

Monday, 26 April 2021

(12.00 pm)

MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone, and welcome to the first day of evidential hearings in Tranche 1 Phase 2 of the Undercover Policing Inquiry. My name is Neil Fernandes, and I am the hearings manager.

For those of you in the virtual hearing room, please turn off both your camera and microphone, unless you are invited to speak by the Chairman, as Zoom will pick up on all noises and you will be on screen.

I now hand over to the Chairman, Sir John Mitting, to formally start proceedings.

Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

At the beginning of this evidential session, as at the beginning of every evidential session, a recording made by me last year is going to be played. For those listening to it for the first time, could you please listen carefully:

"I am conducting this Inquiry under a statute, the Inquiries Act 2005, which gives me the power to make orders regulating the conduct of the Inquiry, including its hearings. In the exercise of that power, I have made a number of orders which affect what you may and may not do in the hearing rooms and after you leave

1           them. Breach of any of the orders is a serious matter  
2           and may have serious consequences for you.

3           If I am satisfied that a person may have breached an  
4           order, I have the power to certify the matter to  
5           the High Court, which will investigate and deal with it  
6           as if it had been a contempt of that court. If  
7           satisfied that a breach has occurred and merits  
8           the imposition of a penalty, the High Court may impose  
9           a severe sanction on the person in breach, including  
10          a fine, imprisonment for up to two years and  
11          sequestration of their assets.

12          Evidence is going to be given live over screens in  
13          the hearing rooms. It is strictly prohibited to  
14          photograph or record what is shown on the screens, or to  
15          record what is said by a witness or anyone else in  
16          the hearing rooms. You may bring your mobile telephone  
17          into the hearing rooms, but you may not use it for any  
18          of those purposes.

19          You may use it silently for any other purposes. In  
20          particular, you may transmit your account of what you  
21          have seen and heard in a hearing room to any other  
22          person, but only once at least ten minutes have elapsed  
23          since the event which you are describing took place.

24          This restriction has a purpose. In the course of  
25          the Inquiry, I have made orders prohibiting the public

1 disclosure of information, for example about  
2 the identity of a person, for a variety of reasons.  
3 These orders must be upheld. It is inevitable that,  
4 whether by accident or design, information which I have  
5 ordered should not be publicly disclosed will sometimes  
6 be disclosed in a hearing. If and when that happens,  
7 I will immediately suspend the hearing and make an order  
8 prohibiting further disclosure of the information  
9 outside the hearing rooms. The consequence will be that  
10 no further disclosure of that information may be made by  
11 mobile telephone or other portable electronic device  
12 from within the hearing room, or by any means outside  
13 it.

14 I'm sorry if you find this message alarming, it is  
15 not intended to be. Its purpose is simply to ensure  
16 that everybody knows the rules which must apply if I am  
17 to hear the evidence which I need to enable me to get to  
18 the truth about undercover policing. You, as members of  
19 the public, are entitled to hear the same public  
20 evidence as I will hear, and to reach your own  
21 conclusions about it. The Inquiry team will do their  
22 best to ensure that you can.

23 If you have any doubt about the terms of this  
24 message, or what you may or may not do, you should not  
25 hesitate to ask one of them and, with my help if

1 necessary, they will provide you with the answer.

2 Thank you. We are now going to hear the evidence of  
3 Diane Langford.

4 MS DIANE LANGFORD (called)

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Ms Langford, I can see you on the screen.

6 Can you hear me?

7 A. Okay, I've unmuted myself. Can you hear me?

8 THE CHAIRMAN: I can now. Well done.

9 A. Oh good.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: First of all, you must be sworn or affirmed,  
11 or in some manner acknowledge that the evidence that you  
12 will give will be the truth.

13 May that now be done, please, Mr Fernandes.

14 (Witness affirmed)

15 MR FERNANDES: Thank you, Ms Langford.

16 Chairman.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

18 Ms Wilkinson.

19 Questions by MS WILKINSON

20 MS WILKINSON: Your full name is Ms Diane Langford. Are you  
21 content if I refer to you as "Ms Langford"?

22 A. Yes, I am.

23 Q. Amongst your many politically active roles, in 1970 you  
24 co-founded the Women's Liberation Front, and state your  
25 political priority over the past 50 years to have been

1 the liberation of women from all forms of oppression and  
2 exploitation.

3 You are also, for the Inquiry's purposes,  
4 the witness most able to assist with the political views  
5 and aims of Abhimanyu Manchanda, whom you married in  
6 January 1970, and with whom you had a child later that  
7 year; is that correct?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. I'm just going to move up to full screen there.

10 You have provided the Inquiry with a thorough and  
11 detailed statement, dated 15 March 2021, which evidence  
12 is now before the Inquiry and I understand is to be  
13 published on its website today, together with five  
14 exhibits that you produce. Is that statement true to  
15 the best of your knowledge and belief?

16 A. Yes, it is.

17 Q. Today we'll highlight parts of your statement and look  
18 at the context of your political activism and that of  
19 Mr Manchanda, and consider some examples of  
20 the undercover policing reporting about you in  
21 that context. And you will appreciate that I have to  
22 cover questions submitted by a range of  
23 core participants who have all had an opportunity to ask  
24 about different aspects of your evidence as it affects  
25 their case.

1           If at any stage you need a break, or you have any  
2           query about something I've said, or you don't understand  
3           something I've said, please feel free to pause and ask.

4       A. Thank you.

5       Q. You were born in New Zealand in 1941, and you witnessed  
6           the effects of colonialism and racism on the indigenous  
7           people there; is that right?

8       A. Yes.

9       Q. Your brothers received a university education but less  
10          importance was placed on your education --

11      A. Yes.

12      Q. -- so by the age of 15, you were working in a factory?

13      A. Yes.

14      Q. But you continued to study, and you studied in  
15          the evenings, and you studied using a correspondence  
16          course?

17      A. That's correct.

18      Q. And then you moved to London, to the UK, in 1963 with  
19          your younger brother, who himself was to continue  
20          studying; and you found at that stage the shift from  
21          the strict segregation that you'd experienced in  
22          New Zealand to the life in the thriving multi-cultural  
23          city of London to be exciting and inspiring?

24      A. Yes.

25      Q. Then it was in 1965 that Malcolm X was assassinated, and

1           you yourself experienced two significant instances of  
2           personal trauma, which led you to reflect on issues of  
3           racism and sexism, and spurred you into your first  
4           involvement in political activism?

5           A. That is correct.

6           Q. By October 1968, then, you were a volunteer at  
7           the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, and had also  
8           joined the print union, NATSOPA, working as an  
9           active trade union member by then?

10          A. Yes.

11          Q. And it was following the October 1968 demonstration  
12          against the Vietnam War that you joined  
13          the British-Vietnam Solidarity Front, where you first  
14          met Abhimanyu Manchanda, the group's chairman?

15          A. Yes, except that it's called the "Britain-Vietnam  
16          Solidarity" -- sorry to quibble, but I know that wrong  
17          thing got into my statement, but it's "Britain".

18          Q. Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front?

19          A. Yes.

20          Q. Have I said that correctly?

21          A. Yes. It's a grammatical point really.

22          Q. Now might be a good opportunity to have a look at  
23          the first reporting that we see from the SDS officers  
24          about you bearing your name and in the context of that  
25          group; we'll see the name written there:

1 Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front. Can we bring up  
2 report {MPS/732690}. And Ms Langford, that will appear  
3 on the screen in front of you --

4 A. Okay.

5 Q. -- when the technicians produce it. We'll make sure  
6 it's as big as it needs to be for you to see it.

7 A. Thank you.

8 Q. For your reference, Sir, that's behind tab 1 of your  
9 bundle.

10 Now, this is a report, we can see, dated  
11 11 March 1969; so within months of the October 1968  
12 demonstration. We can see the name of the group and  
13 the organisation written there. It's a meeting in a pub  
14 in King's Cross.

15 If we can scroll further down the page, we can see  
16 you're one of the individuals that's been identified as  
17 being present there. And I think, as you've noted in  
18 your statement yourself, you don't have any sort of  
19 RF or file number next to your name at that stage, it's  
20 simply a reference to "mentions" and then the name  
21 "Diane Langford".

22 If we can go to the top of the next part of that  
23 report, please, the next page {MPS/732690/2}. We can  
24 see that one of the future activities listed is going to  
25 be the National Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front

1 conference that was announced for 26th and 27th April.  
2 And the report references the discussions of that  
3 particular event.

4 Thereafter, you continue, we can see perhaps in  
5 the last part of that report, the last paragraph  
6 there, "Al" is the reference given there:

7 "Al Manchanda summed up by congratulating all those  
8 who had taken part in the demonstration, and stated that  
9 next week's meeting would be taken up by discussing  
10 the methods by which recruitment could be increased and  
11 the likely areas for setting up new branches."

12 Just a couple of points arising out of that.  
13 The reference to "Al", was that a nickname that was  
14 broadly used for Mr Manchanda at that time? I know you  
15 call him "Manu" in your statement. Was "Al" a common  
16 name?

17 A. No, it wasn't. I'd never heard it until I saw it in  
18 these reports. Sometimes he'd -- if he was signing  
19 something, he used to sign it "A Manchanda", but I've  
20 never seen "Albert" or "Al" ever.

21 Q. You haven't?

22 A. No.

23 Q. How was he commonly known amongst those that knew him  
24 well in the meetings?

25 A. "Manu".

1 Q. "Manu".

2 And we can see therefore that there is a reference  
3 to "next week's meeting"; were these weekly meetings of  
4 this organisation?

5 A. I think we were meeting weekly at the Union Tavern pub  
6 for quite a long time.

7 Q. Yes, and indeed, some of the reporting demonstrates that  
8 you were a regular attender, broadly weekly, from about  
9 this point onwards?

10 A. That's probably right, yes.

11 Q. If we wind forward, then, to a couple of months later.  
12 We're going to look at the report in May of the same  
13 group, May 1969; and we're going to look at the report  
14 about this conference that was being identified.

15 It's {MPS/736446}.

16 For your reference, Sir, that's tab 6.

17 We can see this is about the open conference. That  
18 appears to have been a meeting that went on for over two  
19 days, over a weekend, I think, over both days. And it  
20 was attended by some 50 people, almost exclusively  
21 Maoists.

22 We can see on page 5 of this report {MPS/736446/5}  
23 your name appears there. And by now -- this is,  
24 I think, the first time we see it -- you've got a file  
25 reference, so it's not just mentions now but there's

1 a reference to a number for you by this stage. And  
2 the reference to the people attending, about 50 Maoists.  
3 The Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front was a Maoist group,  
4 wasn't it?

5 A. We didn't call ourselves Maoists, we called ourselves  
6 Marxist-Leninists, but I'm happy with -- to be called  
7 a Maoist. That's shorter.

8 Q. And that was because of the theory from Chairman Mao  
9 that was being discussed and espoused effectively during  
10 the course of these many meetings; is that right?

11 A. That's right.

12 Q. In fact, if we have a look -- and I think we'll look at  
13 this and the underlying attached document that was  
14 written by Mr Manchanda, but if we just look at  
15 the summary that was written by the officers attending  
16 this conference, about what went on during the course of  
17 it, we can see where you agree or disagree with  
18 the summary.

19 Can we move to page 2, please. {MPS/736446/2}.

20 We can see in the second part of that first  
21 paragraph:

22 "Manchanda then read political report Part 1. This  
23 was heard without any show of enthusiasm and received  
24 some perfunctory applause ..."

25 A. Oh, sorry, I haven't caught up to that.

1           This says:

2           "It is interesting to note ..."

3           Is that the paragraph?

4       Q.   Yes, just above that, there's an introduction to  
5           the fact that Mr Manchanda was then reading out  
6           the political report; and we'll have a look at that in  
7           a moment, just to understand what the theory was --

8       A.   Yes, I see.

9       Q.   "This was heard without any show of enthusiasm and  
10          received some perfunctory applause at the end. A copy  
11          of his speech is given at appendix B."

12                 And we'll have a look at that in a minute, but this  
13          is the summary.

14      A.   Okay.

15      Q.   "It is interesting to note that Manchanda features  
16          opposition to imperialism as the uniting factor between  
17          proletarian struggles in Europe and the colonial  
18          revolution in the East. This is its central theme of  
19          BVSF thinking, and its supporters are expected to  
20          believe as an article of faith that the North  
21          Vietnamese, in fighting the Americans, are not just  
22          metaphorically on the same side as revolutionary  
23          Marxists in Europe but are actually fighting in the same  
24          war. He emphasises that both are aspects of a world  
25          proletarian revolution, and claims that the proletariat

1 as a class have no business to look to anyone other than  
2 Chairman Mao for guidance in their struggles."

3 Just dropping down a little, so we can see  
4 a sentence that begins "the Russians":

5 "The Russians are false exponents of the Marxist  
6 tradition ..."

7 A. Sorry, I got left behind there a bit. Oh I see, yes.  
8 Thank you.

9 Q. Thank you to the technician for using the cursor:

10 "The Russians are false exponents of the Marxist  
11 tradition and permit bourgeois elements to hold power in  
12 their so-called socialist society."

13 And if we drop down a little where we can see  
14 the quotation, can we see the word "considerable", just  
15 slightly higher up with the cursor, if the technician  
16 can assist? Right in the middle of the sentence --

17 A. Yes, I see.

18 Q. "Considerable ruthlessness would be required of  
19 the proletariat before it could achieve power. 'Before  
20 coming to power, the proletariat and other revolutionary  
21 people should adhere to the principle of making  
22 revolution by violence, smashing the old state machine  
23 and seizing political power by armed force.'"

24 There's a reference to appendix B, and then this  
25 additional insert from the officer:

1           "Manchanda did not appear to hold out any immediate  
2           prospects of this uncomfortable eventuality taking place  
3           in England, but invited members of BVSF to view  
4           the world situation, especially events in Asia, Africa,  
5           and Latin America, as part of a massive anti-imperialist  
6           movement inspired by Chairman Mao."

7           If we can just take that down for a minute, please.

8           Would you agree that that was an accurate summary of  
9           Mr Manchanda's views and how his unifying approach to an  
10          anti-imperialistic revolution should take place?

11         A. I agree that that is a summary, but on the other hand,  
12          it is in the context of a very long document. I've also  
13          read appendix B, where he was talking about  
14          the domination of finance capital imperialist spheres of  
15          influence and Mao's theory of contradiction and so on,  
16          and talking about the weakest link in imperialism, and  
17          that these struggles that were going on in Vietnam, for  
18          example, these -- these were examples of people rising  
19          up against the state, you could say, and smashing  
20          the state, you could say. And I think it's in that  
21          context that -- it's about state power and how one  
22          perceives state power. And Mao had written a lot about  
23          that.

24          For example, he'd used slogans like "political power  
25          grows out of the barrel of a gun", for example. But

1 I think it would be obvious to anybody that this was not  
2 being put forward as something that was going to happen  
3 in this country any time soon. Although, examples of  
4 struggles against state violence have occurred here, for  
5 example, people going out on the streets to protest  
6 against police violence.

7 And one of the things that we've seen would be  
8 calling the state as being the -- a sort of enforcer of  
9 policies, such as the war in Vietnam and when people  
10 oppose, you know, in third world countries, as we called  
11 them back then, people were rising up, and Manu was  
12 making the connection between the working class in this  
13 country and those people who were fighting the same  
14 struggle. That's how we saw it --

15 Q. -- (overspeaking) --

16 A. -- (overspeaking) -- solidarity -- yes, that's right.

17 And one of the reasons why I was attracted to  
18 joining a Maoist group, as people called us, was that  
19 this gave a very clear analysis of what colonialism and  
20 imperialism was all about, and made that connection that  
21 people who were oppressed should unite and fight against  
22 that power --

23 Q. Can I -- (overspeaking) --

24 A. -- I -- I still think that.

25 Q. Can I use the underlying appendix to highlight a little

1 bit of those exact points that you're making there,  
2 Ms Langford?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Sir, this isn't in the same tabbed-up bundle, so you may  
5 have to refer to it on screen. It's {MPS/736447}. And  
6 this is the appended report that the officer provided  
7 back to Special Branch, which is the actual speech  
8 written by Mr Manchanda and delivered over the course of  
9 that weekend. You can see there his name. As you say,  
10 he signed things "A Manchanda"?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. General secretary of the BVSF?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And we can see it's for the open conference.

15 If we can perhaps go to page 3, {MPS/736447/3}.

16 And there are several paragraphs that begin "formerly":

17 "Formerly it was the accepted thing ..."

18 Can we just scroll down to the lower part of  
19 the page, to look at one of those examples.

20 So about halfway down the page can we see a sentence  
21 that begins:

22 "Formerly it was accepted ..."

23 The paragraph starts:

24 "Formerly it was the accepted thing to speak  
25 the proletarian revolution ..."

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Thank you. That's the right example:

3 "... to speak of the proletarian revolution in one  
4 or other developed country as of a separate and  
5 self-sufficient entity opposing a separate national  
6 front of capital as its antipode. Now, this point of  
7 view is no longer adequate. Now we must speak of  
8 the world proletarian revolution for the separate  
9 national fronts of capital have become links in a single  
10 chain called the world front of imperialism, which must  
11 be opposed by a common front of the revolutionary  
12 movement in all countries."

13 Is that an example of the point being made, that  
14 there is a single link between all the fights against  
15 the state, whether it be in Vietnam or on the ground in  
16 England?

17 A. Yes, I think that puts it very well. And also, I'd like  
18 to invite you to look at it from the other side of it,  
19 which is that the violence which is obviously -- people  
20 have implied that we were more violent, or we had -- our  
21 agenda was somehow violent. It was completely the other  
22 way around, and that these kind of documents that you're  
23 looking at now are about people resisting the violence  
24 of the state in order to get justice, freedom,  
25 liberation, call it what you will; the vast majority of

1 people have to at some point come up against the state.  
2 As we've seen in so many different things that are going  
3 on at the moment, for example the issue of deaths in  
4 custody, and so forth.

5 Q. Yes.

6 A. And the resistance to justice in terms of so many  
7 issues, including the demands of  
8 the Women's Liberation Movement, which have still been  
9 unmet.

10 Q. If I may, with you, Ms Langford, look at a few more  
11 quotes from this lengthy document, because it does --

12 A. Sure.

13 Q. -- highlight all those points, and indeed draws right  
14 towards the end of it -- I'll show how it draws  
15 the various different strands of groups of resistance,  
16 or strands of people that were being affected on  
17 the ground in the UK; and we can see then the impact and  
18 what Mr Manchanda was talking about in terms of what  
19 should be happening in the UK.

20 If we look at page 7 {MPS/736447/7}, please, we can  
21 see at the top this is the part where he's talking about  
22 the era of world proletarian revolution under the  
23 banner of the Mao -- forgive me, I can't pronounce that  
24 particularly well -- Tse-tung thought.

25 We can see there's a part, scrolling a little

1 further down, which begins "Lenin said". Thank you.

2 Yes, thank you.

3 "Lenin said that the basic question in any  
4 revolution ..."

5 And this is the point I think you were making there,  
6 Ms Langford:

7 "... is that of state power. He also said that  
8 those who recognise only class struggle are not yet  
9 Marxists. Only he is a Marxist who extends  
10 the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition  
11 of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

12 So it should be that the proletariat should end up  
13 with the power to be the dictatorship. And that's what  
14 was marking Lenin out in his particular views, and you  
15 would identify your group as a Marxist-Leninist group;  
16 is that right?

17 A. That's right.

18 Q. It goes on:

19 "The dictatorship of the proletariat is  
20 the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental  
21 issue of the proletarian revolution, and the 'magic  
22 weapon' which guarantees that the proletariat will  
23 defeat the bourgeoisie and be victorious in its  
24 socialist cause."

25 I think, if we just scroll a little further, that's

1           where the reference to the quote that was taken out of  
2           this report and put into the police report then comes.  
3           If we just scroll a little further down that page. Ah,  
4           no, forgive me, it's the paragraph that begins --  
5           the penultimate paragraph that begins:

6                     "The new historical experience ..."

7                     If we can just focus on that, please. The paragraph  
8           that begins:

9                     "... new historical experience ..."

10          A. Okay.

11          Q. Are you following there? Thank you very much.

12                     If we drop down about four lines, we can see where  
13          the quote comes from:

14                     "Before coming to power ..."

15                     Thank you:

16                     "Before coming to power, the proletariat and other  
17          revolutionary people should adhere to the principle of  
18          making revolution by violence ..."

19                     And this is what the officer was quoting --

20          A. Yes.

21          Q. " ... smashing the old state machine and seizing  
22          political power by armed force. Once in power,  
23          the proletariat should carry the socialist revolution  
24          through to the end, prevent the revisionists from  
25          usurping the leadership of the Party and the state,

1 prevent the restoration of capitalism, and defend and  
2 consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

3 So it was in that context that was the reference to  
4 the violence and the smashing of the state.

5 Obviously revolution appears to have been the aim,  
6 would you agree with that?

7 A. I do agree up to a point, but obviously this was  
8 completely theoretical, and it was also seen in a global  
9 context. So, for example, the victory of the Vietnamese  
10 people over the US forces in Vietnam was seen as a huge  
11 victory for people all over the world. Perhaps we might  
12 have thought, rather, that this country would have been  
13 the last place where such a revolution might take place.  
14 Although, there was one further back in history.

15 But I think Lenin actually said -- told Clara Zetkin  
16 that, "If you want to do something very difficult, go  
17 and do your work in England." So there was  
18 a recognition that this was a -- very much a theoretical  
19 postulations that he's putting forward here, and he's  
20 using a lot of quotations from books by Lenin, by Mao,  
21 by Stalin and others, who had written tracts on  
22 the issue of the state. And the issue of the state was  
23 very, very much studied within our group; and study  
24 sessions were held regularly to read theoretical works,  
25 not only of Mao, Lenin and so forth but others as well

- 1           who had written about the issue of the state.
- 2       Q.   And did you agree and share that same political thinking  
3           and theory with him?
- 4       A.   Yes, I still think that the state is a force which is  
5           there to act as the enforcer of oppression, yes.
- 6       Q.   How did he, and you, want to achieve the revolution that  
7           was the theory without violence?
- 8       A.   Well, there are many different methods that we used.  
9           For example, having demonstrations, public meetings,  
10          showing films. We also would do even Parliamentary  
11          lobbying. There are lots of different ways of  
12          organising -- of taking part in trade union activity,  
13          industrial activity, literature, film, social media,  
14          strikes, rent strikes, boycotts, occupations,  
15          motorcades. I've been involved in all of those things.  
16          Street theatre, hustings, influencing political parties,  
17          housing associations, tenants associations, solidarity  
18          groups, women's groups, prisoners' rights groups,  
19          tenants associations. And all of these, of course --  
20          you know, civil society organisations. And all of these  
21          are the kind of organisations that have been targeted by  
22          the SDS or -- who acted, in my view, like the STASI.
- 23       Q.   Was it made clear during the course of all of these  
24          events or efforts and demonstrations and public meetings  
25          that violence was not to be used?

- 1 A. Yes, as a matter of fact --
- 2 Q. -- (overspeaking) --
- 3 A. Yes, as a matter of fact, it was very, very strongly --
- 4 very, very strongly upheld by our group in particular,
- 5 as a Maoist group, that self-discipline in organising
- 6 and demonstrating and so forth was very important, and
- 7 any kind of individual activity was really frowned on.
- 8 For example, the notion of, as I say, the angry brigade
- 9 people, we would have frowned on their activity; and
- 10 anybody who indulged in macho posturing at
- 11 demonstrations. I remember somebody who was a member of
- 12 our group once did take off his shirt outside
- 13 the South Africa embassy and set fire to it. And he was
- 14 very much condemned and caused a lot of anguish in our
- 15 group that he behaved -- we thought it was petty
- 16 bourgeois and adventurist. These were the sorts of
- 17 words that were used about people that indulged in that
- 18 sort of posturing.
- 19 Q. And how widely held in your groups was this
- 20 understanding/appreciation that violence wasn't to be
- 21 used? You've talked of an example there where somebody
- 22 did decide to take that fairly dramatic --
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. Why did he --
- 25 A. It was very much part of the ethos of the group that

1           there should be collective activity and not people going  
2           off and, you know, acting like idiots on their own.

3       Q.   May I just use this -- finish off with this document, to  
4           demonstrate how the appeal of this group and  
5           Mr Manchanda's thinking linked in with your particular  
6           field of interest in terms of Women's Liberation and had  
7           a broader impact.

8       A.   Mm-hm.

9       Q.   We -- by part 2 of this report, Mr Manchanda is dealing  
10          with what is happening in the UK; and we see him link in  
11          the struggles of many different groups to the suffering  
12          under the wider British imperialism.  At page 18  
13          {MPS/736447/18} of the report, if we can go to that.  We  
14          see this is the "Rapid Decline of British Imperialism  
15          and the Struggle of the Working Class for Political  
16          Power".  And from the police reporting, this appears to  
17          have been the paper he delivered on the second day of  
18          the conference.

19                If we scroll down to the latter part of this page,  
20                please, we can pick it up about halfway down, where it  
21                says -- and he's here linking in different groups:

22                        "In order to crush the workers' resistance, new  
23                        fascist, repressive measures are being rushed  
24                        through ...."

25                        And he was pointing to:

1            "... Barbara Castle's White Paper threatens militant  
2 workers' resistance with fines & jail."

3            I think that was a paper aimed at trying to take  
4 away power from trade unions that was being introduced  
5 at that stage.

6            A. Correct.

7            Q. Drop down to the next paragraph, he references Ireland.

8            He says:

9            "Britain's oldest colony, Ireland, still remains  
10 half under the direct oppression and exploitation and  
11 the other half under indirect rule. What an irony of  
12 British 'democracy'. The people of Northern Ireland in  
13 their struggle even for ordinary civil liberties and  
14 voting rights are brutally suppressed by the Royal  
15 Ulster Constabulary using water-canon, armoured cars and  
16 truncheons. Facing the rising, militant resistance of  
17 the Northern Ireland people, the rulers from  
18 Westminster, in utter panic, are rushing in more  
19 troops."

20            So he's appealing there to workers who feel that  
21 their trade union causes are being limited; he's  
22 appealing there to people in Ireland who are struggling.

23            Halfway up the paragraph just above the reference to  
24 Ireland, forgive me, there's a reference to Enoch  
25 Powell. Can we see that?:

1                   "While Enoch Powell ..."

2           A.   Yes.

3           Q.   "While Enoch Powell incites racialism in words, Wilson,  
4                support by Heath, enforces racial discrimination and  
5                oppression against the coloured minorities, to divide  
6                the working class and divert their wrath from  
7                the exploiting bosses, monopoly capitalists."

8                So he's appealing to those people who are suffering  
9                racism.

10               If we just scroll down to the next part -- next  
11               page, please. {MPS/736447/19}.

12               This is a repetition -- I think it's been copied in  
13               an odd way. This is repetitious of the page we've just  
14               seen before. So if we can move to probably page 20  
15               {MPS/736447/20}. At the top of that page:

16               "There is a new awakening amongst the students and  
17               youth in their growing struggle against bourgeois  
18               cultural values; the system of education; and a desire  
19               to unite with the working class against the onslaught of  
20               the capitalist system."

21               I think there had been a reference at the top of  
22               the last page to them being the victims of police  
23               brutality and appealing to people in that sphere

24               Then, finally, the paragraph beginning, "Working  
25               women":

1           "Working women who have suffered double servitude  
2 since class oppression emerged in society are also being  
3 drawn into the working class struggle in the economic,  
4 social and political fields, for equal rights and their  
5 own emancipation."

6           So this is his theory and his rhetoric and his  
7 speech, appealing to a broad base of people all  
8 struggling under oppression, he would say, and therefore  
9 all motivated to rise up and act in resistance to  
10 the state. And this is where the interests of those  
11 people who feel they're suffering in Ireland, as well as  
12 women, as well as workers, all come together under  
13 the same umbrella, in this thinking; is that a fair  
14 assessment?

15       A. Yes, it is.

16       Q. And so the BVSF, on the face of it, he hoped, would  
17 attract a lot of membership from all of these groups  
18 that all felt that they were needing to raise awareness  
19 and take action?

20       A. I guess so.

21       Q. He, latterly, I think right at the bottom of this page  
22 -- can we go to the very end paragraph, where he  
23 references other groups of a similar title as being  
24 fraudulent; and he was cautious to guard against people  
25 being distracted by a slightly different vein of this

1 political thinking, is that fair? Let's move -- is  
2 there a page 21? {MPS/736447/21}.

3 A. I don't see that on the screen, but I can speak about it  
4 anyway.

5 Q. Let me just see if I can assist with a reference.

6 A. Okay, thanks.

7 Q. -- on the page.

8 Yes, that very bottom paragraph, please, beginning:

9 "It is impossible ..."

10 About halfway on that line:

11 "It is impossible to oppose and overthrow  
12 imperialism without simultaneously carrying on  
13 a ruthless fight against revisionists, social democrats  
14 and Trotskyites, and their fraudulent, diversionary  
15 tactics in the so-called 'unity of the left'. Only on  
16 this correct political orientation can real unity of  
17 the revolutionary forces be established and a mass  
18 movement built. The BVSF must take initiative to unite  
19 in action with the new militant forces of youth and  
20 workers."

21 So was he guarding against different strains of  
22 theory?

23 A. Yes, let me just go through that. Was it social  
24 democrats, Trotskyites -- and what was the other one?

25 Q. Revisionists?

1       A. Oh, yeah. I'll just explain what that was about. It's  
2       such a long time ago, but these were quite live things  
3       at the time.

4               Social democracy, I guess he's talking about sort of  
5       parliamentary democracy, where -- thinking that things  
6       can change by -- through the Parliamentary system, which  
7       was not seen to be a possibility, although it would be  
8       part of the -- it could be part of that. But the actual  
9       philosophy of social democracy didn't take into account  
10      the issue of the state.

11             The Trotskyite thing would be about the differences  
12      over, for example, the issue of Vietnam. This explains  
13      it quite neatly, that the Trotskyite groups didn't  
14      regard the Vietnam resistance as being revolutionary,  
15      because it was being raised basically by -- by  
16      peasantry, as they would see it. So, therefore, anyone  
17      who owned a plot of land couldn't be revolutionary,  
18      because they had owned some private property, even  
19      though they might just be subsistence farmers. But  
20      Mao's theory was that people who -- you know, in  
21      countries which were underdeveloped and didn't have an  
22      industrial working class to carry through the so-called  
23      revolution which would be based on an industrial working  
24      class overthrowing the government in somewhere like this  
25      country, so that was a difference. So there were

1 differences about, for example, Trotskyite groups would  
2 not adopt the slogan "Victory to the NLF", because they  
3 saw those as just being national movements and therefore  
4 not revolutionary.

5 And the revisionist thing is about the role of the  
6 Soviet Union. As mentioned in this document as well,  
7 the Soviet Union had invaded Czechoslovakia and went on  
8 to invade Afghanistan as well. So it was seen as -- as  
9 a neocolonial, neo-imperialist, social-imperialist,  
10 that's how that would have been seen. So those were  
11 the three themes and the differences between  
12 the different groups.

13 Q. And particularly the view of how much you ally yourself  
14 with that approach to Russia and Soviets; was it that  
15 sort of level of division and disagreement in that  
16 purist thinking that led ultimately to disagreements  
17 within the leadership of the BVSF --

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. -- and ultimately the fragmentation of the group?

20 A. That's right. And, also, Manu was not convinced that  
21 sections of the white working class were ready to give  
22 up the privileges that they derive from colonialism,  
23 whereas others were saying the British working class is  
24 the most advanced in the world, and all that sort of  
25 stuff.

1 Q. And was it this feature of feminism being part of  
2 a unified worldwide approach to oppression that caught  
3 your imagination?

4 A. Yes, definitely, it was.

5 Q. Thank you.

6 And so, we know that this was a meeting in 1969,  
7 halfway through '69. In 1970, you founded  
8 the Women's Liberation Front --

9 A. Mm-hm.

10 Q. -- and also the Women's Equal Rights Campaign?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. The Women's Liberation Front were demanding equality for  
13 women in all spheres, campaigning regularly,  
14 particularly in respect of education for girls and  
15 women, whereas the equal rights campaign focused more on  
16 trade unions and working with trade unions?

17 A. That's right.

18 Q. And you, I think, arranged and attended the first  
19 Women's Liberation Conference in 1970?

20 A. Yes. Well, I was part of a larger organising group that  
21 set up Ruskin, yes.

22 Q. The -- that division in thinking and theory we see  
23 a little more of where somebody called Nick Bateson  
24 appears to have been voted out of the meeting and  
25 expelled because of the division in the purism and the

1 thinking.

2 If we could just have a look at a document to remind  
3 ourselves about that. It's {MPS/736465}.

4 Tab 9 for your bundle, Sir.

5 Here's the London region meeting of the BVSF, and we  
6 can see that the agenda for the meeting was:

7 "1) The role of the Bateson's and Ibrahim in  
8 the BVSF.

9 "2) The expulsion of the above mentioned."

10 And:

11 "Election of new officers and executive committee."  
12 Together with.

13 "Forthcoming plans for the BVSF.

14 The meeting was chaired by Harpel Brar, who  
15 explained briefly the reasons for the meeting and then  
16 asked Al Manchanda to give an account of the Bateson's  
17 and Ibrahim's revisionist activities over the past two  
18 years."

19 And:

20 "This Mr Manchanda did at great length."

21 He was arguing -- I think this is exactly the point  
22 you were making -- that the revisionist's principles  
23 didn't sit with the Marxist-Leninist's principles; is  
24 that right?

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. And indeed -- so this vote took place. And we can see,  
2 if we scroll down towards -- right at the bottom of  
3 the page -- well, perhaps just further down this part of  
4 the page -- thank you -- we can see that various people  
5 were being proposed to be elected into positions in  
6 the group.

7 You're present at the meeting, Mr Manchanda's being  
8 elected as chairman, and the proposal to eject these  
9 people and vote a new committee in was accepted  
10 unanimously.

11 And if we look over a page, that appears to have  
12 been reported on by Detective Sergeant M Ferguson. So  
13 amongst that group, involved in a vote which expelled  
14 people and formed a new executive committee, there  
15 appears to have been an SDS officer?

16 A. Yes, apparently.

17 Q. You continued to attend meetings and indeed meetings of  
18 groups titled slightly differently. There was  
19 the VSC group as well. Did you attend meetings of that  
20 committee, the Vietnam Solidarity Committee?

21 A. Yes, I did. I -- to be honest with you, I don't  
22 remember being there, but I can see from the files that  
23 I did attend such a meeting.

24 Q. Yes.

25 And those carried on, and simultaneously you were

1 developing the Women's Liberation Front and starting  
2 that. So perhaps if we can move to an example of -- an  
3 early example of a report about  
4 the Women's Liberation Front.

5 It's at tab 17, Sir, for you.

6 And then for the screen it's {UCPI/26987}. So this  
7 is the latter part of 1970. If we just look at  
8 the bottom part of the page, it's signed by HN45, and  
9 that is an officer that you recall and recall his cover  
10 name was "Dave Robertson"; is that right?

11 A. Yeah.

12 Q. And this is a meeting where -- that paragraph we can see  
13 beginning with your name:

14 "Diane Langford ..."

15 And there appears to be a handwritten entry "(ie  
16 Mrs Manchanda)". Were you married by then, by  
17 November 1970?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And you're there referenced as "the General Secretary of  
20 the Women's Liberation Front".

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. "... put forward a resolution 'condemning the renewed  
23 bombing of North Vietnam by the US imperialist forces'.

24 A copy of this would be sent to the Vietnamese Women's  
25 Union. The meeting was then closed by Chris MacKinnon

1 and there was no mention was made of any future  
2 activities."

3 And we see a number of people mentioned as having  
4 attended there.

5 What were the aims? How did  
6 the Women's Liberation Front single itself out within  
7 the Women's Liberation Movement? What was different  
8 about the Front as opposed to anything else?

9 And this report can come down.

10 A. Sure. Well, we called it the Women's Liberation Front  
11 to identify it with liberation -- as a liberation  
12 organisation in solidarity with other liberation  
13 organisations around the world. And there were  
14 differences in terms of putting the emphasis on working  
15 class women. Some of the aims of our organisation were  
16 a little bit different from the four main aims of  
17 the Women's Liberation Movement, although we were  
18 the group who put forward the -- the aim of equal  
19 education. We brought that to the table and that was  
20 accepted by -- by the whole Women's Liberation Movement.

21 Other differences that I could mention were that we  
22 had included other aims in our -- in our manifesto, so  
23 to speak, such as that the term "illegitimate" shouldn't  
24 be used about children, and that the notion of being  
25 born out of wedlock was very stigmatising and that that

1 whole thing affected working class women very deeply.

2 And we had also added a couple of other aims into  
3 our manifesto, such as --

4 Q. -- (overspeaking) --

5 A. -- changing the divorce laws and about male violence.

6 Q. If I brought up the manifesto, would that help summarise  
7 it for you?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Reference {UCPI/10570}, and we'll look at page 3 of  
10 that, please {UCPI/10570/3}. And there are the seven  
11 points, I think, of your aims and objectives. If you  
12 would just --

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. -- have a look at that for us.

15 Do you recognise this as a document that you had  
16 a hand in --

17 A. Yeah.

18 Q. -- writing?

19 A. Yeah.

20 Q. Is that your address?

21 A. Yes. Yeah.

22 Q. A powerful image. Title: "Women's Liberation Front".

23 And this was a leaflet that you would regularly hand out  
24 at various of your meetings --

25 A. Yeah.

1 Q. -- and your conferences?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Point 1 was:

4 "Organising women in general, working class women in  
5 particular, and win support from the other sections of  
6 the community, to fight for a society in which there  
7 shall be no exploitation and oppression of women and  
8 where they shall enjoy equal rights and opportunities  
9 with men."

10 Point 2:

11 "To fight for the equal rate for the job ..."

12 So equal pay was important, although there was  
13 legislation, I think, going through Parliament in 1970  
14 for the Equal Pay Act, wasn't there?

15 A. There was, but it was hedged about with all kinds of  
16 ways that employers could -- could get out of it.

17 Q. Point 3:

18 "To fight for equal opportunities in employment,  
19 education, training, social and political life."

20 And then a reference particularly there to:

21 "... pre-natal and post-natal periods, and the right  
22 to return to the same job without suffering any loss, as  
23 of right, guaranteed by statutory law."

24 Was something you were campaigning for particularly?

25 A. Mm-hm.

1 Q. 4:

2 "To fight against all discrimination against women  
3 with regard to marriage ..."

4 And as you just referenced:

5 "... divorce, inheritance of property, taxes,  
6 insurance, and in all fields of economic and social life  
7 in the community."

8 Point 5:

9 "All women should have the right to bear children or  
10 not."

11 If we scroll down:

12 "In order to make this right effective, adequate  
13 contraceptive and abortion facilities should be made  
14 available free on the national health service."

15 6:

16 "To involve women in political and social  
17 activities, thus to help in the development of their  
18 long-suppressed talents and to wage a consistent  
19 struggle against male chauvinism."

20 7:

21 "To support the struggles of women of all countries  
22 in the realisation of the common aims to end the system  
23 exploitation and oppression and, for this purpose, to  
24 take part in the struggle of Britain and support the  
25 struggle for workers and oppressed people all over

1 the world."

2 And that's what you had to sign up to if you wanted  
3 to become a member of your group?

4 A. Yeah.

5 Q. We can see the link between the Women's Liberation Front  
6 and the Marxist-Leninist theory and thinking by virtue  
7 of the fact that there was a group called  
8 the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist League that I think  
9 Mr Manchanda was very influential in, as were you, where  
10 there was quite an overlap of membership; is that right?

11 A. That's right.

12 Q. And what -- if you can briefly help us with what did  
13 the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist League do differently  
14 from the Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front, for example?

15 We can take this report down now.

16 A. Okay, well, the RMLL was a very small group of maybe 10  
17 to 12 people who saw themselves as being people who had  
18 more experience. For example, you know, Manu had had  
19 experience of the anti-colonial struggle in India, he  
20 had previously been the partner of Claudia Jones, who  
21 set up the first black newspaper in Britain and was  
22 instrumental in starting the first Caribbean carnival in  
23 this country. She'd been expelled from  
24 the United States under the McCarthyite period. So,  
25 we're talking about influences which were very much

1 long-standing within liberation theory and practice.

2 So, those of us who wanted to go into things more  
3 deeply, to read, to study revolutionary theory, to  
4 understand the history of different revolutions as they  
5 happened in the Soviet Union, in China, in Cuba, etc, to  
6 understand the national liberation struggles that were  
7 going on in Asia, Africa and Latin America, we formed  
8 the small group and then tried to reach out by forming  
9 other groups, which didn't require the same amount of  
10 commitment, for example, on the issue of Vietnam and on  
11 Women's Liberation, and there was a group called Friends  
12 of China as well, which was about supporting China's  
13 right to be a member of the United Nations, which it  
14 wasn't back then.

15 So, this was the difference. And --

16 Q. So was this something of a thinking club, the RMLL,  
17 the sort of theory -- (overspeaking) --

18 A. Yes, I'd say so, yes.

19 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- with other groups?

20 A. That's right.

21 Q. And it was a very small group, so if an SDS --

22 A. A very tiny group.

23 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- officer was reporting on this  
24 group, it would be within a very small membership of --

25 A. Very, very small.

1 Q. -- of effectively a steering -- a steering committee?

2 A. Yes.

3 MS WILKINSON: I'm conscious of the time. It's 1 o'clock.

4 We'll come back and have a look at a report from an  
5 officer who was in exactly one of these meetings as soon  
6 as we resume again at 2 o'clock -- I think we start,  
7 don't we.

8 If that's convenient with you, Sir?

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

10 Ms Langford, will you be ready and able to resume at  
11 2?

12 A. Yes, that's fine. Thank you.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I'm afraid you've got another  
14 hour and a half or so to go.

15 A. That's fine. I'm sure I'll be fine. Thank you.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Good.

17 Until 2 then, please.

18 MR FERNANDES: We will now take a break for lunch. Hearings  
19 will resume at 2.00 pm.

20 (1.01 pm)

21 (The short adjournment)

22 (2.00 pm)

23 MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone, and welcome to  
24 the afternoon session of today's evidential hearings.

25 For those in the virtual hearing room, please

1 remember to turn off both your camera and microphone.

2 I will now hand over to the Chairman,  
3 Sir John Mitting, to continue proceedings.  
4 Chairman.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

6 As at the beginning of every evidential session, I'm  
7 afraid that a recording made earlier by me last year is  
8 going to be played. For those who are listening to it  
9 for the second time, I apologise. For those who are  
10 listening to it for the first time, I would ask you  
11 please to pay careful attention.

12 I am conducting this Inquiry under a statute,  
13 the Inquiries Act 2005, which gives me the power to make  
14 orders regulating the conduct of the Inquiry, including  
15 its hearings. In the exercise of that power, I have  
16 made a number of orders which affect what you may and  
17 may not do in the hearing rooms and after you leave  
18 them. Breach of any of the orders is a serious matter  
19 and may have serious consequences for you.

20 If I am satisfied that a person may have breached an  
21 order, I have the power to certify the matter to  
22 the High Court, which will investigate and deal with it  
23 as if it had been a contempt of that court. If  
24 satisfied that a breach has occurred and merits  
25 the imposition of a penalty, the High Court may impose

1 a severe sanction on the person in breach, including  
2 a fine, imprisonment for up to two years and  
3 sequestration of their assets.

4 Evidence is going to be given live over screens in  
5 the hearing rooms. It is strictly prohibited to  
6 photograph or record what is shown on the screens, or to  
7 record what is said by a witness, or anyone else in  
8 the hearing rooms. You may bring your mobile telephone  
9 into the hearing rooms, but you may not use it for any  
10 of those purposes. You may use it silently for any  
11 other purpose. In particular, you may transmit your  
12 account of what you have seen and heard in a hearing  
13 room to any other person, but only once at least  
14 ten minutes have elapsed since the event which you are  
15 describing took place.

16 This restriction has a purpose. In the course of  
17 the Inquiry, I have made orders prohibiting the public  
18 disclosure of information, for example about  
19 the identity of a person, for a variety of reasons.  
20 These orders must be upheld. It is inevitable that,  
21 whether by accident or design, information which I have  
22 ordered should not be publicly disclosed will sometimes  
23 be disclosed in a hearing. If and when that happens,  
24 I will immediately suspend the hearing and make an order  
25 prohibiting further disclosure of the information

1 outside the hearing rooms. The consequence will be that  
2 no further disclosure of that information may be made by  
3 mobile telephone or other portable electronic device  
4 from within the hearing room, or by any means outside  
5 it.

6 I am sorry if you find this message alarming; it is  
7 not intended to be. Its purpose is simply to ensure  
8 that everyone knows the rules which must apply if I am  
9 to hear the evidence which I need to enable me to get to  
10 the truth about undercover policing. You, as members of  
11 the public, are entitled to hear the same public  
12 evidence as I will hear and to reach your own  
13 conclusions about it. The Inquiry team will do their  
14 best to ensure that you can.

15 If you have any doubt about the terms of this  
16 message, or what you may or may not do, you should not  
17 hesitate to ask one of them and, with my help if  
18 necessary, they will provide you with the answer.

19 Ms Wilkinson.

20 MS WILKINSON: Thank you, Sir.

21 Ms Langford, are you able to come off mute and we  
22 can have a look at the next report? Thank you.

23 A. All right.

24 Q. Thank you very much.

25 We were just focusing on the Revolutionary

1 Marxist-Leninist League, and you'd explained that that  
2 was a particularly small group of people who were  
3 reading more deeply into the theory, and ultimately  
4 steering activities in other groups, including how you  
5 could reach out to other affected groups. Is that what  
6 you were saying just before we broke for lunch?

7 A. That's correct.

8 Q. Can we have a look at document {UCPI/10567}, please.

9 Behind your tab 20, Sir.

10 We'll see this is a meeting dated in January 1971.  
11 Can you see there, Ms Langford, that the meeting takes  
12 place -- is that at your home again, your home address,  
13 58 Lisburne Road, NW3?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And it was a meeting that went on for some three and  
16 a half hours. That seems like a relatively standard  
17 duration for the sorts of meetings that you were all  
18 regularly having. Does that sound about right?

19 A. I'm afraid so.

20 Q. And you talk about this being a small group. There have  
21 been other meetings -- I won't take you to the reports  
22 right now, but there are other examples of this group  
23 meeting in the pub, where there are about 12 people  
24 meeting. On this occasion, there were 14 people  
25 present. Does that accord with your recollection of

1 the RMLL's regular attendees?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And if we have a look right at the back page of this  
4 report, page 3, we can see that it's been signed off by  
5 HN45. {UCPI/10567/3}. You see his cipher and rank  
6 appears there.

7 So, he was an officer who was attending at these  
8 meetings, and the fact that we have earlier reports,  
9 regularly attending at these meetings, of a small number  
10 of you, sometimes meeting in your home address for many  
11 hours.

12 This meeting, if we go back to page 1  
13 {UCPI/10567/1}, was to plan -- at paragraph 3 we can  
14 see:

15 "... the meeting was to plan RMLL activities for  
16 1971, including the Women's Liberation Front,  
17 Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front and Friends of China."

18 Is this an example of the RMLL effectively steering  
19 some of the activities of these other groups?

20 A. That's correct. May I say something about the presence  
21 of "Dave Robertson" at the meeting?

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. I find it very hard to believe that he was actually in  
24 the room, as he would not have been a member of that  
25 inner group, and -- however, I should explain that we

1 had a system of candidate membership, which lasted for  
2 six months. And so there might have been somebody in  
3 the room who was a candidate member, but even that  
4 I find -- you know, that would be stretching it. But  
5 the actual meetings of the RMLL would have really been  
6 restricted to full members of the RMLL. And so I was  
7 very surprised to see that he has identified himself as  
8 having been -- actually been in the meeting.

9 Q. Well, on the face of the rest of this report, it's quite  
10 detailed.

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. So obviously the information has come from somewhere.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. I was going to ask you this at another point, but I will  
15 raise it now. I think in your statement you recall him  
16 quite clearly, don't you, "Dave Robertson"?

17 A. I do.

18 Q. And I think you reference in your statement that he  
19 would come to your home quite frequently --

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. -- and that you would socialise with him?

22 A. That's right. There would have been meetings of larger  
23 groups in -- in our home, for example BVSF meetings,  
24 which he would have been able to attend. But something  
25 under the -- you know, there were one or two meetings

1           that were held where members of the public were able to  
2           come. They'd be more like study groups, and things like  
3           that, rather than business meetings, so to speak.

4       Q. I'm going to come on to another example of a report  
5           where there's only five people present: it includes you,  
6           Mr Manchanda and at least one officer.

7       A. Yeah.

8       Q. Again, a very small meeting. Absent their presence, on  
9           the face of it, they must have got this information --  
10          well, they must have got this information from  
11          somewhere; and on the face of it, it's quite detailed,  
12          suggesting they were present in very small meetings at  
13          people's home addresses?

14      A. Yes, I've notice that in my witness bundle, and I'm very  
15          surprised at that. But I have been thinking about this,  
16          and we were being surveilled by other agencies, and I'm  
17          wondering even possibly the room may have been bugged,  
18          our phone was bugged at certain times. And perhaps when  
19          we come on to the meeting where the organisation split,  
20          that in particular was one where I thought  
21          the information was very detailed and may have been as  
22          a result of some disgruntled members of the group who  
23          were being challenged over their misogyny, you know,  
24          might have found a sympathetic person waiting in  
25          the pub, to have a bit of a gossip.

- 1 Q. Yes. Whilst you've expressed the surprise about  
2 "Dave Robertson", as you knew him then, being present --
- 3 A. Yeah.
- 4 Q. -- can I just, whilst we deal with this topic, flick to  
5 a document that you exhibited, Ms Langford, for our  
6 assistance?
- 7 A. Yes, sure.
- 8 Q. Which is a document that he completed himself --
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. -- when looking to join your group. It's {UCPI/344339},  
11 please. It's exhibit 6 at the front of your bundle,  
12 Sir, tab 6.
- 13 This is -- to assist the technicians, this is  
14 amongst the civilian documents that have been provided  
15 by Ms Langford, appended to her statement. It's  
16 {UCPI/344339}.
- 17 Thank you.
- 18 So this was a document that you've produced for the  
19 assistance of the Chairman and the Inquiry.
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. Which was, on the face of it, a proforma that was  
22 expected by everybody to be completed, if they were  
23 interested in joining your group?
- 24 A. It wasn't in joining the group. If you look at the top,  
25 it says "Study Classes".

1 Q. So if you wanted to attend study classes, this is  
2 something that -- (overspeaking) -- complete.

3 A. That's right, yes.

4 Q. And he gives the name there "Dave Robertson", in  
5 capitals, his address at flat 15, 287 West End Lane,  
6 NW6.

7 You ask, "What books or pamphlets by Marx, Engels,  
8 Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung have you read?"

9 And he writes "Manifesto, The State" -- I can't read  
10 all his writing -- "Value, Price and Profit, Origin of  
11 the Foundry, Private Property" --

12 A. No, it's "family" -- Origin of the Family, Private  
13 Property and the State, which is a book by Engels.

14 Q. And "Lenin on Religion"?

15 A. Yeah.

16 Q. Regularly read the Lenin Review?

17 A. The Peking Review.

18 Q. Selected works -- we can ask him about it. To something  
19 "volume 1":

20 "Have read a number of pamphlets ...  
21 the [leadership --] the directorship of  
22 the proletariat etc, etc."

23 So is that the sort of bibliography you would have  
24 expected of somebody beginning to attend study classes?  
25 Or is that a very well read person before joining

1           your classes, or does that betray the fact that this is  
2           somebody just references well known texts and trying to  
3           fictionalise a character

4        A. It looks like somebody referencing well known texts or  
5        things that he thought would appeal to us, but at  
6        the same time, it could have been genuine. So it wasn't  
7        questioned at the time, but I do remember chatting to  
8        him, because he was from Scotland, he told us, and we  
9        talked -- I can remember we talked about issues of  
10       relevance to working class movements and so forth in  
11       Scotland, such as the revolt on the Clyde and things  
12       like that, and he didn't seem to know anything about  
13       that. So although we didn't -- that didn't immediately  
14       make us think he was undercover, it was something that  
15       sort of was put in the back of our minds as something  
16       that, you know, we'd need to keep an eye on.

17       Q. And he references here, under the question:

18                 "Have you attended any Marxist-Leninist classes  
19       before? When and where?":

20                 "Yes [he says], 58 Lisburne Road 1970 ..."

21       A. Yeah.

22       Q. Does that -- (overspeaking) -- tend to suggest there, by  
23       spring 1971, that he had attended your home address  
24       before?

25       A. Maybe he had come along to a meeting. I don't --

1 I don't know whether he would have attended any classes  
2 before, because this was probably when we were just  
3 setting the classes up. So I don't quite understand why  
4 he's written that.

5 Q. We'll come on to you --

6 A. Perhaps he was confused and thought that the meeting he  
7 was attending was a class.

8 Q. We'll come on to your handwritten entry further down  
9 the page a little bit later when we deal with  
10 the meeting where he was compromised, and perhaps --

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. -- come back to that at that stage, if you don't mind.

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. Just when you were dealing with your confusion or  
15 surprise that he was attending, on the face of this  
16 record, attending at your home address for one of these  
17 RMLL meetings where --

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. -- you were planning the future activities for  
20 the group.

21 Can we just go back to that document, because it's  
22 quite -- there are a number of other aspects I'd like to  
23 draw out of it, if you wouldn't mind.

24 {UCPI/10567}, please. And that's still tab 20.

25 So we know that the object of this meeting was to

1 plan the activities. And then paragraph 4:

2 "The main issue raised by Manchanda was  
3 political agitation in industry. The RMLL had not so  
4 far been engaged in such work to any great extent but  
5 would now concentrate on its activities in this field.  
6 To this end he had directed [privacy], [privacy] and  
7 [privacy] to obtain employment with 'Fords' at Dagenham.  
8 It is believed that all three have already made  
9 application for employment although they do not yet know  
10 whether they have been successful."

11 Scroll down to paragraph 5, please:

12 "The Women's Liberation Front hoped to extend its  
13 activities in the same sphere. Two new branches have  
14 been formed, one in South London and another in North  
15 London, which was in the Palmers Green area and would be  
16 run by [privacy] and [privacy privacy]. This location  
17 has been carefully chosen so as to be close to a factory  
18 of the Metal Box Co, on the North Circular Road which  
19 employed a large number of women. [Privacy] said she  
20 would end her present employment in order to take  
21 employment with the Metal Box Co."

22 And then there's a reference to you:

23 "Diane Langford, [privacy] and another WLF member,  
24 only identified as Roberta, all members of SOGAT ..."

25 Or however you pronounce it in its shortened

1 version:

2 "... said they intended to try and organise women  
3 members of that Union, although they had not decided  
4 exactly how they would do this beyond attending Union  
5 meetings."

6 There's then a reference to a gentleman who is  
7 described as "an Indian":

8 "... who was believed to have connections with the  
9 Indian Marxist Leninist Association, apologised for not  
10 having been active ..."

11 But over the next page, if we move on,  
12 {UCPI/10567/2}, he references the fact that --

13 A. Oh, sorry. Sorry, sorry. Can we just stop there  
14 a minute while I remember, otherwise by the time you get  
15 to the end, I'll forget.

16 Q. Of course, yes.

17 A. It's about SOGAT.

18 Q. Yes.

19 A. Can we just go back to that?

20 Q. Yes.

21 A. Where it says some of us are members of SOGAT.

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. It's only just occurred to me now that that's very  
24 peculiar, using the name "SOGAT". It makes me wonder  
25 when this report was written, because at the time

1 the union was called "NATSOPA"; it was a print union.

2 And it didn't take on the name "SOGAT" until 1985.

3 Q. Right. Well, thank you for that reference. You can see

4 --

5 A. That's extremely peculiar. And in fact, it used to be

6 called "SOGAT 85", that's how I remember it so well,

7 when a number of print unions merged into the -- into

8 SOGAT. So how on earth anyone even knew that it was

9 going to be called SOGAT in 1970 -- what is it? 1971.

10 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- the page.

11 Oh, thank you. That's an oddity.

12 But just dealing with sort of the flow of this

13 report, a gentleman was referencing his ability to

14 contact -- this is the top of the next page:

15 "... he had [various] ... contacts in ... London,  
16 particularly the Metal Box Co, which employed large  
17 numbers of Asians. The nature of his involvement was  
18 not discussed in detail but it was apparent that he  
19 intended to work closely with Manchanda and the RMLL."

20 And then at paragraph 8:

21 "Manchanda stressed the need for members to be  
22 cautious in their approach to industrial politics so as  
23 not to draw the attention of employers and others to  
24 their activity at the outset."

25 What was this industrial activity to be? When --

1           why did people have to keep quiet, and what were they to  
2           do when they got jobs in these places?

3           A. Well, there was a lot of industrial action going on at  
4           that moment against the Industrial Relations Act, and so  
5           I think people were encouraged to support the opposition  
6           to that in their work. But I just -- also, it seems  
7           that some of our members were quite young and  
8           enthusiastic, and they might have thought they were  
9           going to go and, you know, become revolutionary heroes  
10          on the shop floor. And I think there, it's possible  
11          Manu was advising people to be modest in their behaviour  
12          and to, you know, to listen and learn, basically.

13          I think that was the advice that was being given there.

14          Q. When -- you were referenced as saying that you weren't  
15          sure what people should do from  
16          the Women's Liberation Front save for attending union  
17          meetings at this stage, is that union meetings at their  
18          place of employment?

19          A. I'm not sure what you're talking about now. Where is  
20          that?

21          Q. Go back to the previous page {UCPI/10567/1}.

22          I apologise, Ms Langford. Paragraph 6:

23                 "Diane Langford, [privacy] and another WLF member  
24                 only identified as Roberta ..."

25                 And there's the reference to SOGAT:

1            "... said they intended to try and organise women  
2 members of that Union, although they had not decided  
3 exactly how they would do this beyond attending Union  
4 meetings."

5            And this is on the back of --

6        A. Yeah.

7        Q. -- (overspeaking) -- which is --

8        A. I understand.

9        Q. -- (overspeaking) -- that's perhaps the theme of what's  
10 being encouraged here: making sure that people who are  
11 sharing the political thinking are already embedded in  
12 the factories and the workplaces.

13            What was there, beyond attending union meetings,  
14 that ever took place, in terms of this sort of  
15 industrial activity, from the WLF's perspective?

16        A. Well, it would have been, for example, inviting people  
17 to come along to join the Women's Liberation Front and  
18 take part in the Women's Liberation Movement as -- one  
19 of our criticisms of that was that it was rather white  
20 and rather middle class.

21        Q. The WLF as it stood at the time?

22        A. No, I'm saying we would have invited women to join  
23 the Women's Liberation Front, because we considered  
24 ourselves as part of the women's movement, and that we  
25 would have been bringing a working-class dimension to

1           that, to the whole movement.

2           There were already some great women trade unionists  
3           who were doing work in the unions, especially cleaners  
4           around May Hobbs. And of course, later there was  
5           Grunwick, but at this stage the Ford women who went on  
6           strike made a historical contribution towards  
7           the winning of at least, you know, whatever was lacking  
8           in the legislation; at least it was a huge step forward  
9           for women.

10          Q. Yes, and that initial strike action had taken place in  
11           1968, hadn't it, at Ford?

12          A. Yes.

13          Q. So we're a couple of years on from that?

14          A. Yes.

15          Q. And this -- (overspeaking) -- encouragement of three  
16           people to join Fords, as far as this thinking and this  
17           activity is concerned.

18           Then can we next move on. This appears then -- in  
19           terms of dating it, this report is January 1971, and  
20           there's reference to you expanding to have two new  
21           branches of the Women's Liberation Front. And we see  
22           within a month of this report, there's a new officer,  
23           HN348, who used the cover name "Sandra", who starts  
24           reporting.

25           If we move to report {UCPI/26988}.

1           Tab 25, Sir.

2           This is now February; so it's just a few weeks on  
3           from that meeting. And on the face of it, it does seem  
4           to be consistent with HN45 reporting back that  
5           the Women's Liberation Front is expanding. And then  
6           there's the introduction of a new female officer into  
7           the field, and to focus on the Women's Liberation Front,  
8           as we know she did, from her statement, and I know that  
9           you've read her reporting.

10          We see here this was at a pub, in the Duke of  
11          Clarence pub. And we see your name appears in  
12          the middle; that of Mr Manchanda at the bottom.

13          If we turn over {UCPI 26988/2}, it's a public  
14          meeting. If we look on the second page {UCPI/26988/2}.  
15          At the signatures at the bottom we can just see there,  
16          "Officers Present", and it's WDC HN348 and  
17          a Detective Sergeant who goes with her on this occasion.  
18          Had it been 45, his cipher would appear there. So it's  
19          not him, it's somebody else, joining a public meeting  
20          with her.

21          She appends your -- the manifesto that we looked at  
22          earlier, with the seven aims and objectives. Then,  
23          next, we see a meeting that she attends. If we can  
24          bring up {UCPI/26992}, please.

25          This is not in the hard copy bundle, Sir, so this is

1 on the screen.

2 So within a month of her attending at that public  
3 meeting in the pub, this is a report by 348, attending  
4 a meeting at somebody's home of the study group. And is  
5 this an example of what you were talking about with  
6 the RMLL: study groups were open for anybody to attend?

7 A. Well, this looks like it was a study group organised by  
8 the Women's Liberation Front. So it would have been --  
9 yeah, Clara Zetkin, etc.

10 Q. And it's a two-hour meeting in somebody's home that  
11 348 --

12 A. Yeah.

13 Q. -- is already attending, having only been in the field  
14 about a month by then, and there are only seven people  
15 present.

16 A. Yes, that's very, very strange indeed, because she must  
17 have done a lot of work in the meantime to ingratiate  
18 herself to get invited to a smaller meeting like that.

19 Q. If we just scroll down the page, please.

20 A. An author's wife. I don't remember seeing this about  
21 the author's wife. This wasn't in my bundle.

22 Q. No, because you're not actually present. Had you been  
23 present, had your name appeared, then it would have been  
24 in your bundle, Ms Langford --

25 A. Yeah, I know who that was, that was John Arden and

1 Margarita Arden. The playwright John Arden is the  
2 author and the wife is Margarita Arden.

3 Q. I reference this because I was trying to deal with how  
4 quickly 348 appears to have moved from attending public  
5 meetings into people's private homes, and was just  
6 wanting to understand whether that would have been an  
7 unusual feature, or would that be an invitation open to  
8 anybody who wanted to attend?

9 A. People would have -- you know, women especially would  
10 have been very welcome to come along to WLF meetings,  
11 especially if they showed an interest in actually  
12 sitting down and reading and studying, etc. But,  
13 you know, I was surprised in reading the material that  
14 was in my bundle that she went from a public meeting  
15 into very more private meetings in a very short while.

16 Q. Just looking at the text of this meeting, you've  
17 referenced the fact that there, there was an author's  
18 wife discussing matters. That very last paragraph  
19 references that:

20 "On Ulster, [privacy] praised the recent actions of  
21 the IRA, which she described as 'a good way to start  
22 a revolution'."

23 A. Was that the author's wife who said that?

24 Q. It's unclear from the privacy redaction. It seems to be  
25 obviously somebody present at the meeting. The previous

1 paragraph reads:

2 "This woman mentioned that she and her husband came  
3 from South West Ireland where they had a house on  
4 a small and otherwise uninhabited island on a large  
5 lake."

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. It would make sense if it was her continuing to say  
8 that.

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Would that view about supporting the IRA action and it  
11 being a good way to start a revolution have found favour  
12 with your group --

13 A. No -- no, it would not. I did explain earlier that our  
14 group was very opposed to anything like -- that was  
15 individual -- you know, individuals putting -- engaging  
16 in activity that was not mass-based and was just,  
17 you know, like individual acts of violence; we were  
18 very -- extremely opposed to that. And we were very,  
19 very careful to inculcate into people that it was  
20 through collective action that we could make progress,  
21 not in this way at all.

22 Q. Did you ever in fact meet anyone, to your recollection,  
23 from the Angry Brigade?

24 A. I did not. But I do recall that at one particular time,  
25 there were women who were wearing badges supporting,

1 I think, somebody who was either on trial or imprisoned.  
2 And I can't remember the name of that person, but  
3 I have -- I do recall seeing women wearing such badges  
4 at Women's Liberation conferences. In fact, HN348 spoke  
5 in another report that there were lots of members of  
6 the Angry Brigade at the meeting, which was absolute  
7 nonsense and it was a misunderstanding on her part,  
8 because obviously members of the Angry Brigade would not  
9 go round with badges on their jackets saying that they  
10 were members of the Angry Brigade, but some women were  
11 wearing badges.

12 Q. In support of a trial of somebody or the imprisonment?

13 A. Yes. As far as I can remember, that was the case.

14 Q. So an affiliation with the Angry Brigade may have been  
15 inferred from that sort of badge-wearing?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Thank you with helping with that.

18 If we now move on, I think this is the meeting that  
19 you were referencing earlier, a meeting in March 1971,  
20 where a number of -- there are a number of features that  
21 are of concern to you.

22 Can we have a look at {UCPI/11741}, please.

23 Tab 28, Sir.

24 This was a meeting where, in your statement, you  
25 reference the fact that people had been asked to prepare

1           for this meeting. This was a meeting -- an  
2           extraordinary meeting, as we see in paragraph 22.

3           A. Yes.

4           Q. It went on for nine hours, from 1.30 in the afternoon to  
5           10.30 at night.

6           A. Oh my god.

7           Q. And it was attended by 17 people. You identify in your  
8           statement surprise that the content of this report would  
9           have come from HN45 actually being present at this  
10          meeting, and you surmise perhaps --

11          A. Yes.

12          Q. -- he's picked up some detail from discussions in  
13          the pub afterwards.

14                 But if we just look at the detail, it does appear to  
15          be really quite detailed. But your surprise comes from  
16          the fact that everybody who had attended was expected to  
17          write a paper or come prepared to support their --

18          A. Yes.

19          Q. -- views one way or the other, because the meeting was  
20          ultimately --

21          A. Right.

22          Q. -- to undermine Mr Manchanda's leadership; is that  
23          the point?

24          A. The meeting hadn't been called to undermine his  
25          leadership. In fact, you know, the meeting -- the date

1 of the meeting had been mutually agreed. But it was --  
2 it was recognised that the organisation was heading  
3 towards a split, and this was an effort to try to  
4 resolve the differences that were there.

5 And regarding the source of the material that's in  
6 here, I've noticed at the top it says -- it normally  
7 says "a reliable source", but in this report it  
8 says "a delicate but reliable source", and that made me  
9 wonder exactly what was the source.

10 Q. Yes.

11 Well, on the face of it, it has HN45's cipher as  
12 the attributable author at the end --

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. -- and bears out what you caveat as the likelihood of  
15 him being present in person or not. Somebody was able  
16 to calculate that there were 17 people there. Does that  
17 sound about the right number of people, from your  
18 recollection?

19 A. It sounds a higher number than I recalled, but I accept  
20 that he was counting, or somebody was counting. And  
21 also, I believe that people had come from Coventry as  
22 well. I -- I haven't got the list of the people who  
23 were there on screen at the moment.

24 Q. Well, they're redacted in this copy, for privacy  
25 reasons.

1 A. Yeah, so it probably would have been a higher number  
2 than the normal, say, 12 to 14. Then there may have  
3 been, you know, other people who had come from different  
4 cities. There was -- there were some members in  
5 Coventry at the time; I think they were also present at  
6 this meeting.

7 Q. And you were at somebody's home address again. So this  
8 wasn't a public meeting in that sense. And the meeting  
9 had been arranged, according to paragraph 3, to:

10 "... 'cut down to size' the organisation leading  
11 personality A Manchanda whose offensive manner, dogmatic  
12 attitude, bullying techniques and general inefficiency  
13 have become too much for even his admirers to swallow."

14 A. Yes, I noticed this --

15 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- that type of language being used in  
16 this sort of report?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Were you aware of any members of the group having these  
19 sorts of views, or expressing this sort of language?

20 You've talked about division and it becoming clear that  
21 there was a split. Would some people --

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- hold him in this regard?

24 A. Well, the split started to happen as a result of women  
25 becoming involved in the Women's Liberation Movement and

1 holding their partners to account for various  
2 misdemeanours, and Manu and I and maybe half of  
3 the group were more enthusiastic about examining these  
4 matters, and others were very riled up and resentful  
5 that personal behaviour was being criticised or  
6 questioned. And so, yes, there were these sort of  
7 divisions there, but I -- I felt throughout reading  
8 HN45's reports that he had almost an obsessive way of  
9 writing about Manu, his:

10 "... offensive manner, dogmatic attitude, bullying  
11 techniques and general inefficiency have become too much  
12 for even his admirers to swallow."

13 Well, I mean, that's just a totally subjective view  
14 of the author. And why on earth it would end up in  
15 a report that might possibly be going to Box 500 is  
16 absolutely baffling. And cutting him down to size, etc,  
17 I mean, these were rather -- all of these memories for  
18 me are very unpleasant and disturbing, and when I read  
19 HN45's reports and the way that he talked about Manu,  
20 his habit of -- something like "insufferable anecdotes"  
21 about the baby, etc, I feel, you know, very disturbed.  
22 Such unpleasant stuff. It's not about -- even about our  
23 politics, it's about our personal -- our personal lives.  
24 And it's so intrusive and nasty. So petty.

25 Q. The example --

1 A. I just don't understand how it's got into a report from  
2 somebody, you know -- if it's supposed to be a serious  
3 operation, surely ...

4 Q. Well, if I just highlight another couple of examples, if  
5 you are able to bear with me, Ms Langford, of that sort  
6 of --

7 A. Sure.

8 Q. -- attitude, if you can tolerate it.

9 A. Yeah.

10 Q. Paragraph 5 -- we seem to have lost that report. If we  
11 could just bring it back to the screen again, please.  
12 The reference was {UCPI/11741}. Thank you.

13 There's a reference in paragraph 5, second line  
14 down:

15 "... [the] ... members of the RMLL had become  
16 progressively dissatisfied with the general attitude of  
17 Manchanda ..."

18 And that ultimately this meeting was saying that if  
19 the organisation were to remain viable, he should resign  
20 from his position as chairman and secretary.

21 If we look further down at the top of paragraph 6:

22 "Manchanda, in his defence, launched into  
23 a characteristic diatribe against certain members of  
24 the RMLL, particularly [privacy privacy] and spoke for  
25 two hours, mainly spent in reading from a prepared

1 statement ... The nub of his defence was that he had  
2 nothing to answer; everything he had done had been in  
3 the interests of the organisation and the working  
4 class."

5 And if we just scroll down paragraph 6 a bit  
6 further, please.

7 He was having to, on the face of it, answer  
8 criticisms that he hadn't been putting enough effort in,  
9 and he said there, halfway down, he'd felt constrained,  
10 however, to plead ill-health and reference to the birth  
11 of your child, and that he felt that he'd recently  
12 acquired -- his paternal status had:

13 "... in fact contributed to the present crisis;  
14 whilst his supporters agree that a proper pride in one's  
15 offspring is understandable, they consider that  
16 Manchanda's constant stream of [privacy] anecdotes is  
17 insufferable. They are not really convinced either of  
18 his claim that sending his wife to work whilst he stays  
19 home is a 'practical example women's liberation', is  
20 entirely virtuous."

21 And it's referenced there that he has to brush  
22 aside allegations -- we see on the next page  
23 {UCPI/11741/1} -- to him being an enemy agent.

24 So this meeting, just pausing there, this meeting  
25 was pre-thought out, because Mr Manchanda had had to

1           come with a written defence and other people were  
2           reading from lengthy criticisms.

3           So is it your recollection that if somebody had been  
4           present and reporting this back at this meeting, they  
5           would have been invited or included in, on the face of  
6           it, a relatively small group, an inner circle, and would  
7           have had to have come prepared with something in  
8           writing?

9           A. Yes, that's my impression. I just wanted to go back to  
10          what I was speaking about a moment ago about  
11          the unpleasantness of this, that he's written there  
12          something about he showed his diabetic card. I have  
13          a very strong memory of this meeting and exactly what  
14          happened. In fact, Manu had been going around with  
15          undiagnosed diabetes mellitus and his health was very  
16          poor, and he actually fainted in that meeting and was  
17          laid out on the floor. And we had to give him a sugar  
18          cube or something to get his blood sugar back up. And  
19          I remember somebody said, "Oh, he's bluffing, he's just  
20          bluffing." That's how unpleasant this was. And that's  
21          the context in which he showed his diabetic card, to  
22          show people that he actually did have diabetes and he  
23          was having a hypoglycaemic attack.

24          So I'm just saying this so that I can demonstrate  
25          the bias in this reportage.

1 Q. And there's a reference -- and you would say that  
2 the bias is revealed in another way when we -- I'll come  
3 on to that paragraph as well, but just pointing out what  
4 you've just referenced there, if we look on the screen  
5 now at paragraph 8:

6 "At this stage Manchanda said he was feeling unwell.  
7 He refused [privacy] offer to adjourn the meeting and  
8 after some heated discussion Manchanda said 'he was  
9 finished with the RMLL and wished to have nothing more  
10 to do with it'. He then left the meeting ..."

11 So that's the reference, it had got that difficult.  
12 And this was all being reported back to Special Branch  
13 in this --

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Was paragraph 7 an example of -- the women bringing  
16 criticisms and holding the men of their lives to account  
17 in these public meetings, was paragraph 7 an example of  
18 that? Can we have a look at this reference to  
19 somebody's morals being attacked. Paragraph 7.

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. "There then followed a general discussion with [privacy]  
22 speaking in Manchanda's defence. [Privacy] read a copy  
23 of a letter she had previously sent to Manchanda making  
24 a very personal attack on the private morals of  
25 [privacy] arising from an incident that had taken place

1           some time previously. This reduced [privacy] to tears."

2           Now, you comment here that what is -- that this is,  
3           on the face of it, superficially dealing with what was  
4           a very significant allegation of a criminal matter; is  
5           that right?

6           A. Yes, that's right, yes.

7           Q. And in your statement, this is in fact, you recall, an  
8           allegation of attempted rape by one female --

9           A. Yes.

10          Q. -- member of the group on a male member of the group?

11          A. That's right.

12          Q. And that --

13          A. Yes.

14          Q. -- is supported by detective constable 45 as a very  
15          personal attack on the private morals of --

16          A. That's correct. And in fact, the person accused used  
17          the expression "she's too ugly to rape".

18          Q. Which doesn't appear in this report in terms of --

19          A. It doesn't. But it certainly was burned into my memory.

20          Q. And the person who's -- somebody else is obviously  
21          equally affected, as they are "reduced to tears", we can  
22          see by the end of that paragraph?

23          A. Yes.

24          Q. When you see this sort of reporting, how does that make  
25          you feel? I think you've given us a clear indication of

1 the fact that it's very difficult for you?

2 A. I find it absolutely sickening. But however he got  
3 the information, by either being in the room, or bugging  
4 our room, or talking to disgruntled men who shared his  
5 kind of attitude towards women in the pub, I feel  
6 absolutely disgusted, absolutely sickened.

7 Q. At paragraph 11 we see his personal view expressed. If  
8 we just scroll down the page. He says there:

9 "The informant's personal view is that whether or  
10 not Manchanda is expelled the damage to the RMLL is  
11 irreparable. Apart from Manchanda there is no one with  
12 sufficient personality to hold the organisation together  
13 and if his critics lose the [privacy] day they have said  
14 too much for him to suffer their continued presence."

15 So, the ultimate output or take from this meeting  
16 was the continuation of the RMLL: how cohesive as  
17 a group it was. And that was what was effectively being  
18 communicated to Special Branch: the chances of this  
19 being a viable group going forwards. And to do that,  
20 there had been ten paragraphs of quite a lot of detail  
21 of private matters at a private home.

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. You deal with a suggestion that HN45 had babysat for  
24 you. His recollection is that he had come into your  
25 home and looked after your child, yours and

- 1 Mr Manchanda's child. Do you recall that?
- 2 A. I find it absolutely outrageous that he would even make  
3 such a suggestion.
- 4 Q. Did you let anybody look -- did you let anybody look  
5 after your child? Were there babysitters that would  
6 come into the house?
- 7 A. If anybody did -- well, Manu had a sister, who had  
8 babysat on occasions. You know, there was another  
9 friend who used to -- who used to babysit for us. And  
10 also, when my daughter was able to get into a local  
11 nursery as quite a young baby, because -- because of  
12 Manu's illness, when he was in hospital, we got  
13 a nursery place, and there was a young woman at  
14 the nursery who used to help with babysitting sometimes  
15 as well.
- 16 Q. But to your recollection, it wasn't the Scottish  
17 "Dave Robertson"?
- 18 A. I just find it baffling, absolutely baffling. We would  
19 never leave a young baby with someone we hardly knew.  
20 Certainly not.
- 21 Q. This effectively now, we see, by this period in 1971,  
22 was effectively the end of Mr Manchanda's leadership of  
23 the RMLL, and we see the outcome of this meeting at  
24 a later report, {UCPI/10918}, please.
- 25 Tab 35, Sir.

1 Paragraph 2:

2 "The group has been reformed and will continue to  
3 be called the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist League.  
4 Abhimanyu Manchanda who was general secretary has been  
5 suspended from holding office and his financial aid, ie  
6 his small weekly salary and assistance with rent and  
7 telephone bills, has been withdrawn. His wife,  
8 Diane Langford and [privacy] have also been suspended  
9 from RMLL activities."

10 Again, to be in this sort of position, to have this  
11 sort of information means that he must have been  
12 involved, must he, in voting on the outcome or  
13 involvement in influencing this group? Is that your  
14 surmised position?

15 A. It would be. I mean, there would not have been anybody  
16 who would have been in sort of a bystander role or  
17 neutral. That would be just not possible at all,  
18 because every -- you could say, every supporter of one  
19 side or the other was -- was -- you know, we were -- it  
20 would have to be very clear, you know, whose side you  
21 were on, what -- what stance you were taking in these  
22 discussions; and, you know, over the issue of misogyny,  
23 all of those things that we've already discussed a few  
24 minutes ago.

25 Q. At paragraph 4, do we see a change of direction -- in

1 the absence of Mr Manchanda's leadership, there's going  
2 to be a change of direction? Paragraph 4:

3 "Prior to the split, membership of the RMLL was  
4 granted only after candidate membership of some  
5 six months had been satisfactorily fulfilled."

6 And this is what you were referring to earlier,  
7 I think?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. "This has now been abandoned in the hope of attracting  
10 new recruits. The only requirement of membership now is  
11 that a person should be accepted by the other members  
12 together with a 12½p weekly subscription."

13 We know, I think, that you continued to hold  
14 political instruction classes at your home address at 58  
15 Lisburne Road under the Women's Liberation Front head.  
16 Is that your recollection?

17 A. Yes, it is. In fact, I think Manu had made a visit to  
18 India at some point, or was in hospital or something,  
19 and I do remember that it was I who was running those  
20 classes.

21 Q. Yes.

22 Did the Friends of China and the BVSF group  
23 continue, as far as you recall?

24 A. I think they did, but those also were difficult and  
25 I think they were limping along by that point.

1 Q. If we then look at what's happening with  
2 the Women's Liberation Front, a little further on, by  
3 September 1971, whilst -- the same sort of attitude  
4 seems to be pervading in terms of division and split.  
5 And if we look at report {UCPI/27021}, this is  
6 a committee meeting at a hall in Seven Sisters Road. 17  
7 people were present:

8 "The meeting was chaired by [privacy] who opened by  
9 reading a prepared 'Emergency Resolution ...'"

10 And this was effectively:

11 "In essence her statement was in response to a  
12 defeated resolution which had been presented by  
13 [privacy] at an Executive Committee held four days  
14 earlier ... Apparently the defeated resolution had  
15 accused [privacy] and [privacy] of 'rank opportunism,  
16 and sectarianism, in having irregularly produced  
17 the summer 1971 issue of 'Women's Liberation'.  
18 [privacy] [privacy]'s statement bitterly attacked [you]  
19 Diane Langford for having been negligent in her duties  
20 and of having ignored executive committee decisions ..."

21 And, ultimately, is this another example of division  
22 -- internal division in your group, and ultimately  
23 a suspension of you and Mr Manchanda, and I think  
24 another person, we see at the top of the next page, from  
25 the Women's Liberation Front?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Was that division, as far as you can tell, and  
3 the difference of approach, was that down to undercover  
4 policing, as far as you can tell, or was that a natural  
5 development of thinking?

6 A. It's very difficult to quantify, because I don't know  
7 exactly the extent of the undercover policing that was  
8 going on. We don't really still know exactly how many  
9 undercover officers were actually involved, because I do  
10 question the deployment of HN348 as being the only woman  
11 who had infiltrated the Women's Liberation Movement, for  
12 example.

13 But I think it would have been a combination of  
14 the two. Obviously one or two votes would count in  
15 a meeting like that, and I think it was split down  
16 the middle, so there we go. And also we've already,  
17 you know, just read the attitude of HN45, and that he  
18 had clearly taken sides, you could say.

19 Q. Let's just have a look at paragraph 6 on this report, to  
20 deal with numbers and voting:

21 "This resolution was passed ..."

22 This is the resolution to suspend your membership  
23 and Mr Manchanda's:

24 "... was passed with thirteen votes for, none  
25 against, and three abstentions."

1           And you were then asked to leave the meeting, which  
2           you did. And we know that this was a report, if we look  
3           right at the bottom of this page, submitted by HN348.  
4           So for her to be present and reporting in this meeting,  
5           she must have cast a vote.

6           A. I imagine so, yes. Especially as she was later  
7           elected -- I think as treasurer.

8           Q. Yes, there's a reference to --

9           A. Yes.

10          Q. -- a report naming a "Sandra", which was her cover name  
11          --

12          A. Yes.

13          Q. -- her cover Christian name, naming her as elected  
14          treasurer, which was something she was asked about and  
15          couldn't remember herself but didn't disagree that that  
16          might have happened. And her election to that role as  
17          treasurer in fact within a month of this meeting,  
18          February 1972, was that election.

19                 By -- if I may, I'll draw the sort of broader  
20                 context -- I'm conscious that it's one minute to 3.  
21                 I think I've probably got another 15 or 20 minutes that  
22                 we'll comfortably fit into our next session, but there  
23                 are still a number of -- a small number of matters I'd  
24                 like to deal with, with you, Ms Langford, if you can  
25                 bear with us.



1           been in a letter and it was aired at the meeting. Did  
2           anybody think about contacting the police at all to  
3           pursue this allegation any more broadly than it being  
4           raised in the meeting?

5           A. I think back then, very few women would contact  
6           the police, as we all knew we would be subjected to  
7           further humiliation.

8           Q. And one matter of further clarification, really from my  
9           own research, just to assist you with that reference to  
10          "SOGAT". I quickly looked up, and there was a reference  
11          to a SOGAT journal having been started in 1966. Does  
12          that accord at all with your recollection?

13          A. No, it doesn't. I wasn't a member of SOGAT; I was  
14          a member of NATSOPA. But later there was a name change.  
15          So perhaps --

16          Q. -- (overspeaking) -- that might have been to the earlier  
17          1966 group perhaps?

18          A. I don't -- no, it wouldn't have been, because -- well,  
19          unless it was a mistake, you know? It was some -- maybe  
20          he just thought it's a print union, maybe it's that. I  
21          don't know. I have no idea.

22          Q. We had got to the end of 1971, and we were referencing  
23          the fact that the Women's Liberation Front became under  
24          new leadership effectively, with a different executive  
25          committee, including an undercover officer, and they

1 changed their names -- the name to the "Revolutionary  
2 Women's Union".

3 More broadly, in 1972, there was politically a shift  
4 in relations between the US and China, and there was  
5 a "rapprochement", I think it was known as, between  
6 those governments in 1972, such that there was  
7 a recognition of a two-China policy, and  
8 the inauguration of President Nixon in early 1973 was  
9 deemed a helpful step on the political sphere.

10 But we see in the reports that we have in early  
11 February '73 that you were still keen to campaign  
12 against that. And if I just ask you to have a look at  
13 {UCPI/10247}, please, behind tab 43.

14 This is a meeting of the Britain-Vietnam  
15 Solidarity Front in January 1973. It's a private  
16 meeting. And:

17 "The object of the meeting was to discuss  
18 arrangements made by the Indochina Solidarity Conference  
19 at a meeting the previous night ... for the forthcoming  
20 demonstration against the inauguration of  
21 President Nixon on ... 20 January 1973."

22 The Chairman of that group was Mr Manchanda, and you  
23 were also present at this meeting.

24 Help us with your view about the development in  
25 the relationship between the US and Chinese. Why were

1           you having to demonstrate against his inauguration?

2           A. Yes, Nixon's visit to China was part of  
3           the international recognition of China in its own right  
4           and the general recognition that China needed to be  
5           a member of the international community and a member of  
6           the United Nations. And so that was a symbolic meeting  
7           of Nixon going to China. In fact, there's a wonderful  
8           opera written about it.

9           However, the United States policy of aggression  
10          overseas did not cease. And in fact, Nixon had launched  
11          carpet bombing of Cambodia. Hence the necessity to  
12          relaunch a form of solidarity with the people of  
13          Indochina, not just Vietnam, but also Cambodia and Laos,  
14          which were under attack. And the Americans were  
15          launching attacks across the border into Cambodia, which  
16          was a tiny, peaceful country run by a very charming man  
17          called Prince Sihanouk. And in a very violent culture,  
18          unfortunately terrible things happened. The Americans  
19          carpet bombed that tiny country, and probably most of  
20          the bones that were found in the killing fields were as  
21          a result of that American bombing. Hence, we carried on  
22          with our opposition to President Nixon.

23          Q. And we see in the rest of that meeting arrangements  
24          being made. This is an example of a very small group of  
25          people being present. If we just move on to the next

1 page, please {UCPI/10247/2}. In fact, at the first  
2 paragraph it says the Chairman, A Manchanda, and five  
3 other persons were present. We see there the limited  
4 number of names. And this is a report, if we look at  
5 the last page, on page 3, {UCPI/10247/3}. Right at  
6 the bottom where we see the officers' identities.

7 Right at the bottom of this page, please. Thank  
8 you.

9 We see certainly the contributors of this report  
10 appear to be two officers: Jill Mosdell and HN45. And  
11 so, again, this is another example of  
12 undercover officers being part of very small groups of  
13 activists influencing steps and demonstrations that were  
14 to take place.

15 A. Yes, I'd like to first of all comment about you would  
16 have noticed the name "Digby Jacks" there.

17 Q. Yes.

18 A. I believe he was the president of the National Union Of  
19 Students at the time. And so obviously that was  
20 a meeting to coordinate a demonstration, probably to try  
21 to estimate or -- you know, how many people would --  
22 each group would be contributing to the demo; and  
23 possibly to decide the order of the demonstration, who  
24 would march in the front, you know, things like that.

25 So, yes, it's -- it's -- it would have been simply

1 to maybe talk about stewarding, which was often --  
2 you know, we did have conversations with the police back  
3 in those days. So despite the surveillance -- well, in  
4 fact, there was no need for surveillance, because we did  
5 have regular meetings when we organised demonstrations  
6 where a route would be agreed, the order of the march  
7 would be agreed, and that we would tell the police how  
8 many stewards we would be able to contribute, etc. So  
9 --

10 Q. Just help us with this meeting. If there were few of  
11 you, sort of four or five --

12 A. Yeah.

13 Q. -- people, or five or six, how likely is it that  
14 somebody would say nothing at all and just sit there?

15 A. That's highly unlikely. Obviously this was a crucial  
16 meeting to decide probably maybe the route of the march,  
17 or to decide to have a meeting with the police to decide  
18 about the route, to agree a route. It looked to me like  
19 a meeting that would have been very much focused on  
20 the organisation on the day.

21 Q. Thank you.

22 Can I deal now with two more matters that you  
23 particularly raise in respect of HN45. First, there is  
24 a matter to do with the Banner bookshop. There's  
25 a report in your pack -- I don't think we need to turn

1           it up.  It's a report about Banner Books in -- let me  
2           just get the date -- 1972.  And on the face of other  
3           documents, HN45 ends up establishing a link, or at least  
4           a job, in Banner Books.  It's a bookshop in Camden.  And  
5           you are keen to understand why there isn't reference by  
6           HN45 to a fire that took place ultimately; and you  
7           recall that somebody died in a fire; is that right?

8           A.  That's my recollection.

9           Q.  I think we will raise that matter with HN45.

10                     As far as you're concerned, that was a bookshop in  
11           Camden run by a gentleman Mr Bijur?

12           A.  Bijur.

13           Q.  And we will deal with that.

14                     Of course, what we're about to talk about now is  
15           the fact that HN45 was ultimately compromised in 1973  
16           and would no longer have been back in the field; and  
17           I think there's reference to this fire perhaps having  
18           taken place somewhere in 1975, just to assist.  I think  
19           your recollection was that it may have taken place  
20           somewhere in 1975, which of course would postdate this  
21           compromise.

22                     So, if we now deal with this particular matter of  
23           the meeting in February 1973.

24                     Can I ask to have {UCPI/16247} up on the screen,  
25           please.

1           This is a report dated 9 February. And let me just  
2 get the tab reference for the Chairman.

3           It's tab 45, Sir.

4           It's a report dated 9 February, about a meeting that  
5 had taken place on 6 February --

6       A. Sorry, can you make it slightly -- could you make it  
7 slightly larger, if possible?

8       Q. Yes. Thank you very much.

9       A. Just a little bit? That's perfect, thank you.

10      Q. It was a meeting at the Clare Market Building  
11 Houghton Street. Is that part of the LSE University  
12 buildings?

13      A. Yes, it is.

14      Q. It was a meeting between 7.30 and 9.30 pm, and it was of  
15 the Indo-China Solidarity Conference. About 60 people  
16 were present, and there was a joint chairmanship of  
17 the meeting.

18           If we can just --

19      A. Yes.

20      Q. -- scroll to the end of this report, please.

21           {UCPI/16247/6}, where we see -- my mistake. Page 3,  
22 please, of the report {UCPI/16247/3}. And we see  
23 the list of people present there. We can see there's  
24 a reference to "Ethel", and her surname has been  
25 redacted on privacy grounds.

1 A. I'm sorry, I don't see that. I'm not looking -- I can't  
2 see that at all.

3 Q. Can we make it a little bigger, please.

4 A. Oh, I see. I see now. Yes. I see.

5 Q. And there's a reference -- your name appears further  
6 down, and Mr Manchanda's name appears as well.

7 A. Mm-hm, yes.

8 Q. And if we go to page -- the bottom of page 2  
9 {UCPI/16247/2}, please, we can see the officers'  
10 identities that are contributing to this report. So  
11 it's submitted to the chief inspector, HN294, and it has  
12 HN45's cipher and WDC Jill Mosdell's name written there  
13 as well.

14 You first wrote about an incident to do with  
15 the compromise of "Dave Robertson", as you knew him, in  
16 a --

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. -- memoir that you published as a blog in 2015. And in  
19 your witness statement you reference the fact that that  
20 was based on contemporaneous notes, your blog; is that  
21 right?

22 A. Yes. Yes, it is.

23 Q. Do you still have those contemporaneous notes?

24 A. No. I do have a lot of leaflets and stuff like that.

25 But what happened was, after Manu's death, he left

1 a huge amount of -- like an archive, and I had to go  
2 through all of that. Mostly, my motive for doing that  
3 was to collect material that -- he'd inherited Claudia  
4 Jones' papers, so I had like a double task of -- of  
5 removing all that so that it could be archived. And  
6 I eventually took that to the Schomburg in New York.

7 However, amongst the papers, I found the document  
8 that we saw earlier, which had been signed off, about  
9 the literature that he'd read, etc. So I'd found stuff  
10 like that, and I had found notes that I'd made, and  
11 notebooks and diaries and stuff. I had the intention of  
12 getting rid of a lot of these papers. And in 2007,  
13 I wrote a dissertation at the University of Kent,  
14 entitled "The Manchanda Connection", in which the same  
15 description is incorporated. So, once I'd written it,  
16 I did get rid of a lot of the contemporaneous notes that  
17 I'd kept. In fact, I wrote it with the objective of  
18 getting rid of a lot of papers that I had and  
19 consolidating them into a memoir. And that's what  
20 I did.

21 So, I'm very confident that what I remember and what  
22 I wrote is entirely accurate.

23 Q. Thank you.

24 And in fact, you reference the contemporaneous --  
25 one of the documents that you have supplied to us, which

- 1           was, you say, contemporaneous at its time, which was  
2           that document we saw earlier on today {UCPI/34339}.
- 3       A.   Yes.
- 4       Q.   And you wrote -- and there's a manuscript entry on that  
5           referencing the fact that "This man was found to be  
6           a policeman".
- 7       A.   That's correct.
- 8       Q.   And that -- just helping us, there are some sticky notes  
9           written over --
- 10      A.   Yes.
- 11      Q.   -- stuck on over part of Ethel's fuller name.  Is that  
12           what you have done to supply it to the Inquiry?
- 13      A.   I did.  I have to say that when I was first contacted by  
14           someone from the undercover policing -- or Undercover  
15           Research Group, I at first refused to get involved  
16           because of my anxiety about my friend being possibly  
17           retraumatized by being approached by either the Research  
18           Group or by -- later on I thought by yourselves as well.  
19           And I've been very anxious about protecting her  
20           identity.
- 21      Q.   Well, we're not revealing her surname, and neither are  
22           you.  But reference to the first name I think is useful,  
23           so that everybody understands who we're talking about.  
24           And certainly it was the name that you were happy to --
- 25      A.   I did, yes.

- 1 Q. -- and certainly is in the blog in 2015?
- 2 A. Yes, that's right.
- 3 Q. So if we -- (overspeaking) -- on that basis --
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. -- then hopefully that will be a sufficient basis.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Help us with your recollection of the events on that  
8 evening, on 6 February 1973. You'd attended with  
9 Mr Manchanda and Ethel, and it was a meeting that  
10 appears to have been about organising demonstrations  
11 outside the Saigon government embassy.
- 12 A. Correct.
- 13 Q. What do you recall happening? Tell us what took place  
14 in terms of what Ethel said to HN45 and what you saw  
15 took place.
- 16 A. Yes.
- 17 First of all, I want to make absolutely clear in  
18 everybody's mind that Ethel was not an activist, she was  
19 a workmate and someone I socialised with after work, and  
20 so on.
- 21 Q. We can take this document down now, so we can  
22 concentrate --
- 23 A. Yes, and I remember that Ethel had asked me if I'd like  
24 to go for a drink after work, and I told her I was going  
25 to this meeting. And she expressed some interest in it

1 and came along. And while we were sitting waiting for  
2 the meeting to start, "Dave Robertson" came into  
3 the room. And my recollection is we seemed to be facing  
4 like a sort of a double doors beside the podium where  
5 the speakers were sitting, waiting to start. And he  
6 came towards us and he took Ethel by the wrist and said,  
7 "We need to talk outside." At that point, I'd already  
8 had suspicions about him, as to whether he might be  
9 undercover, because he'd told us two separate undercover  
10 stories: one that he was working for the Tatty Bogle,  
11 a club in Soho, I believe, and the other one that he was  
12 working for a car hire firm, as we were suspicious as he  
13 was always driving different cars --

14 Q. Had there -- (overspeaking) --

15 A. -- so when he came --

16 Q. -- any exchange between them before you saw him take her  
17 outside?

18 A. No, nothing. He came straight up to -- he came straight  
19 up to her --

20 Q. So he came to her, not her to him?

21 A. No, but she seemed quite startled and surprised, but not  
22 horrified. She seemed sort of very -- she said quite  
23 brightly, I think, "Oh, there's Dave". And she didn't  
24 say anything further. And he came quickly over to her  
25 and sort of got hold of her by the wrist, I believe, and

1 kind of took control of her physically. Not necessarily  
2 -- not in a brutal way, but that way that sometimes  
3 overbearing men can do, of sort of pulling you to your  
4 feet or something. And he said, "We have to talk  
5 outside." And he, still holding on to her, led her out  
6 of the room.

7 And I didn't hear her say the words that  
8 "Dave Robertson" has said, that, "Oh, Scotland Yard have  
9 come." I didn't hear anything like that. I was very  
10 sort of bewildered and worried, because of my anxiety  
11 about him possibly being undercover. But at the same  
12 time, I didn't know what their relationship was. It  
13 seemed like the sort of behaviour that you only,  
14 you know, have, the sort of way of touching somebody  
15 that you would do with someone you knew very well and  
16 felt sort of in control of.

17 So, I was wondering what on earth is going on --

18 Q. Did you see her again that evening -- (overspeaking) --

19 A. No.

20 Q. Did you see him again that evening?

21 A. No.

22 Q. Did you go for the drink? If you were expecting to go  
23 for a drink with Ethel and this meeting was happening  
24 instead, did you ever have the drink?

25 A. I know we came straight from work and went to

1 the meeting, and I don't remember what time our work  
2 finished, probably at 6, and the meeting started at  
3 7.30. So we might have gone to the pub on the way to  
4 the meeting. But after the meeting finished, I went  
5 home and I was worrying about, you know, Ethel. And  
6 I thought -- I didn't have her home phone number. So  
7 I was just sort of feeling anxious until I got to work  
8 the next day so I could ask her what on earth was going  
9 on with Dave.

10 And she was very -- yes, she didn't want to talk to  
11 me. And, you know, I kept asking her what on earth is  
12 happening. You know, "Can you tell me?" And she said,  
13 "I can't talk about it." And then after a few days,  
14 maybe a week, she then said to me, "We need to talk."  
15 And we did go for a drink. And she told me that  
16 "Dave Robertson" she knew from her -- he was a neighbour  
17 in the flats, and that people in the flats knew that --  
18 that this was a police house, or a police flat. She  
19 definitely told me it was a police flat. And she knew  
20 him from there. And that he had told her if she  
21 conveyed to myself and Manu that he was undercover,  
22 something nasty would happen to her family in Ireland.

23 Q. And you recall that expression?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Where did you work together at the time? You said she

1           --

2           A. The Daily Mirror.

3           Q. You were both working there at the Daily Mirror  
4           together?

5           A. Yes.

6           Q. Just so that it's covered, the blog that you wrote in  
7           2015 -- I'm just trying to find the specific  
8           reference -- references this incident, as I mentioned.  
9           It doesn't mention there how she came to know him,  
10          rather that she mentions what she said to you a week or  
11          so later about the police -- about the threat and her  
12          family.

13                    Is the reference to -- your handwritten note on  
14          the page that we saw earlier, when was that written?

15          A. I believe that was probably written in 2007 or -- sorry,  
16          20 -- yes, 2007 or 2015. I don't know which. It would  
17          have been when I was -- when I had the idea of archiving  
18          things in my mind so that I wouldn't forget. Not that  
19          I would forget that, but I was sort of marking up papers  
20          that I had.

21          Q. Did you give Ethel any advice after what she'd told you?

22          A. I asked her to let me know if she saw him again, and she  
23          told me that she hadn't seen him since the meeting  
24          either, I believe. So, I couldn't give her any advice.  
25          I don't know what advice I could have given her. It's

1 not the sort of thing you could go to the police about  
2 and say, "Hey, a policeman's threatened me."

3 Q. And did you see him again?

4 A. Never. But Ethel and I did remain friends for quite  
5 a while after that, and I actually went to her wedding.

6 Q. Ms Langford, you have pointed to, during the course of  
7 your statement, a number of examples of the use of  
8 language which you consider reflects a sexist and racist  
9 attitude at the time --

10 A. And homophobic.

11 Q. And homophobic -- in the reports that you have seen.  
12 And you have clearly set those out in your witness  
13 statement, and you'd like to hear an explanation for  
14 some of the language used in those reports, if an  
15 officer's able to deal with that. And we will certainly  
16 use some of those examples.

17 But can I now deal with the overall impact of your  
18 discovery of this extent of the policing and  
19 the reporting on your life.

20 You deal with this at your paragraph 269 to 271 of  
21 your witness statement, where you reference your shock  
22 and being repelled by the racist and homophobic and  
23 misogynist language that you see in the reports. And  
24 you reference a sense of violation when reading the  
25 reports, "guilt for unknowingly allowing HN348 to spy on

1           ... the Women's Liberation Movement" and a feeling of  
2           being gaslighted.

3           A. Yes.

4           Q. In particular, that a woman who you trusted had violated  
5           your family space, when you were just trying to improve  
6           conditions for women's lives generally through --

7           A. Yes.

8           Q. -- (inaudible) and your work.

9                     That is a very clear and frank explanation of your  
10           feelings. Is there anything beyond that that you would  
11           like to identify in terms of the impact that  
12           the discovery of undercover policing on yours and your  
13           then husband's life had on you?

14          A. Well, I felt very anxious, and I feel very anxious, as  
15           I've said before, about the identification of Ethel. My  
16           anxiety was such that I feel, even now, somebody could  
17           approach her and threaten her. So, there was that  
18           underlying anxiety. But also the impact of having to go  
19           through all those reports and read those vile remarks  
20           I've found really debilitating, and has taken a toll on  
21           my health and wellbeing.

22                     But I've also felt extremely upset that  
23           the suggestion's being made that we shouldn't judge  
24           these comments and prejudices by today's standards,  
25           because in fact, you know, whose standards are we

1 talking about? You know, people have different  
2 standards. I feel that on one side there is the sort of  
3 people who, to my mind, are like the STASI, who were  
4 spying on us, and who may have even encouraged people to  
5 -- to spy on each other, like the STASI did, and to act  
6 as informants within our organisations. I feel  
7 disgusted that people are being expected to accept that  
8 the standards of today are any better than the standards  
9 of the past. And in fact, in some respects  
10 the standards of the past were much better, because it  
11 shows that the bias of the attitudes that we're supposed  
12 to forget about Claudia Jones, Martin Luther King,  
13 Dag Hammarskjöld, James Baldwin, Paul Robeson, Langston  
14 Hughes, all those people were alive and active at that  
15 time. They weren't disgusting racists and homophobes.  
16 So ...

17 I mean, we had the Universal Declaration of Human  
18 Rights. These were established standards of the day.  
19 I can't imagine anybody sitting down who's in an  
20 establishment position today and writing the Universal  
21 Declaration of Human Rights.

22 So, I feel very let down, and feel that things have  
23 been going backwards. And hence I have very profound  
24 feelings of disappointment in the Inquiry about  
25 the issues which I raised in my witness statement

1           regarding anonymity and so forth. I find it very  
2           distressing, and really cynical and hypocritical that  
3           I've been asked about issues of violence when we're  
4           living in a society where people are still being killed  
5           because of the colour of their skin.

6           Q. Ms Langford, thank you very much. And we have your very  
7           full and very clear witness statement in which you have  
8           repeated the questions that you were asked and given  
9           extremely thorough answers for it. And that, as I say,  
10          will stand as your evidence, in conjunction with  
11          everything you've told us about today?

12          A. Thank you very much.

13          MS WILKINSON: Sir, that concludes the questions I have.

14                 I know there is a process in place, I think, for any  
15                 other matters that may need to be covered. May I let  
16                 those involved in dealing with the rooms and  
17                 the technical wizardry help with what we do next.

18          THE CHAIRMAN: Before we have any technical wizardry, may  
19          I just say something to Ms Langford.

20                 Ms Langford, thank you for attending and giving  
21                 evidence. It's not an easy experience, I know. I'm  
22                 grateful to you for doing it.

23                 Your time is not quite finished. Your own counsel  
24                 has the right to re-examine you, if that's thought  
25                 necessary. And it may be that others have questions

1 arising out of the evidence that you've given which they  
2 would like to raise with Counsel to the Inquiry. And  
3 that requires us to break for ten minutes while they  
4 think about that and discuss it amongst themselves.

5 I have two things to say to you personally. First  
6 of all, I'm afraid I was responsible for describing you  
7 as "the widow of the late Abhimanyu Manchanda".

8 I thought I was doing no more than identifying you so  
9 that others would be prompted to remember you. If that  
10 caused offence, I apologise.

11 Secondly, you told us that you have destroyed  
12 the note that you made of the events which occurred on  
13 the night in February when HN45, "Dave Robertson", was  
14 recognised by Ethel. And you say that you got rid of  
15 them, along with a whole lot of other material, when you  
16 wrote your dissertation into which you incorporated  
17 them. Do you by any chance have a copy of your  
18 dissertation so that that --

19 A. I do.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: -- part of it -- so that that small part of  
21 it -- I don't for one moment wish to see all of it, but  
22 if you can identify that small part and provide it to  
23 the Inquiry --

24 A. Yes.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: -- I would be grateful.

1 A. Certainly.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

3 We'll all now break for ten minutes -- I'm so sorry,  
4 we won't. First of all -- is it Ms Kaufmann, will ask  
5 you questions which have arisen out of the evidence that  
6 you have given by way of re-examination, if she has any.

7 I think it's Ms Kaufmann, isn't it? Or have  
8 I misidentified your counsel?

9 A. Yes.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: It is Ms Kaufmann?

11 A. Yes, it is.

12 MS KAUFMANN: Indeed it is.

13 I'm so sorry, I didn't quite catch what you said  
14 there, Sir. Was it your intention that if I had any  
15 re-examination, I ask questions now, or I do that in  
16 light of any questions that might be asked by any of  
17 the other parties?

18 THE CHAIRMAN: I'm very much in your hands. You may take  
19 whichever course you prefer.

20 MS KAUFMANN: I'd rather see whether or not any further  
21 questions are going to be asked by any other  
22 core participants and then to wrap up, as it were.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, we'll do that.

24 In that event, we'll break for ten minutes to let  
25 them raise anything that they wish to, and resume in

1 ten minutes.

2 MS KAUFMANN: Very well.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

4 MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone. We will now take  
5 a break. The time is 3.50 pm, so we shall reconvene at  
6 4 pm. For those in the virtual hearing room, please  
7 remember to join your break-out rooms.

8 Thank you.

9 (3.52 pm)

10 (A short break)

11 (4.00 pm)

12 MR FERNANDES: Welcome back, everyone. I will now hand over  
13 to the Chairman to continue proceedings.

14 Chairman.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

16 Ms Wilkinson, can I ascertain whether there have  
17 been any questions asked of Counsel to the Inquiry which  
18 may be put to Ms Langford before Ms Kaufmann  
19 re-examines?

20 MS WILKINSON: No, there haven't, Sir. We've had no  
21 communications on that front.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

23 Ms Kaufmann.

24 MS KAUFMANN: Sir, in light of that, there is nothing that  
25 I would wish to re-examine Ms Langford on.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

2 We will now break until 4.30. The reason we are  
3 having a long break is because our next witness,  
4 Dr Temple, is giving evidence from Vancouver, and it's  
5 rather early in the morning there, and it's not fair to  
6 ask him to start before what I think for him is 7.30.

7 Thank you very much. Until 4.30.

8 MR FERNANDES: We will now take a break. The time is now  
9 4.00 pm, so we shall reconvene at 4.30 pm.

10 Thank you.

11 (4.01 pm)

12 (A short break)

13 (4.30 pm)

14 MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone, and welcome back.

15 I will now hand over to the Chairman to continue  
16 proceedings.

17 Chairman.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

19 DR NORMAN TEMPLE (called)

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Dr Temple, can you hear me?

21 A. Yes, I can hear you. Thank you.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: I hope it's not too early in the morning for  
23 you.

24 A. It is 8.30 in the morning here in Vancouver. Greetings  
25 from Canada.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. And thank you for providing  
2 a witness statement to the Inquiry and for agreeing to  
3 give evidence. I don't know whether you wish to be  
4 sworn or to affirm.

5 A. Affirm.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Then may that happen now, please.

7 (Witness affirmed)

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

9 In a moment I'm going to ask Mr Barr,  
10 Counsel to the Inquiry, to ask questions of you. There  
11 will be a ten-minute break in the middle of your  
12 evidence, because it is being transcribed and  
13 the shorthand writers need that break. I hope you will  
14 bear with us.

15 A. Yes.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr Barr.

17 We appear to have a momentary hitch. I hope it's  
18 only momentary.

19 Mr Barr?

20 (Pause)

21 MR BARR: Second junior counsel to the Inquiry has fixed it.  
22 I'm very grateful to him.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: I hope that you now realise it is your turn  
24 to ask questions.

25 Questions by MR BARR

1 MR BARR: Dr Temple, could you confirm your full name,  
2 please.

3 A. Yes, Norman Joseph Temple.

4 Q. You've provided a witness statement to the Inquiry dated  
5 3 March 2020.

6 A. Correct.

7 Q. Are the contents of that witness statement true and  
8 correct to the best of your knowledge and belief?

9 A. Yes, they are.

10 Q. You tell us that you were, in the late 1960s, a young  
11 man in London involved in the politics of the day?

12 A. Correct.

13 Q. And that you were at that stage in your life a Maoist?

14 A. Correct.

15 Q. And could you very briefly tell us what that meant to  
16 you in terms of your political aims and objectives?

17 A. Well, 1967, the Vietnam War started becoming very  
18 intense, and there was major activities around  
19 the world. At the same time, there were protests on  
20 everything, really, probably the origin of everything is  
21 San Francisco. You have the civil rights movement in  
22 the mid-60s. That -- in San Francisco you have  
23 the hippies, women's liberation, gay liberation. It  
24 started from there.

25 Then Vietnam blew up, and there were protests all

1 around the world. And it extended, it morphed into very  
2 general activities of many types. You've got -- Ireland  
3 had -- was specific to Britain and Northern Ireland.  
4 There were activities in Britain with reference to  
5 Ireland. France had a major uprising in May 1968. And  
6 there were just many different activities in many  
7 different countries. But it was the general left wing  
8 activity, lots of overlap. Anti-apartheid was one  
9 aspect of it.

10 So I became involved. Vietnam was the focus that  
11 first -- then, I decided okay, it's the whole system.  
12 So I became very sympathetic to the ideas of communism,  
13 of which there were two main factions. There was  
14 the pro-Soviet Union and pro-China. Plus there was also  
15 the Trotskyists. So three big factions.

16 I oriented towards the pro-Chinese, or Maoists, as  
17 they were sometimes referred to. And it was -- there's  
18 a slightly derogatory term called "rent-a-mob", where  
19 you may -- some people stayed with one specific  
20 organisation, some had a focus on Ireland, others on gay  
21 rights, other people on anti-apartheid. I was what you  
22 might call "rent-a-mob", a floating revolutionary.

23 I was supporting everybody.

24 Q. Thank you.

25 You've told us in your witness statement that you

1           were a member of a pro-Chinese Maoist group. Can you  
2           tell us which group that was, please?

3           A. Oh god. Things were jumping around. So, 1969, let's  
4           see -- I was in a very small group in 1967 for a few  
5           months, '67/'68. Then there was Vietnam solidarity.  
6           That's the one where Manchanda was in the leadership.  
7           So there was one group that was more Trotskyist. That  
8           was Tariq Ali. And we were the -- Manchanda was  
9           the most prominent person. There was also Nick Bateson,  
10          who was Professor at the London School of Economics.  
11          And we organised a Vietnam demonstration. There was  
12          a big one -- a huge one with 100,000 people. That was  
13          the high point. That was September 1968. In fact,  
14          Bill Clinton -- I was on it, Bill Clinton was on that  
15          demonstration. He was a Rhodes scholar in Oxford at the  
16          time.

17                 So that was 1968. Then we go into 1969, and some  
18                 people -- factionalism was endemic; they were just  
19                 splitting all the time. Everybody hated everybody. So  
20                 early 1969, I got fed up with Manchanda, for different  
21                 reasons, which I won't bore you with. And the next  
22                 demonstration was going to be -- it was like every  
23                 six months. So March '69, the -- there were three  
24                 demonstrations in London on Vietnam. The Trotskyists  
25                 had their one, Manchanda was organising one, and then

1 I had met some other people, and we organised a separate  
2 one. So there were three in March 1969.

3 So I, together with other people, organised  
4 a demonstration. We were in Trafalgar Square and  
5 marched to the American Embassy. And that was separate  
6 from Manchanda.

7 Later on, I was in other organisations. I can go  
8 through that, if you want to know about that.

9 Q. Not just at the moment.

10 So, when you organised the March 1969 demonstration,  
11 did your group have a name?

12 A. Well, the generic name everybody would use is --  
13 the date of the organisation, then Latin, "ad hoc  
14 organising committee". So your demonstration is, shall  
15 we say, April 21, so the "April 21st Vietnam solidarity  
16 ad hoc organising committee". It was a generic name  
17 like that.

18 Q. And in terms of the demonstration to the American  
19 Embassy that you organised, did you cooperate with  
20 the police in organising that and tell them when you  
21 were going to march and where you were going to march?

22 A. Yes. I went to Scotland Yard with another person, and  
23 we had a meeting with some senior police officers, and  
24 we agreed on the route.

25 Q. And when the demonstration took place, was there any

- 1 disorder?
- 2 A. A little bit. We went to -- at the end, after leaving  
3 the American Embassy, we marched down -- what's the main  
4 road going from -- the main road on the side of  
5 Hyde Park, going from Marble Arch to Notting Hill Gate.  
6 We were going down that road and we passed the Royal  
7 Lancaster Hotel, and it had an American flag outside it.  
8 And there was like a spontaneous attack on the American  
9 flag, just pulling it down. No -- not violent, but you  
10 can -- it would come under the general heading of  
11 "disorder", very low level disorder -- nobody was  
12 injured, nothing serious.
- 13 Q. Did people get arrested?
- 14 A. Subsequent -- not at the time, but subsequently, three  
15 people were arrested, myself and two others. There was  
16 a trial. I was acquitted. One person, basically on his  
17 own evidence, the magistrate -- it was pretty minor.  
18 The charge was not public disorder, the charge was theft  
19 on the grounds of attempting to steal an American flag,  
20 which they said had a value of £10. I was acquitted.
- 21 Q. I see. And you say that disorder was spontaneous?
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. So, did you, as organisers, take a line one way or  
24 the other as to how people joining your demonstration  
25 should behave?

1       A. Not specifically. Demonstrations had a habit of turning  
2       into something of a riot. Outside the American Embassy,  
3       there were -- it turned into riots. It was like a --  
4       like a gigantic pushing match between the demonstrators  
5       and the police. The big one was 1968. There was  
6       probably 20,000 people in Grosvenor Square outside  
7       the American Embassy. That was very large. The others  
8       were much smaller.

9                But nobody was really injured. It was no -- we're  
10       not talking Ireland-type activity, we're talking genteel  
11       English-type activity, very low level, at the bottom end  
12       of violence.

13       Q. I see.

14               And so if you participated in the 27 October 1968  
15       demonstration, there were two routes. There was a route  
16       that the main body took to Hyde Park, and the route that  
17       a number of Maoists and anarchists took to  
18       Grosvenor Square. Did you -- were you on that march?  
19       And if so, which route did you follow?

20       A. I, for -- to do with people I was linked up with, went  
21       Hyde Park at first, but the main Maoist lot went  
22       straight to Grosvenor Square. But I was in  
23       Grosvenor Square as well on that day.

24       Q. And could you, as an eye witness to that, then, give us  
25       an indication of the level of violence that you

1           witnessed in Grosvenor Square on 27 October 1968?

2           A. Well, as an eye witness, very little. I think the main  
3           thing had happened before I arrived. I saw it on TV.  
4           There was the police line, oh, maybe ten deep, something  
5           like that. This is my recollection, mainly from the TV  
6           coverage. I wasn't there at that moment. It was  
7           the largest I'd ever seen. So probably the police were  
8           about ten deep. Their line nearly got broken, it was so  
9           big. And that was outside the American Embassy. But  
10          I'm basing that on TV. I came a bit later.

11          Q. I see.

12                 I'm going to move on now to the Palestine --  
13           Palestine Solidarity Campaign. And you've told us you  
14           had some involvement with that. We've provided you with  
15           two documents to look at to refresh your memory.

16          A. Yes.

17          Q. The first is about a protest against the spread of  
18           Zionism. My question to you about that, is that typical  
19           of the sort of demonstration that the PSC would  
20           organise?

21          A. Well, not typical. That was the high point. So we're  
22           talking May 1969, and that was really when Palestine  
23           burst on the scene and became one of those international  
24           issues like anti-apartheid and Vietnam. The first time  
25           anybody sympathetic to the Palestinians had been

1 involved in any activity to my knowledge was on  
2 the Vietnam demonstration I organised in March 1969.  
3 So, we had lots of different people spoke at our rally  
4 in Trafalgar Square, including some who were  
5 pro-Palestinian. We maintained contact with them, and  
6 then a pro-Palestine organisation was created at that  
7 time, Palestine Solidarity Campaign. It was formed in  
8 part of the American -- sorry, Egyptian Embassy, which  
9 was next door -- I don't know if you're aware of the old  
10 MI5 building in Mayfair? Part of the Egyptian Embassy  
11 is across the road from the old MI5 building. If you --  
12 you probably don't know what I'm referring to. Well, we  
13 used to hold our meetings in there. So there were lots  
14 of delegates from lots of different organisations there;  
15 and we organised this and we had this demonstration.

16 That was by far their high point of activities,  
17 May 1969.

18 Q. And so, could you give us a representative example?  
19 What would have been a more typical protesting activity  
20 of the PSC?

21 A. Well, after that, it just became weaker and weaker,  
22 doing less and less and not very much at all. So, it  
23 really started, I think, in some of the documents,  
24 buried somewhere, it talks about it some time later.  
25 Nick Bateson and -- I've forgotten the other guy, he's

1 an Iraqi person. They were trying to keep going, but it  
2 was really running out of steam.

3 So talk about -- rather than start generalising, it  
4 would be much more accurate to say there was this big  
5 activity. It started with a big bang with this big  
6 activity, there was a demonstration in Trafalgar Square  
7 May '69, many thousands of people, full of life, full of  
8 activity. But then it started slowly deflating after  
9 that.

10 Q. To your recollection, was there any public disorder at  
11 the May 1969 march?

12 A. Not that I recall.

13 Q. Was that typical of the PSC? Was it causing disorder or  
14 not?

15 A. No, it was not causing disorder, no.

16 Q. You've seen in the documents that your membership of  
17 the Kensington and Paddington branch of the PSC was  
18 recorded --

19 A. Right.

20 Q. -- by the SDS. Is it right that you were a member of  
21 that branch?

22 A. It would be more accurate to say I was the branch.

23 So, the PSC had membership, and then they were  
24 trying to organise into branches, and -- based on  
25 geography, where you lived. So I was living in

1 Notting Hill. So I was given that region, Kensington  
2 and around there. And I tried to organise some people,  
3 but that was -- turned out to be futile. So really it  
4 was -- on paper, it was a branch of the PSC; in reality  
5 it was more like nothing.

6 Q. I see.

7 Maybe we should just have a look at that document.  
8 Could we have up, please, {MPS/0739227}, which, Sir, is  
9 tab 1 in your bundle.

10 A. Do I click on something?

11 Q. No, you don't have to do anything, Dr Temple. It will  
12 come up.

13 A. Ah right. Okay, right.

14 Q. For the benefit of people who can hear these proceedings  
15 but not see them, I'm going to read out paragraph 1.

16 It's a report dated 17 June 1970. It reads:

17 "The following, received from a reliable but  
18 delicate source, is a list of the current membership of  
19 the Kensington and Paddington Branch of  
20 the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. Some of the names  
21 and addresses are followed by the members employment  
22 and/or telephone number. Attached at appendix 'A' are  
23 copies of each individual's membership card."

24 And if we could scroll down now, please, until we  
25 come to Norman Temple's name. I think it's on

1 the second page. Right in the middle there. If we  
2 could blow that up, please.

3 So we have, to protect people's privacies, redacted  
4 out everybody else's name. But you'll see there,  
5 Dr Temple, in the middle of the page, it reads:

6 "Norman Temple, 62 Kensington Park Road, W11 (727  
7 4589)."

8 That would be your telephone number, would it?

9 A. Right.

10 Q. What's your reaction to learning that your membership of  
11 this organisation has been recorded and filed away?

12 A. I have no idea where they got hold of this and got hold  
13 of the names of the other people. I have no idea how  
14 they got hold of it. So I would have been -- it could  
15 have come more centrally. Maybe somebody was operating  
16 within the Palestine Solidarity Campaign itself. So  
17 they would have had all the names and addresses. That  
18 was passed to me. The ones in my area, Kensington, were  
19 passed to me. I tried to turn it into a branch, but  
20 nobody was -- there was no enthusiasm, nobody wanted to  
21 be involved or do anything, and that was really the end  
22 of it. That is why I moved over to Davoren and  
23 the INLSF, because this activity was achieving nothing.

24 My best guess would be that -- how did the police  
25 get hold of this? They must have got it centrally from

1 the central PSC.

2 Q. If I could just stop you there, Dr Temple, that wasn't  
3 quite my question.

4 A. Okay.

5 Q. We know that the name that's redacted at the bottom of  
6 the detective inspector HN294 was a manager in  
7 the Special Demonstration Squad.

8 A. Right.

9 Q. So our understanding is this is reporting that's come  
10 from the Special Demonstration Squad.

11 My question to you was: what's your reaction to  
12 learning that your details had been recorded like this?

13 A. Somewhat surprised.

14 Q. And why is that?

15 A. Well, I had no idea that they were taking so much  
16 interest in me with respect to the Palestine  
17 Solidarity Campaign, that they would be so interested in  
18 it. In retrospect, my guess is that, like all  
19 the cameras that are up all over Britain, like the smoke  
20 detector in people's houses, you put it there just in  
21 case something might happen, so they know what's going  
22 on in case something might happen. I just assumed that  
23 was their thinking on the subject. Palestine, Ireland:  
24 we better find out what these people are up to, in case  
25 they do something a bit naughty.

1 Q. I'm going to ask for that document to be taken down now,  
2 please, and could we have up in its stead {MPS/10569}.

3 Now, Dr Temple, this is a report on the PSC's second  
4 annual conference.

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. I just use it as a basis for asking you a few questions  
7 about the organisation in a little bit more detail.

8 A. Right.

9 Q. It's at tab 6 of your bundle, Sir.

10 A. I've got a mass of documents here on my desk.

11 Okay, I was reading it last night, so I think I know  
12 it, what you're referring to.

13 Q. Since we seem to have a problem pulling the document up,  
14 what I will do is I will read the relevant passages.

15 A. Okay.

16 Q. The first thing I wanted to draw to your attention was  
17 the membership numbers, and at the bottom of the first  
18 page it reads:

19 "The registered membership of the PSC last year was  
20 800. 1971 registrations were being renewed very slowly  
21 and it was thought that membership would not be as high  
22 as last year."

23 A. Right.

24 Q. Does it give us a fair indication of the size of  
25 the PSC?

1       A. Probably. Paper membership is just -- it's like people  
2       joining a gym or going on a diet, you know, it's  
3       a statement of intention and maybe deluded thinking at  
4       the moment, a statement of: yes, I agree with it, so  
5       I'll put myself down as a member. Like,  
6       the Labour Party and the Conservative Party have  
7       hundreds of thousands of members, most of whom do  
8       absolutely nothing. It's more like that.

9       Q. I see.

10               Over the page, {MPS/10569/2}, the report tells us  
11       that the PSC had "20 branches throughout the country --  
12       principally in universities and colleges".

13       A. Yes.

14       Q. And it goes on -- ah-ha, we have the document. Lovely.  
15       thank you very much.

16               So I was reading from the very top of the page.

17       A. Right.

18       Q. Going on to subparagraph (iii), it then says:

19               "Ten organisations were affiliated to the PSC of  
20       whom the majority were Arab student organisations with  
21       the exception of CPGB(M-L), BVSF and  
22       the International Socialists."

23       A. Yes.

24       Q. So that is, if I am understanding it correctly, two  
25       Maoist and one Trotskyist groups?

1 A. Yes. CPG(M-L) is certainly Maoists.  
2 International Socialists are certainly Trotskyists.  
3 BVSF is -- yeah, I think they're the guys -- I'm not  
4 sure.

5 Q. We understand that to be the Britain-Vietnam  
6 Solidarity Front.

7 A. Okay. In that case, I don't know who they are.

8 Q. If you can't assist us, it doesn't matter, Dr Temple.

9 A. Right.

10 Q. Further on, down at the bottom of paragraph 7, please,  
11 in the last sentence, we see a reference to you, which  
12 reads:

13 "Norman Temple also proposed a resolution expressing  
14 solidarity with the oppressed people of Ireland."

15 Can you remember that?

16 A. Right. Remind me of the date of this document.

17 Q. The document is dated 11 February 1971, and it's --  
18 the conference date was 6 February 1971.

19 A. Okay, so what this means is we organised that big  
20 activity in May 1969. Then we tried to do things and  
21 build on it and make it active. So late '69 going into  
22 1970, it was, as I've said before, deflating, running  
23 out of steam, nothing going on. And then that's around  
24 August 1970, that's when I got into contact with Davoren  
25 and the Irish INLSF. So, as part of being in the INLSF,

1 I was still in contact with the PSC. So, by now, my  
2 interest/activity with the Irish group, so I would have  
3 gone to the PSC and mentioned Ireland. That is  
4 the logic there.

5 Q. Thank you.

6 Looking right at the very bottom of the page, it  
7 reads:

8 "The three unsuccessful candidates were [privacy],  
9 Norman Temple and Abhimanyu Manchanda."

10 A. Right.

11 Q. And that's a reference to the elections to the executive  
12 committee of the PSC. Can you recall standing  
13 unsuccessfully for that committee?

14 A. Yes. The -- that was a tactical error on my part,  
15 because many of the people were from outside London and  
16 you had to get people who knew people who had  
17 credibility and influence to say, "This is a good guy,  
18 vote for him." I didn't campaign properly, effectively,  
19 so that is why I was not elected. I could have been had  
20 I gone about it the right way.

21 Q. If we can scroll down to the next page, we'll see what  
22 the officer who made this report has written  
23 {UCPI/10569/3}, because at paragraph 10 it reads:

24 "The BVSF and CPB(ML) tried hard to assert their  
25 influence on the PSC but they were largely unsuccessful

1           since neither organisation is popular with the Arab  
2           members. Manchanda had attended the meeting in  
3           the express hope that he and his organisations might  
4           gain some control on the Executive Committee, but the  
5           only votes which he and [privacy] gained were from  
6           members of his own group."

7           A. Yes.

8           Q. What's your reaction to that?

9           A. Yeah, my reaction to that is, yes, organisations tend to  
10          think they are the one true organisation that  
11          understands the world and everybody should follow their  
12          leadership. So you have what in left wing circles is  
13          sometimes called a "broad front". So, you have your  
14          central organisation and you want to extend your  
15          influence so you can join another organisation. In  
16          the Labour Party, I'm sure everybody remembers  
17          militants, infiltration, that sort of thing. It's  
18          the same sort of thing. That would be a well known  
19          example: the militant group infiltrating  
20          the Labour Party.

21                 So this is Manchanda, who just was a tiny, little  
22          group of half a dozen people, to try to expand their  
23          influence. Vietnam, Palestine, it didn't really matter  
24          much, just to try to gain some influence, boost its own  
25          importance, to some extent.

1           Now, the CPB(ML) was basically doing the same thing.  
2           The people on the previous page, Nick Bateson and  
3           Fawaz -- whatever his name was -- they were from  
4           the CPB(ML), so they were the people that really had  
5           a large degree of control within the PSC. They were  
6           being very successful.

7           Manchanda, people were pretty much sick and tired of  
8           him, and he had very little influence.

9           Q. Thank you.

10           We can take that document down now, please.

11           Those were all my questions about the PSC, and we  
12           can now move on to the INLSF, the Irish National  
13           Liberation Solidarity Front.

14           A. Yes.

15           Q. You tell us that you first attended a meeting in  
16           September 1970. How did you come to know about that  
17           meeting and to be able to attend it?

18           A. Well, somebody I knew from Maoist-type activities told  
19           me about it. It was -- he said, "Hey, these guys are  
20           doing this thing." That was the worst bit of  
21           information I was ever given in my life, I think. I'm  
22           still in recovery, to be honest. Yeah, these things --  
23           sometimes something happens to you many, many years ago  
24           and it affects you for many, many years. But there we  
25           are.

1           So I went along to this meeting in their pub in  
2           Paddington, and then I became very actively involved in  
3           it, in short order.

4       Q.   And was this a group that advertised its meetings, or  
5           did you need to join by invitation, as you did?

6       A.   No, anybody could turn up.  That's how "Alex Sloan" got  
7           in, and before him there was another person  
8           called "Jackson".  So "Alex Sloan" became involved early  
9           1971.  Before him, there was another person  
10          called "Jackson", and I don't know why his name never  
11          gets mentioned in these documents.  I've given it to  
12          Daphne; she knows about him.

13                So he was already a member, but it turned out he was  
14                certainly with the police.  And he was already a member  
15                when I joined.  Anybody can come walking in there, and  
16                they were more than happy to see anybody who wanted to  
17                turn up.

18                They then got -- Davoren is a very, very -- he's  
19                charismatic and is a strong organiser.  And then they  
20                started producing newspapers and selling it in the pubs.  
21                And by that means, they got more and more people  
22                involved in it.

23       Q.   Okay.

24                I'm going to ask you about where the meetings were  
25                held.  You've told us that the first meetings you went

1 to were in a room above a pub in Paddington.

2 A. Yeah.

3 Q. Did there come a time when the group moved its meetings  
4 from a room in a pub to Edward Davoren's flat?

5 A. No, not quite. The meetings -- there was a general --  
6 general membership meeting which took place every week.  
7 That was for anybody and everybody. Anybody who felt  
8 like it was welcome to turn up there and sit in at  
9 the meeting. So that was general membership. That's  
10 where "Alex Sloan" would go. And that's how he got  
11 involved.

12 Then there was -- well, to answer your question,  
13 I'll answer it -- with Davoren's flat in Golders Green,  
14 I'll answer it in two separate ways.

15 There was an inner group, who ran things from  
16 the inside. They didn't advertise. This is  
17 the organising committee. Normally, you'd have -- any  
18 organisation, any political organisation would have an  
19 organising committee. It would all be above board.  
20 They would be elected, the Chairman and whoever else.  
21 But they didn't do it that way. They had an internal  
22 organising committee who were in charge. I was invited  
23 to join this after two or three weeks. And we would  
24 have our meetings in Davoren's flat in Golders Green.  
25 That was invitation only and we were organising

1 everything.

2 Separate from that, we would be producing  
3 the newspaper, so we would invite people to come and  
4 help. So we needed help. It's labour-intensive. So  
5 "Alex Sloan" mentions going to the flat. He wouldn't  
6 have been going there to do any organisation to give his  
7 opinion, "Well, let's do this next week, why don't we  
8 organise a demonstration." No, he would not have been  
9 involved in that, but rather helping with producing  
10 a paper.

11 Q. I see.

12 I'm just going to come back to how public  
13 (inaudible) was, because I've got two documents which  
14 to us seem quite difficult to reconcile, and you may be  
15 able to help us. So I'll ask you the question after  
16 I've shown you both documents.

17 The first is {MPS/0739490}.

18 A. 490, okay, right. I didn't read that this morning.

19 Okay, 490.

20 Q. It will come up in a moment. I'm having to give  
21 the full numbers to the people who are working  
22 the equipment.

23 A. Yeah.

24 Q. So this is tab 13.

25 I'm looking at paragraph 4 of this document. It's

1 a report dated 21 April 1971, and I'm interested in  
2 the second half of that paragraph.

3 A. Which paragraph?

4 Q. Paragraph 4. I'll read it out --

5 A. Okay.

6 Q. -- for the transcript.

7 A. Yeah.

8 Q. The relevant bit says:

9 "He said that from next Sunday the meetings would be  
10 held in the 'Halfway House' public house, Camden Town.  
11 Davoren and [privacy] stressed that the meeting-place  
12 should be kept as secret as possible over the next few  
13 weeks and under no circumstances should the name of  
14 the public house be mentioned on the telephone as they  
15 did not wish Special Branch to know the location."

16 Now, if we can take that document down, please, and  
17 if we could have up the document which is {MPS/739863}.

18 Sir, that's tab 19 of your bundle.

19 If we could scroll down, please, to paragraph 4.

20 And that reads:

21 "[privacy] has stated that the Irish National  
22 Liberation Solidarity Front cannot continue to use  
23 the premises at [privacy] as its headquarters and  
24 the committee is now looking for new premises preferably  
25 with a shop front so it could be used as a bookshop.

1 The office would have to be sited in an 'Irish area', ie  
2 Kilburn or Camden Town. [privacy] stated that having  
3 the offices at her home was causing conflict between  
4 herself and her husband as they found it impossible to  
5 have any time to themselves."

6 So, I've shown you two documents, Dr Temple;  
7 the first of which suggests a rather secretive attitude  
8 to where the group would be meeting, but the second  
9 suggests that the group was keen to have a bookshop.

10 Can you help us as to how we reconcile the apparent  
11 tensions as to the level of secrecy?

12 A. Yeah, I think this is nothing more than people thinking  
13 aloud. This is not specific -- to call this a "plan"  
14 would be an exaggeration. It is not a plan, it is  
15 thinking aloud: this would be a good idea, why don't we  
16 do this. But never reached a level of serious  
17 organisation.

18 So the meeting in the other document, the pub in  
19 Camden Town, I have no recollection of ever going to  
20 a pub in Camden Town. So it sounded like -- it sounded  
21 like a good idea at the time: this would be a good idea.  
22 There must have been some problem with the pub in  
23 Paddington. I can't remember why. Maybe the guy put  
24 the rent up. I don't know what happened. Maybe he got  
25 fed up with us. I don't remember why. There must have

1           been some problem there, so they needed another pub.

2           But I do not recall ever having meetings in a pub in  
3 Camden. Maybe we did and I just can't remember. My  
4 memory of all this is pretty good, so I don't think  
5 anything ever came of this. So therefore I would call  
6 it "thinking aloud".

7           And the same applies, this bookstore in Kilburn or  
8 Camden Town, "ie" should obviously be "eg". You should  
9 teach the guy some good English there; he should know  
10 the difference between "eg" and "ie". I am sure you  
11 would not make that mistake. So an Irish area.

12           No, I cannot even remember anybody talking about it.  
13 That was -- Davoren always liked to be very  
14 optimistic -- that was part of his style, in order to  
15 make people support him: we're building up to greater  
16 and greater things, more people, more activities, more  
17 money, etc. So he liked to be ultra-positive. So that  
18 was probably him being ultra -- we're going to organise  
19 a bookshop, we're going to get a bookshop. Something  
20 like that.

21           Now, the bit about Davoren's flat, yeah, it was  
22 squashed in. They had their bedroom, which was out of  
23 bounds to everybody else, but other than that, they  
24 didn't have -- they had a child by that time, and we  
25 were organising the paper and having meetings. So their

1 flat was basically where we did everything: had  
2 meetings, produced the paper. Davoren's wife Barbara,  
3 she was getting rather fed up with everything. I think  
4 maybe "Alex Sloan" picked up on it, that she was getting  
5 slowly more fed up with the whole activity. I think  
6 that's probably what he picked up on when he writes that  
7 sentence "they found it impossible to have any time to  
8 themselves". That's what I believe he is referring to.  
9 It means that she was just fed up.

10 Q. Thank you.

11 Did the INLSF use its own name on the posters it put  
12 up?

13 A. Oh yes.

14 Q. And I've seen reference in the papers to a membership  
15 form and consideration being given when a form was  
16 filled in as to whether to accept a member. What were  
17 the selection criteria?

18 A. Oh, I've never -- I have no memory of ever even seeing  
19 that form before. That's one of those things like --  
20 "thinking aloud", we can call it, where: this is a good  
21 idea, we've got to be more official, we've got to be  
22 more organised, more like a proper organisation; so  
23 therefore, if you're joining any organisation, whether  
24 the Labour Party or anything else, you fill in a form,  
25 so that's what we should do. But I don't even remember

1 even seeing that form.

2 Q. How security conscious was the INLSF?

3 A. Well, yes, it's really a badge of honour that the worst  
4 thing of course is to be ignored. If -- if you're  
5 a revolutionary organisation and the police consider you  
6 so trivial in importance that they just ignore you, well  
7 that's the ultimate insult. You really need to believe  
8 that the police are spying on you because you are so  
9 important.

10 Now, we had it in our heads at the time that the way  
11 the police would spy on you is by somehow tapping your  
12 phone. So somebody had heard from somewhere that it  
13 might be possible to use the telephones -- we're talking  
14 1970 technology, remember -- it might be possible to use  
15 a telephone as a bugging device. Now, now we know you  
16 can do that with an iPhone, yes, it can be done. But  
17 that's today. At that time, it was very -- on one  
18 occasion, we even unscrewed the phone and tried to look  
19 inside it for a bugging device, and when we had  
20 a meeting, we took the phone out of the room and put it  
21 outside the room. It had a long lead and we put it  
22 outside the door, so -- in case the police were using  
23 the phone as some sort of bugging device.

24 That was really -- that was the main activity, was  
25 assuming the phone was tapped and avoiding using --

1 saying too much on the phone, in case the phone was  
2 tapped. That was the main security activity.

3 Q. Thank you.

4 I'm going to ask for one of the paragraphs of your  
5 witness statement to be put up now. Could we have  
6 {UCPI/34061} up, please, and then page 3 {UCPI/34061/3}.

7 Thank you. It's paragraph 11 that I'm interested  
8 in.

9 A. Yeah.

10 Q. I'm moving on now, Dr Temple, to the aims of the group  
11 and its goals. I'm reading from paragraph 11:

12 "The meetings would usually involve speeches about  
13 the INSLF's aims and there was always a lot of talking  
14 (often from Davoren) about how we should overthrow  
15 the state and change things."

16 So is that a fair assessment of what the ultimate  
17 aim of the INLSF was?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And then it goes on to say:

20 "References were often made in meetings to the need  
21 to use violence as a means by which to achieve  
22 revolutionary change, but I always took this to be just  
23 talk."

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Whilst you were a member of the INLSF, did you or any

1           other member of the group use violence to advance your  
2           cause?

3           A. Not at all, no.

4           Q. Was it implicit in your revolutionary philosophy that  
5           there might come a time when revolution could occur in  
6           the future and that would involve violence?

7           A. Well, yes. That was -- you're going back now like  
8           150 years. The whole history of Europe going back  
9           hundreds of years, thousands of years, is revolutionary  
10          violence, back to Spartacus and right through European  
11          history for the last 2,000 years. The Paris commune,  
12          the Russian Revolution, France in May 1968. This has  
13          been going on for 2,000 years. So that is what we were  
14          talking about.

15                 Sometimes, in parts of the world -- not in Europe  
16                 but in developing countries -- you did -- this happened:  
17                 Vietnam, Iran and other countries.

18          Q. Could I ask you about a sentence a little bit further  
19          down in that paragraph. I'll read it out. It says:

20                 "The talk of using revolutionary violence was in  
21                 reference to some future time when the time would be  
22                 right for such activities, similar to the situation that  
23                 then existed in Northern Ireland."

24          A. Right.

25          Q. Could you explain in what sense you thought that

1 the time might be riper for revolution in  
2 Northern Ireland than it was in Great Britain?

3 A. Well, Northern Ireland -- I don't want to bore you with  
4 a history lesson on how Northern Ireland came into  
5 existence. But Northern Ireland, there was a movement,  
6 and still is -- you know, the government of Ireland  
7 considers Northern Ireland part of Ireland. If you're  
8 born in Belfast, the Irish government will give you an  
9 Irish passport. So, the Catholic half of the country  
10 consider themselves Irish, and they were -- that's what  
11 the whole -- what they call "The Troubles" was all  
12 about, trying to kick the British out and unify with  
13 the Republic.

14 Q. In what sense would that bring about a revolution? I'm  
15 really interested in what it was your group thought --

16 A. Well, that was specific -- okay, that was specifically  
17 Northern Ireland. Every place in the world has its own  
18 features. Northern Ireland is totally different in its  
19 history and its political organisations, it's totally  
20 different to everywhere else on planet earth. So we  
21 weren't using Northern Ireland as a model for anything.  
22 Rather, we were talking in a strictly general communist  
23 revolutionary sense about some type of communist  
24 revolution that should in theory happen at some future  
25 time when capitalism collapses.

1 Q. And was your group focused on Northern Ireland because  
2 you thought you had more chance of bringing that about  
3 in Northern Ireland than you had in Great Britain?

4 A. No, not at all. Rather, before I joined, Davoren had  
5 met up with Joe O'Neill, and I think Davoren -- Vietnam  
6 was going quiet, nothing much was going on there and so  
7 Davoren, thought -- he originally came from Ireland --  
8 and thought: well, this would be interesting, why don't  
9 we have a group related to Ireland, Northern Ireland,  
10 and have solidarity with Northern Ireland, which means  
11 the half of Northern Ireland, the republican half of  
12 Northern Ireland. So, it was just an accident really.  
13 Joe O'Neill, Davoren and one or two other people formed  
14 this group which then became the INLSF.

15 Q. Would it be fair to describe the INLSF as non-sectarian  
16 but anti-imperialist?

17 A. Oh yes. Certainly anti-imperialist. If somebody walks  
18 in and says they're a protestant, they would certainly  
19 be most welcome. Nobody cared. Nobody ever asked,  
20 "What is your religion?" It was not of -- you know,  
21 it's the principle of -- the politics, the philosophy,  
22 it doesn't matter where in the world you come from, what  
23 the colour of your skin is, what religion you were  
24 brought up in; these things were of no importance.

25 Q. Can I move on now to the Irish Liberation Press. How

1 did you help to produce it?

2 A. Well, that was the main activity, and so we would  
3 produce the whole thing ourselves, using the technology  
4 of the time, typing it and laying it out, putting photos  
5 in. And then there was some printer -- we'd take it all  
6 to this printer, who would then print it. So, that --  
7 the main activity of the organisation -- it was the tail  
8 wagging the dog. The main activity of the INLSF was  
9 the Irish Liberation Press. Everything focused around  
10 that. It was producing it and then everybody was out  
11 several times a week going round the pubs in the Irish  
12 areas of London selling the paper.

13 Q. Okay. Let's have a look at what we think is a sample of  
14 the Irish Liberation Press, and I'm going to ask you to  
15 confirm that. Could we have up, please, {DOC/050}.

16 A. Yes, now, that is -- I just received that copy this  
17 morning. Yes, that is a copy of it. The gun at the top  
18 is an AK47. In fact, it was before -- earlier, they  
19 were using the gun similar to used by the British Army  
20 at that time, and it was my suggestion to use that one.  
21 That's an AK47, as used in Vietnam. So that's why you  
22 have the AK47 there.

23 But yes, that newspaper is -- represents the views  
24 of the INLSF.

25 Q. Okay, thank you.

1           If we move to the second page, please, {DOC/50/2}.  
2           It's the editorial. I just want to read the two  
3           paragraphs in the left-hand column. Perhaps we could  
4           blow up the first one. This is the editorial, which  
5           is --

6           A. Yes.

7           Q. -- headed, "Revive the Fighting Spirit of 1916!" with  
8           a big exclamation mark.

9           It reads:

10           "A huge banner still flutters over Ireland this day.  
11           Another, as yet incompletely conscious of its power and  
12           historic mission, is seeking to replace it. The first  
13           is none other than the reactionary banner of British  
14           imperialism, stained with the blood and tears of  
15           the people of Ireland past and present. Its emblems are  
16           colonial murder and profiteering, battalions of  
17           aggressor soldiers shooting Irish workers on Irish soil,  
18           CS gas, rubber bullets, water cannon, batons, armoured  
19           cars, curfews, looting, unemployment, poverty,  
20           degradation of the people, arrogance and brutal attempts  
21           at terrorisation. This banner is held in the gory hands  
22           of the British ruling class, represented at different  
23           times by Tory and Labour imperialist regimes at  
24           Westminster. The little finger of their grip is  
25           provided by treacherous puppets in Stormont and Dublin.

1 Today this banner casts a shadow over the common people,  
2 working men, women and children, catholic, protestant  
3 and those of no religion alike. The grip, however, is  
4 not as firm as other days have witnessed. This banner  
5 of imperialist plunder has most definitely commenced its  
6 downward descent."

7 The second paragraph:

8 "The second banner is the opposite of the first. It  
9 is the banner of the deprived and heroic people of  
10 Ireland. It is the banner of Irish national liberation,  
11 unity, independence and socialism. It is the fighting,  
12 proud, determined banner ... as yet moving in a largely  
13 spontaneous and often times uncertain manner [it] is  
14 seeking to assert its dominance. This banner is gripped  
15 in the hands of the exploited Irish masses, as yet not  
16 represented in their own disciplined organisational  
17 form, the vehicle of freedom. The grip on this banner  
18 grows daily tighter and stronger. This banner of  
19 collective struggle and sacrifice has commenced its  
20 upward ascent in the new world era in which imperialism  
21 is heading for total collapse and the forces of national  
22 liberation and socialism are heading for total victory."

23 Does that give a fair flavour of the publication?

- 24 A. It -- yes, but I would explain it better by explaining  
25 that the entire organisation was a reflection of

1 the views of Davoren. Everything there is written by  
2 Davoren. He -- in terms of writing the paper, nobody  
3 was invited to ever write an actual article. We were  
4 given sort of chicken feed, small little bits and would  
5 write very, very short little bits of a few sentences,  
6 taking something that was reported in a newspaper and  
7 turning it into a paragraph. So -- whereas Davoren  
8 wrote everything.

9 So, the whole organisation was nothing but whatever  
10 Davoren said it was going to be.

11 I would liken the way everything was done --  
12 the best analogy I can give you is Trump. So Trump  
13 makes his policies: we're going to build the wall, we're  
14 going to ban Muslims from coming to America, and  
15 whatever else -- he wakes up in the morning and dreams  
16 up some crazy idea and says, "This is the policy", and  
17 every person supports it. And if you disagree with  
18 Trump, you will be thrown out of the Republican Party,  
19 because you have to 100% agree with everything that  
20 Trump says.

21 The INLSF was similar to that. Davoren was  
22 the editor, but his definition of the word "editor" went  
23 far beyond the dictionary definition of the word. It  
24 meant he was the editor in the sense -- normal sense of  
25 the word, and the author of everything.

1           So all this is written by Davoren. And you couldn't  
2 disagree with him. He never made a mistake. If he made  
3 a -- rule 1, I don't make mistakes; rule 2, if you see  
4 a mistake that I made, I refer you to rule number 1.  
5 I never made a mistake; everyone else makes mistakes,  
6 not me.

7           You see -- I just see a strong similarity with Trump  
8 in the way his head worked.

9           Now, to get back to your specific question, as best  
10 as I can, that's very, very colourful language. It  
11 sounds like something from a Borat movie, I would  
12 compare. What you've read there, you could use that as  
13 a dialogue in a Borat movie. It would fit quite well.  
14 It's full of all these cliches.

15           That's the best answer I can give you there.

16 MR BARR: Dr Temple, thank you very much for that.

17           Sir, I think, if you agree, this might be a good  
18 time to give the shorthand writers a ten-minute break?

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, okay.

20           Dr Temple, will you be back in ten minutes, please?

21 A. I'll be sitting here waiting for you.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

23           I'm waiting to hear eventually why you're still  
24 recovering from the experience.

25 A. I'd be delighted to tell you.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. We'll be back in  
2 ten minutes.

3 MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone. We will now take  
4 a break.

5 May I remind those in the virtual hearing room to  
6 remember to join your break-out rooms, please.

7 The time is now 5.30 pm, so we shall resume at  
8 5.40 pm.

9 Thank you.

10 (5.32 pm)

11 (A short break)

12 (5.40 pm)

13 MR FERNANDES: Good afternoon, everyone, and welcome back.

14 I will now hand over to the Chairman to continue  
15 proceedings.

16 Chairman.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

18 Mr Barr.

19 MR BARR: Thank you, Sir.

20 Dr Temple --

21 A. Hello.

22 Q. Hello again.

23 Could we move to the question of demonstrations.

24 There's reference in the papers to the INLSF holding  
25 demonstrations outside Lewisham police station and in

1           Hyde Park. My first question is: how frequently did  
2           the INLSF hold demonstrations?

3           A. Not very frequently. As I said before, the tail that  
4           was wagging the dog was the newspaper. So, that  
5           dominated everything. The -- by far, the main  
6           activities was producing and selling  
7           the Irish Liberation Press. But it did a few other  
8           things here and there. So, it linked up with a few  
9           people, and one of them was some young male who died --  
10          I can't remember the details now, but, you know, there's  
11          been cases -- Stephen Lewis or --

12          Q. Stephen McCarthy? Is that the name you're looking for?

13          A. Okay, that's the name. There was the more famous case  
14          in more recent years that's still going on, with  
15          somebody who was killed in London, right. That's a very  
16          famous case. This was something comparable, McCarthy.  
17          And we organised a demonstration. And that ended up  
18          that his relatives got into a fight with the police, one  
19          or two of them ended up -- if my memory serves me  
20          correctly, they got arrested. One or two may have even  
21          had a prison sentence out of it. So that was an  
22          activity in relation to somebody who died.

23                 Then there was a demonstration, Hyde Park. I might  
24          have been -- this might have been -- the date may have  
25          been May 1971. I might have been in Ireland at the

1 time, I'm not sure.

2 Q. Okay.

3 Well, can you give me an idea of what sort of size  
4 INLSF-organised demonstration were?

5 A. Maybe 200/300. That would be a very rough estimate, off  
6 the top of my head.

7 Q. And what level of cooperation did you extend to  
8 the police when organising and conducting your  
9 demonstrations?

10 A. Oh, I don't remember. I was not involved in that.

11 Q. I see.

12 You have described the police as being regarded as  
13 the enemy within the organisation.

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Does that suggest that you might not have been all that  
16 cooperative as an organisation, or is that unfair?

17 A. Oh yeah, that would be a very accurate statement.

18 Q. I see.

19 And you've described the demonstrations as  
20 disruptive but peaceful. Could you describe the level  
21 of disruption caused by INLSF demonstrations?

22 A. Well, three things come to mind. There's  
23 the demonstration in Hyde Park you're referring to.  
24 I cannot remember being on that, because I think it was  
25 at the time that five of us -- went to Ireland on

1 a trip. We were selling the Irish Liberation Press  
2 around Ireland. I think it must have happened at that  
3 time. That must have been Easter 1971. So that was an  
4 important time for Irish-related activities. So they  
5 were doing it in London because it was Easter and we  
6 were in Ireland because it was Easter, so it was a good  
7 time to go to Ireland. So I don't think I was in this  
8 activity in Hyde Park. That's why I'm not sure how many  
9 people were there.

10 The Lewisham police station, as I recall, it might  
11 have been 100 people -- 50 or 100 people, somewhere in  
12 that sort of order. We were not aiming to have any  
13 violence. We didn't activate -- encourage it or  
14 anything. It was the relatives of the person who died  
15 did it spontaneously, out of personal anger against  
16 the police.

17 And the third thing that comes to mind is we had  
18 once a picket outside the Old Bailey, but it was a very,  
19 very small picket, like ten people, something like that.

20 Q. Thank you.

21 I've looked through the papers for examples of other  
22 sorts of activities that the INLSF got involved in. I'm  
23 just going to read some of those out to you, and I'd  
24 like you to tell me whether it's right that  
25 the organisation used these methods.

1           So, posters and stickers?

2       A. Oh yeah. Well, stickers, I can't recall. Yeah, they  
3       made some posters. I think, yeah, we got some posters  
4       from Ireland, famous Irish historical figures,  
5       revolutionary figures from, like, 100 years before. And  
6       we were selling some posters at some time.

7       Q. Political education classes?

8       A. Yes. "Alex Sloan" refers to that. As part of  
9       the meeting, we would discuss not only the practical  
10      things we were doing, but talk about something that you  
11      could loosely class as "education".

12           "Alex Sloan" referred also to something at Davoren's  
13      house, some political education class. Though I don't  
14      recall -- I'm sure it's accurate, but I don't recall  
15      exactly education classes at Davoren's flat. So I'm not  
16      sure what that was referring to.

17      Q. And the political education would be a Maoist political  
18      education; is that right?

19      A. Yeah, it would be -- it was two things in one -- three  
20      things in one.

21           It was, firstly, we were in this Irish organisation,  
22      very specifically Ireland. So if a regular Irish worker  
23      turns up, you don't want to scare him away as suddenly  
24      you're talking about what's going on in China, because  
25      he'd say, you know, "What the hell are you talking

1           about?  What's that got to do with Belfast?"  So you  
2           were -- the focus would be on Ireland.  So in that  
3           sense, it was Irish, not Maoist.

4           The second thing, I should explain one thing --  
5           you're using the term "Maoist".  We were generally,  
6           within the broad definition of Maoist, which was various  
7           factions.  Now, as I said before to you, Davoren was  
8           something like Trump: whatever idea came out of his  
9           head, that was the official policy, and nobody is  
10          allowed to disagree with him; because by definition,  
11          everything he says is connect, and it doesn't matter  
12          what your opinion is.  Now, he had his own political  
13          ideology.  He never mentioned Chairman Mao once.  Never.  
14          It was always -- for some reason, reasons that I have no  
15          idea why, he was utterly and completely obsessed with  
16          Stalin.

17          So he loved Stalin.  He wrote about Stalin in  
18          the newspaper.  He didn't ask other people, "Do you  
19          agree with me?"  No.  "This is the way we're doing it,  
20          and I'm correct, and you are guilty of a crime if you do  
21          not agree with me."

22          So he had his own version.  And so as it was his  
23          idea, that was the version that we followed.  So there  
24          would be things on Stalin in there, but nothing ever on  
25          Chairman Mao.  So we were Maoist in a very loose,

1 generic way, but more specifically, it would be more  
2 accurate to say Stalinist than Maoist.

3 Q. Thank you.

4 The other thing I've noticed in the papers is  
5 adopting and supporting causes. Now, one of those  
6 causes was the campaign in support of Stephen McCarthy's  
7 family, which you've already mentioned. In relation to  
8 that, can you help us with whether "Alex Sloan" would  
9 ever have met Stephen McCarthy's relatives?

10 A. I don't know.

11 Q. And another cause that was supported seems to have been  
12 the Black Unity and Freedom Party. Can you help with  
13 what the link was between the INLSF and the Black Unity  
14 and Freedom movement?

15 A. Yes, this was a black organisation. They were two  
16 branches: one in South London, one in Finsbury Park.  
17 And we had very friendly relations with them. They were  
18 the only other organisation in the entire world that we  
19 were friendly with. We were not friendly with anybody  
20 else. It was because probably our activities were so  
21 different. They were involved in black activities and  
22 we were involved in Ireland, so therefore there was no  
23 opportunity to suddenly have an ideological debate and  
24 end up walking out on each other. So we both needed  
25 friends. They were very happy to have us as friends and

1 we were happy to have them. And so we would meet here  
2 and there.

3 On one occasion, they were going to go to Manchester  
4 in -- for some activity, so myself and a couple of other  
5 people, we went with them to Manchester. They had three  
6 minibuses. So there must have been 25 of us in  
7 the group, and we all went to Manchester for a weekend.

8 Q. Thank you.

9 There's a document I'd like to show you. It's  
10 {MPS/739488}.

11 A. 488. I saw that this morning. 488.

12 Q. And could we go to page 2, please, {MPS/739488/2}.

13 A. Yeah, the Chinese Legation. Yeah, I looked at that.

14 And you wanted to know about the contact between  
15 the INLSF and the Chinese Legation. And again, I think  
16 your document is a bit misleading --

17 Q. Can I just stop you there.

18 A. Sorry.

19 Q. For the benefit of people who are following on  
20 the transcript, I'm just going to read the relevant  
21 paragraph out, so they can follow what we're talking  
22 about.

23 Could you move down to the bottom of the second --  
24 to the bottom of that page, please. The relevant  
25 paragraph reads:

1           "Davoren then gave a report on the visit he had paid  
2 to the Chinese Legation on Friday, 2 April at its  
3 invitation. He said he had been received by one of  
4 the secretaries, who questioned him very closely on  
5 the organisations taking an interest in politics in  
6 Ireland. Davoren said with his great knowledge he was  
7 able to give him a comprehensive run-down on the various  
8 groups; the Chinese were very interested in the 'Press'  
9 and may soon start subscribing to the paper, just as  
10 they had done with 'Vanguard' in 1964 when they had  
11 subscribed to about 400 copies paid in advance.  
12 The official said that any future receptions or film  
13 shows at the Legation members of the INLSF would be  
14 invited."

15           So now that we've got that read into the transcript,  
16 Dr Temple, is it a fair -- what was the level of contact  
17 with the Chinese Legation and what was its purpose?

- 18       A. If you had asked me this question yesterday, my answer  
19 would have been "I have no recollection whatsoever of  
20 Davoren or anyone else from the INLSF talking to anybody  
21 at the Chinese Legation". I was totally unaware of it.  
22 I assume that on one occasion, for reasons unknown,  
23 Davoren must have gone to the Chinese Legation. What he  
24 did there, I don't know; why he was there, I don't know;  
25 what he spoke about, I don't know.

1           But as I said earlier, Davoren liked to make out we  
2           were the most important organisation in Britain, we were  
3           brilliant, Davoren was brilliant, and so probably, if  
4           there were no witnesses, he could then turn round and  
5           say, oh, he's a brilliant expert and they were very  
6           happy to hear from him and they were going to invite him  
7           to future meetings.

8           I think, my suspicions, a lot of what's in there is  
9           BS. This is Davoren trying to say how brilliant he is.  
10          But I have absolutely no recollection of any of this.  
11          The first contact between Davoren and the Chinese  
12          Legation, it was extremely minor. Probably a meeting  
13          over a cup of tea for half an hour.

14         Q. Thank you.

15                 We can take that document down then, and could we  
16                 have up in its place, please, {MPS/739863}. And if we  
17                 could go down to the next page, please {MPS/739863/2}  
18                 and look at paragraph 3. That reads:

19                 "Ed Davoren, General Secretary of  
20                 the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front,  
21                 has 'gone away on business for a few days' but is  
22                 expected to return shortly. Davoren disappears every  
23                 three or four months for about a week at a time. It is  
24                 a very closely kept secret in the organisation where  
25                 Davoren goes to and very few members know his

1 destination. It is thought that the financial affairs  
2 of the organisation will improve when Davoren arrives  
3 back in London."

4 Do you know where Davoren went?

5 A. I believe what happened was as follows. Nobody had any  
6 money. His wife Barbara worked at the London School of  
7 Economics. She earned £20 a week. She had quite a good  
8 job. But that was their only money. And so they wanted  
9 to have a break once in a while. I believe they went to  
10 somewhere in the Channel Islands. I think it was  
11 a relative or a friend of the family, something like  
12 that, and they could go and stay there at no cost. So  
13 I believe they would fly there. It was nothing to do  
14 with political activities, nothing to do with money.

15 "Alex Sloan" just was hearing some gossip. I think  
16 he was trying to make some guesses here what was going  
17 on. Within the inner circle of the organisation there  
18 was no secret about this. Davoren wanted a break and he  
19 went with his wife to the Channel Islands. Later with  
20 his son he went there. He took his son with him on  
21 the plane. This was just a break, to the best of my  
22 knowledge, but Davoren being Davoren, it's within  
23 the realms of possibility he was up to some activity  
24 that he didn't tell us about.

25 Q. Okay, thank you very much.

1           I want to move now to your trip to Ireland, which  
2           you've already touched upon. First of all, you tell us  
3           in your witness statement that you were turned away by  
4           police at the Port of Liverpool. Do you know why that  
5           was?

6           A. Yes, because our main purpose in going to Ireland were  
7           we were going to meet people, as many people as we  
8           could, and tell them what we were doing in London, but  
9           also to sell the paper in Ireland, sell as many copies  
10          as possible, both for the benefit of selling the paper  
11          so people could learn about us, but also to get money.

12          Now, so, we had this van, and we had several  
13          thousand copies of the paper in the van, and somebody  
14          from the security-type people -- it wasn't a uniformed  
15          police, but it was somebody -- there was already --  
16          Easter 1971, there was already a lot of security between  
17          Britain and Northern Ireland, and somebody there noticed  
18          all the papers and decided it would be very unhelpful to  
19          have people going to Northern Ireland bringing all these  
20          newspapers with, so he refused to allow us to get on  
21          the ferry.

22          Q. Thank you.

23          Could we have up, please {MPS/739489}, and it's  
24          the large paragraph in the second half of the page.  
25          I'll just read that out:

1            "[Privacy] gave a report on the visit of five  
2 members of the INLSF to Ireland and stressed the good  
3 contacts which had been made in that country. He said  
4 they had sold 4,400 papers and had received the support  
5 of the 'Provisionals' to sell the paper. A person in  
6 Dublin had decided to take 200 copies of each edition of  
7 the paper to sell and two bookshops in Cork were willing  
8 to sell copies. This was followed by general discussion  
9 on the report and the statement by [privacy] that they  
10 had received the support of the 'Provisionals' created  
11 an atmosphere of comment and disbelief."

12            Could you explain, please, why there was comment and  
13 disbelief at the statement about support from  
14 the Provisionals?

15        A. Well, that is "Alex Sloan" making his own commentary on  
16 it. "An atmosphere of comment": that means -- I guess  
17 that's another way of saying people were interested what  
18 we were up to, and how interesting going to Ireland and  
19 selling the paper. "An atmosphere of comment": I think  
20 that's what he means there.

21            "Disbelief": I don't really know what he meant by  
22 the word "disbelief". I'm not sure at all.

23        Q. Did you meet members of the Provisional IRA when you  
24 were in Ireland?

25        A. Yeah. We went to Dublin, and they have a -- their

1 office in Dublin. Now, this was purely based on  
2 personal contact. Joe O'Neill, one of our people, he  
3 was from Belfast, and he was, as I said earlier,  
4 the person who formed the INLSF together with Davoren,  
5 and he had some sort of personal contact with him, so he  
6 knew these people in -- he knew lots of people, so he  
7 knew people in their office in Dublin. So, based on  
8 this personal contact, we met people, we drove around  
9 with them in Dublin, they were singing some IRA songs.  
10 One -- there was one guy who had a bullet wound where he  
11 had been shot in the arm by a British soldier. So these  
12 were certainly Provisionals, and we met them in Dublin.

13 When we went to Cork, we met with somebody -- we  
14 stayed the night with somebody who was somehow involved  
15 in activities, but I have no idea what he was involved  
16 in; he wouldn't say.

17 Then we were in Belfast, or was it Derry -- one or  
18 the other -- Andersonstown -- yes, Andersonstown in  
19 Belfast, and we were trying to sell the paper. This was  
20 a fun activity. Two guys came walking along the street  
21 and I tried to sell the paper to them and they gave me  
22 a very friendly Irish reception. They said to me --  
23 their words were, which I remember perfectly, "You got  
24 five minutes to get out". When you're in a dark street  
25 in Belfast in an IRA area and somebody says to you,

1 "You've got five minutes to get out", you don't discuss  
2 freedom of the press. But then Joe O'Neill spoke to  
3 them and they confirmed, yes, we did have permission  
4 from the Provisionals to be in that area. So that was  
5 okay. We -- at that point, we had cleared it with  
6 people higher up the chain and then it was okay.

7 Q. And what was your message to the Provisional IRA?

8 A. Well, I didn't have a message. The only -- just you  
9 don't want to annoy them, so we didn't --  
10 the Provisionals are a Catholic nationalist  
11 organisation, so their politics is totally different to  
12 our politics. So there's no point in having an argument  
13 about the left wing politics, communism, nationalism or  
14 anything like that. The only area where I got into any  
15 sort of argument was on the Palestinians, because  
16 I felt, well, it's okay to talk about the Palestinians,  
17 because that's so far removed from Ireland, they can't  
18 really get annoyed if they disagree with me on  
19 the Palestinian issue, that's a neutral and safe topic  
20 to talk about.

21 But I wasn't involved in -- Joe O'Neill was  
22 the local guy, so he was talking to them about different  
23 things.

24 Q. And did the INLSF provide any assistance to  
25 the Provisional IRA of any kind?

1       A. No, absolutely not. Davoren was extremely critical.  
2       Some time later, he wrote in the paper -- he denounced  
3       the Provisional IRA. He denounced -- when they were  
4       talking about a bombing campaign in England, he  
5       denounced it and said this was a terrible idea, and he  
6       denounced them as -- I can't remember the words --  
7       Catholic nationalists, or something like that, that  
8       their ideology -- they were a Catholic and nationalist,  
9       they were never a left wing organisation, so  
10      therefore -- for Davoren, the only acceptable politics  
11      was his politics, so as they were different to his  
12      politics, therefore they were wrong.

13     Q. Did your group meet anybody on the other side of  
14      the sectarian divide when you were in Ireland?

15     A. They were called "the stickies", the Official IRA. No,  
16      we never met anybody from the Official IRA.

17             By that time, the split had already happened.  
18      The Provisionals were one lot who we met, because  
19      Joe O'Neill had this contact, and the other lot were  
20      the Officials, but we never met them.

21     Q. Did you ever meet any of the protestant groups?

22     A. Absolutely not. That would be very bad for the health.

23     Q. So when we were talking earlier about you having  
24      a non-sectarian philosophy, did it in practice mean,  
25      though, that the people you were mixing with in Ireland

1           were all on the Catholic side of the religious divide?

2           A. Right, I would rather say it was on the Catholic side of  
3           the political divide, because it was the politics of  
4           the organisation.

5           Ireland always had very many organisations, civil  
6           rights and nationalist organisations, etc, so it wasn't  
7           really the religion of the people, it was the politics.  
8           So, we didn't object to the protestant groups because we  
9           don't agree with the protestant theology, it was because  
10          of their politics.

11          Q. Thank you.

12                 Can I move now to the inner circle of the INLSF,  
13                 which I think was called the Communist Workers League.  
14                 You've described a little bit how it worked. Can you  
15                 help us with why it was that "Alex Sloan" did not become  
16                 a member of that inner circle?

17          A. Okay, we'll have to go back, because you jumped ahead.

18                 This Communist Workers League, that came after,  
19                 after the split. Some time May or so, we had this  
20                 split, Joe O'Neill and others left, "Alex Sloan" had  
21                 disappeared, and then the smaller group who stayed with  
22                 Davoren formed this thing called  
23                 the Communist Workers League. That was after May.

24                 So, going -- the first four months of 1971, that's  
25                 when "Alex Sloan" was around. We had -- the main group

1           that anybody could come to was a meeting in the pub in  
2           Paddington, which was where "Alex Sloan" was involved,  
3           going out and selling papers and some type of  
4           educational activity which "Alex Sloan" refers to  
5           apparently -- I don't recall it, but apparently that was  
6           at Davoren's flat. So that was going on.

7           The -- to be invited to the inner group, you had to  
8           be trusted and "Alex Sloan" never reached that level of  
9           being trusted.

10          Q. I see.

11                 This may not matter very much, but looking at  
12           the documents, we've got a report about  
13           the Communist Workers League which is dated 18 June 1971  
14           and the documents at which there was the emergency  
15           conference was just a week or so later. So, it appears  
16           that the first reference to the Communist Workers League  
17           is slightly before the date of the emergency conference.  
18           Does that cause you to search your memory and revise any  
19           of the evidence you've just given?

20          A. No, I think what you've got there is wrong. Like  
21           "Alex Sloan" says in his statement, he refers to a lot  
22           of errors in the documents, so I think some errors have  
23           crept into it. One thing "Alex Sloan" and myself agree  
24           on.

25                 So the chronology was we had the INLSF. That had

1           been going on for, I don't know, eight months or so. We  
2           were selling the Irish Liberation Press. We went to  
3           Ireland. Joe O'Neill and myself were two of the five  
4           people who went to Ireland. We came back, and after --  
5           shortly after coming back, Joe O'Neill had decided he  
6           was fed up with Davoren, he decided that Davoren had his  
7           own agenda, Davoren wanted -- was bored and fed up with  
8           Irish activities and wanted to turn the INLSF into  
9           a British organisation not Irish. That led to  
10          the split. I believe that is what the emergency meeting  
11          refers to. So we had this meeting. That led to a split  
12          in the organisation, half the people walked out and  
13          the other half, including myself, stayed with Davoren.

14                 Now, Davoren, having said during the split that he  
15          had no interest in forming a British organisation, he  
16          was only interested in the Irish activity, then, a few  
17          weeks after the split, now turns round and says, "Okay,  
18          guys, I'm now going to form a British organisation".  
19          That's where the Communist Workers League came in. That  
20          was Davoren's -- that was Davoren's new baby. That was  
21          really dumping Ireland and moving over to British  
22          activities for no other reason than that this is what  
23          Davoren had chosen he wanted to do.

24          Q.    Okay, thank you.

25                         I'm going to move now to "Alex Sloan". You've

- 1           described him as Scottish and quiet, and you say you  
2           only spoke to him in limited terms. Can you help us  
3           with what you did speak to "Alex Sloan" about?
- 4       A. No. I never really had anything that you could call  
5           a conversation with him. It was just saying hello to  
6           him in passing. I really have no recollection of really  
7           talking to him at all.
- 8       Q. Now, did he speak to others?
- 9       A. I don't know. I assume so, because when we went out  
10          selling the paper, one person was in charge of pairing  
11          people off, going off in pairs and having different  
12          routes. So, two people would be in one area and two  
13          people in another area. So he would have been paired  
14          off with somebody and he would have been speaking to  
15          that person, whoever it was, but that person was not me.
- 16      Q. Did he befriend anybody in particular, or talk to  
17          anybody in particular?
- 18      A. Not that I recall.
- 19      Q. Was it common in the INLSF for people to be close to one  
20          another, or was it normal for the social ties to be  
21          quite loose?
- 22      A. Well, yeah, you're -- in the -- the people who were  
23          active all the time in the -- particularly in the inner  
24          group, yeah, you would be chatting to people. When you  
25          were out selling the paper, you'd be walking around with

1           somebody for the whole evening, so you'd be talking to  
2           them. We went to Manchester, three of us, so you'd be  
3           talking. We went to Ireland, five of us, so naturally  
4           there's lots of time for talking to people. Hanging  
5           around, forming the new -- making the newspaper at  
6           Davoren's flat. Naturally, in the course of this, there  
7           would be large amounts of time available for talking  
8           about any number of things -- politics and other things.

9           Q. Thank you.

10                     In meetings, did he make contributions?

11           A. Money or comments?

12           Q. No, comments, sorry.

13           A. Not that I recall. He was a quiet person. He --

14                     the guy before him, "Jackson", he was much more of

15                     a talkative person, he was much more outgoing.

16                     "Jackson" got exposed and disappeared, then Alex was

17                     clearly the replacement. But "Alex Sloan" was just this

18                     very quiet person who just pretty much said nothing that

19                     I recall. He just made no impact on me.

20           Q. It may be obvious from what you have just said, but

21                     I had better ask it. Did "Alex Sloan" assume any

22                     positions of responsibility in your group?

23           A. No.

24           Q. Now, I want to ask you a little bit about some slightly

25                     legal matters. There's some documents which suggest you

1           gave a talk about arrests and what to do if arrested.

2           A. Yeah.

3           Q. Did you have any legal qualifications?

4           A. Absolutely -- sorry.

5           Q. Carry on.

6           A. Absolutely not. It was based on -- my entire knowledge

7           of the legal system, which I hazard a guess is a bit

8           less than yours, was entirely based on reading some

9           pamphlet, and all I was doing was regurgitating some

10          bits and pieces I had read in some pamphlet.

11          Q. Okay.

12                    Could we have a look, please, at {MPS/739487}.

13                    This is tab 12 of the bundle, Sir?

14          A. Yeah.

15          Q. If we can move down to the second page, please

16          {MPS/739487/2}, and the largest paragraph on that page.

17          The one with sidelines A and B. I'll just read this

18          into the transcript:

19                    "Ed Davoren then reviewed his plans in connection

20                    with the Stephen McCarthy case. He had consulted

21                    a solicitor who had said that on the basis of

22                    the evidence gathered by the Revolutionary Coordinating

23                    Committee there appeared to be sufficient evidence to

24                    take the case before a Magistrate who could not refuse

25                    a warrant for the arrest of the two police officers

1           concerned. After taking statements from the witnesses  
2           and family this would be the next step. The family had  
3           said they were prepared to give financial support to  
4           another public meeting. Legal action was also being  
5           contemplated against Chief Inspector Forrest for his  
6           part in the riot after the meeting at Islington Town  
7           Hall, when he had used his position 'to cause and  
8           support police brutality'."

9           My preliminary question, just so we understand, is  
10          could you help us with what the Revolutionary  
11          Coordinating Committee was, please?

- 12        A. To the best of my recollection, that was the name of  
13          the -- us lot, the INLSF and that black organisation,  
14          Black Unity and Freedom Party, always being  
15          super-optimistic and having great ambitions for  
16          the glorious times ahead when many other organisations  
17          come and join us, we -- we were -- we called ourselves  
18          the Revolutionary -- I'm going by memory, but I'm fairly  
19          sure this is what it's referring to. So they don't call  
20          it organisation, they call it coordinating committee,  
21          and as the name implies, it was coordinating. So,  
22          the INLSF and the black group are coordinating with each  
23          other. So this is -- I'm fairly sure that is what it  
24          refers to. The idea is that it was going to expand and  
25          other organisations would join, but that never happened.

1 Q. Thank you.

2 Can you recall whether or not the plan to issue  
3 warrants for the arrest of the two police officers were  
4 taken forwards?

5 A. Oh god, no. I have no recollection of ever seeing this  
6 stuff before. This is like -- my answer here is  
7 the same as with respect to going to  
8 the Chinese Legation. It sounds like a grandiose plan  
9 to get everyone excited. Nothing -- I don't even -- if  
10 anything was being done I would remember it, but I have  
11 no recollection of any of this. This was -- this was  
12 people thinking aloud and being ambitious. That's --

13 Q. -- (overspeaking) --

14 A. -- (inaudible).

15 Q. Dr Temple, I'll tell you what I'm driving at.

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. What this is is legal advice being recorded by an  
18 undercover police officer and what I'm driving at is  
19 was there any more legal advice given by a solicitor  
20 which was then relayed by Ed Davoren or anyone else  
21 which "Alex Sloan" would have heard?

22 A. I don't think -- you know, I remember the great majority  
23 of what was spoken about. Even though it was 50 years  
24 ago, I can tell you the great majority of everything  
25 that happened and what people said, and I don't recall

1           this.

2           So, this -- somebody went and saw a lawyer. Their  
3           favourite lawyer was a person in the -- near the Borough  
4           High Street by the name of -- Benedict Birnberg, his  
5           name was, and that was probably the source of  
6           the advice, most likely, but it could have been another  
7           lawyer. So somebody went and spoke to a lawyer and  
8           repeated this at a meeting. Probably this discussion  
9           was a ten minute discussion. I have no recollection of  
10          it. Clearly "Alex Sloan" wrote it down. This grabbed  
11          his attention and he thought this was very interesting,  
12          and so he wrote it down and put it in his report.

13         Q. Thank you, Dr Temple.

14                 I'm going to move on now to the documents connected  
15                 with the emergency conference late in June 1971. Could  
16                 we have up, please, {MPS/739470}.

17                 That's at tab 20 of the bundle.

18                 If we could keep going, please. If we could scroll  
19                 down, please. To the next page {MPS/739470/2}. Thank  
20                 you. If that could be expanded. Lovely. Thank you  
21                 very much.

22                 Now, the dates that we can take from this document,  
23                 Dr Temple, are that it's said that the -- there's  
24                 a paper attached to this report which is the basis of  
25                 the conference that is being set up. An emergency

1 conference is being announced to be held on the 26 and  
2 27 June. The paper, which is setting out some  
3 allegations against members of the INLSF, is said to  
4 have been circulated on 20 June 1971, and there are said  
5 to have been already some expulsions from the CWL on  
6 16 June. So I'll just take you through those.

7 The first paragraph reads:

8 "Due to dissension which has arisen within  
9 the organisation the Irish National Liberation  
10 Solidarity Front has issued a document at Ed Davoren's  
11 instigation (copies of which are submitted  
12 herewith) calling for an emergency conference to be held  
13 throughout the week-end of 26/27 June 1971, at ..."

14 And then a privacy redaction.

15 If we could go to the bottom of this page, please,  
16 and look at paragraph 5. It says:

17 "[Privacy] and [Privacy] were expelled from  
18 the Communist Workers League of Britain  
19 [Marxist-Leninist] (the inner caucus of the INLSF) on  
20 16.6.71 for the already quoted reasons. It is promised  
21 that all aspects of the organisation will be discussed."

22 And then if we could go to page 7, please  
23 {MPS/739470/7}, and this is the paper that was attached  
24 to the report which was to form the basis of  
25 the conference. If we go to the bottom of the page. It

1           says:

2                    "This statement is for presentation to INLSF  
3 comrades on Sunday 20th June, 1971."

4           So it sets out the allegations against  
5 the individuals.

6           My first question to you is, as far as you can  
7 recall, is the chronology of this paper being presented  
8 to the INLSF at a Sunday meeting on 20 June four days  
9 after two expulsions from the CWL and the weekend before  
10 the emergency conference correct?

11       A.   Okay, let me try to answer it as best I can.  Firstly,  
12 this name, Communist Workers League, I assume that must  
13 be correct, so I think what I said earlier was  
14 incorrect.  I don't recall us using that name for  
15 the inner group, but apparently we did.

16           There was -- later, after this, about two months  
17 later, so July/August, Davoren decided to organise this  
18 British group, Communist Workers League -- no -- no I'm  
19 sure I was right the first time.  This  
20 Communist Workers, this is two or three things getting  
21 muddled up together.  The Communist Workers League I'm  
22 sure was the new organisation which Davoren invented  
23 after the split.  We made one more issue of  
24 the Irish Liberation Press.  It's like somebody -- their  
25 wife dies, you want to wait a respectable period, like

1 a month, before getting married again. So, after having  
2 the split with Davoren saying that we are not a British  
3 organisation or an Irish organisation -- so that lasted  
4 about a month/two months -- made a new issue of  
5 the Irish Liberation Press, then Davoren turned round  
6 and said, "Okay guys, now we're going to make a British  
7 organisation and a British newspaper".

8 I'm pretty sure this name Communist Workers League  
9 of Britain, that says "Britain", it doesn't  
10 say "Ireland". So this organisation came later, well  
11 after the split. How it got muddled up into this  
12 document, I do not know.

13 Now, getting back specifically to the split. Okay,  
14 as I said, I went to Ireland at Easter 1971 with  
15 Joe O'Neill and three others. After we came back,  
16 things came to a head. Joe O'Neill was -- decided that  
17 Davoren -- and he decided correctly -- was bored with  
18 Irish activities and wanted to go over to British  
19 activities. Joe O'Neill figured that out correctly and  
20 that caused the split. So, one group of people decided  
21 to resign, Joe O'Neill and several others, and  
22 Davoren/several others, including myself, stayed for  
23 a few months.

24 So that would have been -- the split would have been  
25 after Easter -- June. June would be about right. So

1 June 1971 would be about the right date for it. So, we  
2 -- we had this conference, an emergency conference. Big  
3 argument, split. Joe O'Neill and several people walk  
4 out, other people stay behind, and then the people who  
5 stayed behind then had a formal motion expelling all  
6 the people who had already just resigned. You don't  
7 resign, you're expelled; you cannot resign, you're  
8 expelled.

9 So we then reformed ourselves. Now, you can call it  
10 a rump group. We were just half the size now.

11 Does this answer your question?

12 Q. It does, and it takes me very nicely to the next one,  
13 which is, was it at the emergency conference on 26 and  
14 27 June 1971 that the allegation was made against  
15 "Alex Sloan" that he was a police spy?

16 A. Yes. Now, this is a good example of Davoren, where I  
17 compare with Trump. Pathological liar. He earlier had  
18 Joe O'Neill -- I think it was Joe O'Neill who first came  
19 up with the idea that "Alex Sloan" was actually working  
20 for the police, and one day, Davoren and Joe O'Neill,  
21 one or other or both of them said to me, "Norman, be  
22 careful, we think "Alex Sloan" is working for  
23 the police". So they warned me, and both of them  
24 clearly believed it.

25 Now, we had in split. Davoren is a pathological

1           liar, and he says whatever he wants to say in order to  
2           try to maintain as many of the people as possible. He  
3           didn't want me and other people walking out on  
4           the organisation. So, as a cheap bit of ammunition,  
5           he -- having already decided he already believed  
6           "Alex Sloan" was working for the police, in order to  
7           make a cheap bit of ammunition, he said in the meeting  
8           Joe O'Neill slandered "Comrade Alex" -- "comrade" means  
9           they're a good guy, on our side -- he slandered  
10          "Comrade Alex" by accusing him of working for  
11          the police. Davoren believed that Alex worked for  
12          the police. This was a cheap stunt to score points by  
13          denouncing "Alex Sloan", by accusing Joe O'Neill of  
14          making this terrible slander against a loyal comrade and  
15          accusing himself of being a policeman.

16                 "Alex Sloan" then jumped up and said, "What is  
17                 the evidence"? He was denying it. And so then  
18                 "Alex Sloan" realised his days in the INLSF had come to  
19                 an end; he had to disappear after that.

20                 Now, after the meeting, later that day, myself and  
21                 another person asked Davoren, "Do you think that  
22                 'Alex Sloan' works for the police", and Davoren said,  
23                 "Yes, I do". So we asked him and he said it.

24                 Now, Davoren was always very, very careful. He was  
25                 -- he would never make a slip of the tongue and it was

1 very uncharacteristic of him, because he was admitting  
2 in effect that he had lied in the meeting earlier. He  
3 had accused Joe O'Neill of making this terrible slander  
4 against "Comrade Alex" when in fact the truth was he  
5 believed that "Alex Sloan" was a policeman, he actually  
6 believed it, and he was just using it as -- to score  
7 points.

8 Q. Thank you.

9 A. You have to put yourself in the mindset of that time and  
10 the thought processes.

11 Q. Thank you, that's very helpful.

12 Can I just dial back a little bit to the point at  
13 which you are first told that there are suspicions that  
14 "Alex Sloan" might be working for the police. Do you  
15 know whether anybody had done any research into his  
16 background?

17 A. No. I don't know where the idea came from at all. I do  
18 not know. But I think it -- I suspect it was  
19 Joe O'Neill somehow or other figured it out. He saw  
20 some clues. What the clues were, I do not know.

21 Q. At the meeting where he was accused of being a police  
22 spy, you've explained what you recall Davoren saying.  
23 Did anybody directly accuse him of being a police spy?

24 A. No. It was more -- it wasn't that Davoren was accusing  
25 "Alex Sloan" of being a police spy, it was Davoren was

1           accusing Joe O'Neill of slandering "Comrade Alex" by  
2           maliciously falsely accusing "Alex Sloan" of being  
3           a police spy.

4       Q.   Yes.

5       A.   Davoren was defending "Alex Sloan".

6       Q.   I understand that.  I'm asking whether anybody directly  
7           accused "Alex Sloan" of being a "pig" at that meeting or  
8           any other meeting you were present at?

9       A.   No.

10      Q.   And you've explained your recollection of "Alex Sloan"'s  
11         reaction to the allegation.  Could you explain to us  
12         what "Alex Sloan" physically was doing at the time when  
13         he was asking what evidence there was.

14      A.   He was sitting on a chair.  We were having a meeting.  
15         There were about, I don't know, ten or 15 people in  
16         the room, maybe 12 or 15 people in the room.  He was one  
17         of the people and he was sitting on a chair listening to  
18         it all.

19      Q.   Did he grab anybody?

20      A.   Oh no.  There was no -- there was nothing physical at  
21         the meeting between anybody.  Nobody touched anybody.

22      Q.   And how long did he remain in the meeting after  
23         the allegation had been made?

24      A.   Well, the meeting continued.  There was this -- that was  
25         one little bit of an argument that went on for hours

1 talking about -- Joe O'Neill was saying -- accusing  
2 Davoren of trying to turn the Irish organisation into  
3 a British organisation. There were many different  
4 aspects of the argument. Joe O'Neill had one lot of  
5 arguments, Davoren had another lot of arguments. This  
6 went on for hours. And this little bit with  
7 "Alex Sloan" and whether or not he was working for  
8 the police was one little bit of a long argument going  
9 on for hours.

10 Q. So, I think I'm understanding. I'm not getting  
11 the impression that "Alex Sloan" stormed out of  
12 the meeting or anything like that.

13 A. Oh no. He didn't storm out of the meeting, no.

14 Q. Could you help us, why did you, with the other member of  
15 the INLSF, go to "Alex Sloan's" flat later that evening?

16 A. Well, because he called us. What clearly happened is  
17 "Alex Sloan" decided he couldn't effectively be a police  
18 spy any more. The mere fact that there was suspicion,  
19 that was more than enough. He couldn't -- he couldn't  
20 possibly be effective any longer. And so clearly he  
21 decided to throw a wrench in the works. He would go  
22 out, try to do a little bit of sabotage before  
23 disappearing.

24 So, what he did was called up somebody and said,  
25 "These two people, I saw them out of my window spying on

1 me in the street", and this was several hours after  
2 the split. And the two people, one was from -- one from  
3 each side of the split. So, that meant, by inference,  
4 one of the people who was on our side of the split was  
5 collaborating with somebody on the other side of  
6 the split, and therefore the obvious intent was we would  
7 be suspicious of the guy who was pretending to be on our  
8 side, but who knows what his real loyalty was.

9 So, "Alex Sloan" then said to us, "This is what  
10 happened; I saw these two guys, looked spying; I can't  
11 be in your organisation any more; obviously people don't  
12 trust me, therefore I'm leaving". We shook hands with  
13 him on very amicable terms. I shook hands with him and  
14 said, "Well, good luck, comrade". There was no  
15 animosity.

16 Q. Thank you.

17 Do you know whether anybody actually ever did follow  
18 him? Were you able to confirm or deny that?

19 A. Not that I know of. Nobody ever told me they followed  
20 him. Joe O'Neill, somehow or other, decided he was  
21 probably working for the police. Why he came to that  
22 conclusion, I do not know.

23 Q. In terms of the idea that "Alex Sloan" said what he said  
24 to you that evening to divide the group, the group had  
25 already split by that stage, hadn't it?

- 1 A. Correct.
- 2 Q. So how would it further damage the group?
- 3 A. Because one of the people on our side of the split who  
4 stayed with us, he said this guy was, together with  
5 a guy on the other side of the split, they were together  
6 side by side outside his flat apparently spying on him.  
7 So, the people now on our side of the split should not  
8 be in any contact with the other people, we've divorced  
9 them. Why -- there's no valid reason why somebody on  
10 our side of the split should be dealing with somebody on  
11 the other side of the split.
- 12 Q. Did he say when he'd been followed?
- 13 A. Well, it all must have happened over the course of a few  
14 hours, or maybe the next day, something like that.
- 15 Q. Was he saying that he had just been followed, or was he  
16 saying he had been followed in the past?
- 17 A. It would have been right after the split. So the split  
18 was one day. Then we -- maybe it was that night,  
19 perhaps. I don't remember exactly the chronology, but  
20 it was a very, very short period of time. Perhaps it  
21 was 24 hours. So there was the split, there's two  
22 groups now, and maybe a day later Alex calls us and  
23 says, "Hey, I have to resign from the organisation  
24 because you guys are spying on me".
- 25 Maybe it was right after the split that allegedly --

1           this incident, which I'm sure never happened, of two  
2           people spying on him and being outside his flat, and  
3           then perhaps the next day I spoke to him. But I'm not  
4           sure. It was -- we're talking maybe a day. The whole  
5           span of it from beginning to end might have been a day,  
6           two at the most.

7           Q. How sure are you that he said that two people had been  
8           following him?

9           A. Oh, quite sure. He definitely said -- he was specific:  
10          this guy from our side of the split and the other guy  
11          from the other side of the split. It was very specific.

12          Q. I think it may follow from --

13          A. That was the whole point of it. To make it a credible  
14          argument it had to be clear that it was two people from  
15          opposite sides who therefore have no good reason to be  
16          collaborating together.

17          Q. It may be obvious from the answers you've already given,  
18          but just to be clear, I'm going to ask you this. In  
19          the time after "Alex Sloan" had left, did anybody, to  
20          your knowledge, conduct any further research into  
21          "Alex Sloan's" identity?

22          A. No. I never heard -- no. Nobody that I'm aware of made  
23          any attempt whatsoever to find out who he really was.

24          Q. Thank you.

25                       I'm now going to move beyond the INLSF, very

1           briefly.  There's a report about the Anti-Internment  
2           League.  It's dated 13 April 1972.  It's about  
3           arrangements for a demonstration that's going to be held  
4           in Bristol against the return of the Gloucesters to  
5           the mainland from Northern Ireland.  That I think you  
6           have seen in the past.  That was in the bundle.  You've  
7           recently been shown a document about the Bristol march,  
8           which occurred on 15 April 1972.

9                     Were you at that Bristol demonstration?

10          A.  No.  I have never had the great good fortune to ever go  
11          to Bristol.

12          Q.  Thank you.

13                     But were you at -- you are recorded as having been  
14                     at the meeting in Camden Town at the Irish Centre held  
15                     on 11 April 1972.  Were you at that meeting?

16          A.  Not that I recall.  What happened was, in -- I left,  
17          quit Davoren and everything associated with it, in  
18          approximately September 1971.  So after the split,  
19          I stayed on with Davoren.  So that was roughly June to  
20          September, along with Davoren.  But then I quit and  
21          I had very, very minimal involvement with any political  
22          activities after that.

23                     Now, here and there I did go to occasional  
24                     activities.  I was not actively involved in anything.  
25                     Nothing active.  I never had an official position.

1 I might have turned up at some meeting just out of  
2 curiosity, out of interest. Hear about some meeting in  
3 London, go there, listen to it. So maybe I was at some  
4 anti-internment meeting and was, out of curiosity,  
5 listening to something, somebody saw me there.

6 But by then I had no active involvement. I wasn't  
7 organising anything, I wasn't -- no official position,  
8 no fundraising, nothing like that.

9 Q. Thank you, Dr Temple.

10 Now, just finally, can you help us with what your  
11 understanding of the cultural revolution was back in  
12 1971. I'm talking now of the cultural revolution that  
13 was going on in China.

14 A. Well, yes. I was at Liverpool University for a brief  
15 and very unsuccessful period from 1965 to 1967. I got  
16 thrown out for doing nothing, and that was the problem:  
17 I was doing nothing. So, while studying -- using  
18 the word in the loosest possible sense of the word --  
19 there was a room in the library with all  
20 the periodicals, and one periodical I used to keep  
21 looking at was from China, and that piqued my interest  
22 and that's where I got interested in the cultural  
23 revolution. That was '65/'66.

24 But I had no -- I was a member of the Labour Party  
25 at that time, but later, '67, I was now in London,

1 working in London, and then Vietnam was active and  
2 I decided to be part of it, and for reasons that made  
3 some sort of good sense at the time, god knows what --  
4 what I was thinking of, but I orientated myself not to  
5 the pro-Russian people, not to the pro-Trotsky people,  
6 but to the Pro-China people.

7 Q. What was the attitude of the Maoists that you were  
8 circulating with in London in the late 60s and early 70s  
9 in London to the cultural revolution?

10 A. Well, it was within the broader ideology. So there's  
11 three key ideologies on the left. There was the CPGB,  
12 Communist Party of Great Britain, which was  
13 pro-Soviet Union. There was multiple Trotskyist  
14 organisations which -- we've referred to some: IMG,  
15 International Socialists and a few others. They were  
16 against the Soviet Union, against China, but  
17 pro-Trotsky. And then there was the pro-China people,  
18 of which there were different factions. So the biggest  
19 was probably the Communist Party of England -- no,  
20 Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist, which was  
21 led by a man called Reg Birch, who was a head of  
22 a trade union, a big trade union. Nick Bateson was part  
23 of that.

24 There was also a complete lunatic organisation  
25 called the Communist Party of England Marxist-Leninist.

1           They were complete lunatics.

2           So there were several groups. So I was within that  
3           general mish-mash. That was ideology. This is  
4           the ideology.

5       Q. I suppose what I'm driving at is this. We now know that  
6           a very large number of people lost their lives in China  
7           during the cultural revolution and the purges that were  
8           part of it. Was that known to Maoists? Did the Maoists  
9           in London at that time know that was going on?

10      A. No. The -- there was already, before that -- ten years  
11         before it there was what was called "the great leap  
12         forward" in the 1950s where millions of people died of  
13         starvation. But that was also covered up, just as  
14         the -- what happened in Stalin's Russia was covered up.  
15         So, the cultural revolution, the version that comes to  
16         the West is -- again, Trump is the perfect analogy.  
17         There's one version of Trump that you can see on  
18         Fox News and there's another version of Trump that you  
19         can see on CNN. They're two totally different versions  
20         of the same story. We have the same thing going on  
21         here.

22         So, there's the reality, which is the purges and all  
23         that was going on, and then there was the image of it,  
24         which was an ideology that we liked, that attracted many  
25         people.

1 Q. Could we have up, please {UCPI/8823}. Thank you. It's  
2 paragraph 3 that I'm interested in.

3 This is a report, Dr Temple, from a Marxist-Leninist  
4 study group. It's dated 15 May 1974. As far as we're  
5 aware, it's got nothing to do with the INLSF, but it  
6 does appear to be a Marxist-Leninist group. I want to  
7 read paragraph 3 to you. It says:

8 "[Privacy], during the course of his numerous  
9 interventions, stated that when the socialist revolution  
10 took place some two million people in this country would  
11 have to be liquidated, because they could never be  
12 converted to the cause of the revolution and would  
13 present a permanent threat to its continuance. He  
14 counted among these people such groups as senior police  
15 officers -- especially those in Special Branch, members  
16 of the Security Services, senior army officers, big  
17 businessmen and all leading members of  
18 the Conservative Party."

19 My question is, how common were such views amongst  
20 the Marxists you were mingling with in the late 60s and  
21 early 1970s?

22 A. Oh, absolutely not at all. I've never heard anybody  
23 come out with such a statement.

24 Now, I'm guessing here, but I told you, within  
25 the Maoist factions there were different factions, and

1           one group in particular was these totally crazy people  
2           called the Communist Party of England Marxist-Leninist.  
3           This sounds like, my guess is, them, or somebody very,  
4           very similar to them would have written.

5           Do you know who -- the origin, what organisation  
6           wrote this?

7           Q. All we know is it's a Marxist-Leninist study group.

8           A. Okay.

9           As I said several times, there are these different  
10          factions. So, the -- Reg Birch, Nick Bateson, they had  
11          a book store somewhere in the Camden Town area, and they  
12          were very normal sorts of people and you could talk to  
13          them very rationally, the Communist Party of Britain  
14          Marxist-Leninist.

15          The INLSF and Davoren, even in the craziest days,  
16          they would never have written anything like this.

17          The -- this is lunacy, and the only people with that  
18          level of lunacy, now, I would have known them, seen them  
19          around at the time I was in the INLSF, so 1971. Now,  
20          this is dated 1974 and this sounds very much like them.  
21          They -- they fully qualify as the lunatic fringe, and  
22          I wouldn't be all together surprised to hear that they  
23          would have written something like this.

24          Their paper -- my god, they would take -- their  
25          newspaper, they would take stuff straight out of

1 the Chinese media and then that was their entire paper,  
2 stuff they just copied verbatim from Chinese  
3 publications and then go around pubs in working class  
4 areas of London selling it. I remember one article, it  
5 was two pages on revolutionary ways of growing tomatoes.  
6 So they're walking around in pubs selling papers just  
7 full of this sort of stuff and expecting somebody  
8 sitting there having a drink in a pub to read a two-page  
9 article on revolutionary ways of grows tomatoes and then  
10 be totally won over to their thinking and then go up and  
11 say, "Yeah, I'm going to kill all the members of  
12 the police and the Conservative Party". You know, they  
13 were living in this cloud cuckoo land. That's an insult  
14 to cuckoos.

15 Q. Finally, Dr Temple --

16 A. Does that answer your question?

17 Q. It does, thank you.

18 Finally, a question which I'm sure the Chairman  
19 wants me to ask you. Could you tell us why you still  
20 consider yourself traumatised by your time with the  
21 INSLF?

22 A. I will be happy do so on condition you cut  
23 the connection going to the media and the general public  
24 and anybody else.

25 MR BARR: I'm sorry, I'm afraid we can't do that. So in

1           that case I shall have to call it a day.

2           Dr Temple, you have been extremely patient with me.  
3           I'm very grateful for your assistance. If you just stay  
4           there for a moment, the Chairman may want to say  
5           something to you, and we have to have a short break to  
6           give other people the opportunity to consult with their  
7           lawyers and to propose any questions.

8           A. Right.

9           THE CHAIRMAN: Dr Temple, I'm not going to press  
10          the question, but I do have to wait for ten minutes to  
11          let anybody else who may have any questions that they  
12          want Counsel to the Inquiry to ask to notify him.  
13          Would you mind coming back in ten minutes?

14          A. I'll just sit here and wait for your ten minutes.

15          And to repeat what I said a minute ago, if you or  
16          any of your colleagues, out of curiosity, are wondering  
17          about the long term impacts on me, I would be delighted  
18          to answer any personal question. It is personal  
19          information, which is why it would be within a narrow  
20          group of people.

21          THE CHAIRMAN: Forgive me, I had not realised that by asking  
22          the question that we were trespassing into personal  
23          matters.

24          A. Right.

25          THE CHAIRMAN: I have no wish at all to do so.

1 A. Okay.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: (inaudible).

3 A. Right.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Then we'll break for ten minutes.

5 A. Okay.

6 MR FERNANDES: Good evening, everyone. We will now take  
7 a break. May I remind once again those in the virtual  
8 hearing room to remember to join their break-out rooms.  
9 The time is now 6.55 pm, so we will resume at  
10 7.05 pm. Thank you.  
11 (6.54 pm)  
12 (A short break)  
13 (7.05 pm)

14 MR FERNANDES: Good evening, everyone and welcome back.  
15 I will now hand over to the Chairman to continue  
16 proceedings.  
17 Chairman.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr Barr?

19 MR BARR: Sir, thank you. There are no further questions  
20 for Dr Temple.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.  
22 Then, Dr Temple, thank you very much for assisting  
23 the Inquiry. I'm grateful to you for putting yourself  
24 out to do that. Your time with us is now ended.  
25 Thank you.

1 A. Thank you very much. I'm happy to help you.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

3 MR FERNANDES: Thank you, everyone.

4 The hearings have now finished for the day. We will  
5 resume at 10 am tomorrow.

6 (7.05 pm)

7 (The hearing adjourned until 10.00 am on Tuesday,  
8 27 April 2020)

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

INDEX

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

MS DIANE LANGFORD (called) .....4

    Questions by MS WILKINSON .....4

DR NORMAN TEMPLE (called) .....103

    Questions by MR BARR .....104