlook. TG said it must be something to do with their outlook. P asked whether he identified the police with the fascists. TG replied: "My experience is that the police have always protected the fascists. They have never protected the black community."

P moved on to events of 11 July and on the mound. P pointed out that that saturday the fascists never came. And that in the evening, there was an enormous gathering outside the police station which TG joined. TG denied this. Denied knowing that there w s going to be any disturbance and denied inciting any violence against the police. P said: "In fact, I suggest that you intended to use the petrol bombs that evening and the only reason they were not used, was that you and TA were arrested. The petrol bombs were made for rioting." TG denied this.

P took up actual arrest. Asked TG when he first asked the reason for his arrest. TG said that he didn't ask because of the state of shock that he was in. "At the Bridewell I asked to see a solicitor and was denied that. I was told that I had been causing trouble and it was only some time on Sunday when my charge sheet was handed to me that I found out exactly why I had been arrested. "



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P pointed out that a couple of days later he was at liberty, and he still did not do anything about the petrol bombs that were lying at Horton Hall. TG said that he hadn't done anything because of the danger of being picket up by the police again. P suggested that he had asked some of the others to get rid of them.

P moved on to the arrest of 30 July. When asked why he had denied anything to do with the petrol bombs at first, TG explained that he did not want other people to get involved. He explained that as soon as he had admitted to the petrol bombs, he also explained their use as self defence.

There was some detailed questioning on the statements made in the police station. TG denied much of what he is said to have said. Of the third statement he said: "I doubt whether you or the jury or anyone in the gallery would have been able to stand up to the pressure that was on me. What I am saying is that what I signed is not true."

Rev. Kenneth Leach in witness box. Character witness for the defence. MM cross examined. He is race relations officer for Church of England. Until recently working for race relations committee of British Council of Churches. He has known TG since 1977-78. His first real contact was through the British Council of Churches in 1980. He considered TG to be one of the most thoughtful intelligent and sensitive people involved in the Youth Movements which sprang up around the time of 1980. He described Bradford AYM in which TG was involved, as very concerned with a wide range of services and general support for the Asian community in Bradford. It concerned itself to a great extent with the immigration laws and the hardships caused by them and other wider political issues such as the 'sus' laws. He considered TG to be concerned not just about his own personal grievances but also with other people's problems and wider political issues. Kenneth Leach himself was rector of Bethnal Green in 1974 and he was closely concerned with the large Asian community around Brick Lane. He described the upsurge in attacks on Bengalis and what was called 'Paki-bashing' in the 1970's and it speak in 1976/8.

S.K. cross examined. K.L. confirmed that in an area such as Brick Lane where there were racially motivated murders in 1976/8 and where at least five youth movements have sprung up, to defend the local community, if there were rumours that skinheads were to come, then they would tend to be believed by the local people. "Rumours have become fact. That is the experience of the people. And it is the NF, and other organisations, which have created the climate in which it has become respectable for skinheads to attack Asians."

TA cross examined: KL described the strong link between the people and the youth in Brick Lane and the community in Bradford. Confirmed that TA was involved in the beginnings of the Bengali Youth Front in Brick Lane. He agreed with TA's description of the atmosphere in Brick Lane: "On many an occasion there have been rumours of fascist invasions. They may not have materialised every time, but on each occasion the youth would organise, there was an internal mechanism of the community which would respond to any threat."

MM reexamined TG. MM asked TG to specify the circumstances in which he would have been prepared to throw the petrol devices. "I envisaged and intended to use these devices in a situation where there would be no danger to property, to life or any injury to any persons. And the way I felt and believed they could be used, would be as a last resort measure...." As an illustration he said: "I envisaged a long lane like Brick Lane or Lumb Lane whereby fascists and skinheads would be coming up from one end towards the black population in large numbers. 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 "go away" and deter them by such means."



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Defence called two witnesses on question of whether petrol devices are an explosive substance. Both said they were not.

Pros asked Dr. Boddington whether it was not the case that a petrol bomb thrown into an enclosed space with delayed detonation could produce an explosion.

Dr Boddington finally agreed but he said the possibility was remote. He said:

"If you toss a coin, there is a possibility that it will land on one edge but it's a remote possibility." Regarding the possibility of an explosion using petrol bombs in the open, he said it would require a ton of petrol.

When MM reexamined, he asked Dr B to describe a controlled situation where petrol bombs may lead to an explosion. He said: "Build an enclosed room, restrict the circulation of air entirely, release liquid petrol, have a fan to stir it thoroughly because petrol vapour tends not to rise. Then throw in a flame. This flame and large volume of gas would produce an explosion, providing the room was small." He pointed out that this was virtually impossible to achieve in normal circumstances. This is because the explosive substance is created by the correct mixture of air and petrol vapour.

The second defence witness, Dr Keith Borer had a long list of scientific qualifications (as had Dr Boddington.) (Cook the prosecution witness on this had no comparable scientific qualifications.)

Dr Borer pointed out that this was the fifth explosive case he had been involved in. He had carried out 18 major sets of experiments and thrown or seen thrown, 100 petrol bombs. He confirmed that the devices in court would not fall within the definition of an explosive. This was because they all had wicks in them and the wicks were such as to exclude the possibility of delayed detonation.

TA asked him about a case in Worcester on very similar charges. He had obtained a not guilty verdict. In another case in Southall, the crown had decided not to press charges. The prosecution asked about the others. Borer pointed out that this was the third case. The fourth was next week. The fifth was about paint thinners.

Pros asked him about Dr Clancy who had been the P's scientific authority. Dr Borer said he apologised but he thought Dr C's report had been absolute nonsense. He agreed with Dr Boddington about the strict conditions under which an explosion in an enclosed space could be obtained.

(There was a lot more detailed discussion on the question of explosives.)

Jan Fielding called as Defence witness. MM cross examined. She confirmed that on 11 July she was working in Dalys bookshop and had received information of skinheads coming to Bradford on the motorways. She had phoned 4th Idea bookshop with the information.

Jenny Gordon in witness box as defence witness. She confirmed that she was working in 4th Idea bookshop on 11 July and had got phone call about threat of skinheads approaching Bradford. She had informed several people including TG: "I thought it was important to tell him because he is black and he would be affected."

Diana Morris in witness box as defence witness. She confirmed that she had spoken to a 'Guardian' reporter about attacks on 4th Idea.

Judith Watson in witness box for defence. She also heard about the rumours on July 11 in the bookshop and had spoken to TG about them.

Reuben Goldberg in witness box for defence. He had been concerned with the running of the bookshop for 6 years and he told the court that over these years the bookshop has been subjected to a series of threats, abuse and physical attacks on members of staff and property. A briefing document had been compiled in October 1980 summarising all the attacks up to that time. .... There had been an escalation in harassment which continued throughout 1981.



Friday May 28 (cont)

He said that: "The police response has varied from downright hostility to a guarded sympathy." Prosecution suggested that on the occasion of every attack on the bookshop, the police had promptly attended and subsequent prosecutions and convictions had resulted. R disagreed and pointed out that this was not true of every occasion and gave several examples.

Anwar Ditta called to witness box for defence. She told the court that she has known TG for a long time through the struggle for her children to be reunited with herself, which itself started in 1976. She described TG to be centrally active as the chairman of the defence committee for the campaign that was set up. "With his help we won. Without him, I don't know where we would have ended up. I have so much respect for him, as a brother, and he respected me." She confirmed that during the struggle there were moments when it looked hopeless, but TG had never suggested using violence at any of these times. She also confirmed that as a result of the eventual victory both she and TG came into the public eye and were subjected to a large number of abusive letters from fascists.

S. K. cross examined. She told the court that during the struggle she and TG addressed a large number of meetings. And came across other people's struggles with immigration laws, racist attacks and so on. She emphasized the frequency of the problems with racist attacks that she came across. She described how it has 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."

TA cross examined. She confirmed that it was a major decision for her to go out and campaign for her children. She, as a working class Muslim woman who sows pillow cases for the NHS for her living, had been denied her basic right. She said that TG was first involved in the campaign as a delegate from the Bradford AYM. But he had continued to work for the campaign even though he was one the dole. "Even when the appeal was lost, TG did not allow me to lose hope. He stuck with me when a lot of others melted away."

Pros attempted to suggest that Anwar was in the witness box today simply as a result of her gratitude for all the help that TG had given. Anwar objected strongly to this.