

# Cover sheet

Date signed: 11 October 2019

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IN THE MATTER OF THE PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO UNDERCOVER POLICING

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[redacted] I, [redacted] HN304 c/o Designated Lawyers, PO Box 73779, London, WC1A 9NL, WILL SAY AS FOLLOWS:

1. This witness statement is made in response to a Rule 9 request dated 23 August 2019 and concerns my deployment as an undercover officer ("UCO") within the Special Demonstration Squad ("SDS") from 1976-1979.
2. I have been shown the documents attached to the Rule 9 request but I have not otherwise refreshed my memory by looking at any other documents.
3. I am known in this Public Inquiry by my nominal number HN304. There is a restriction order preventing the publication of my real name.

**Personal details**

- [redacted] 4. My full name is [redacted] HN304 and I was born [redacted] in the late 1940s [redacted]

**Police career before and after serving with the SDS**

- [redacted] 5. I joined the MPS [redacted] in the early 1970s. I was originally posted to [redacted] a central London [redacted] Police Station as a uniformed officer. I joined Special Branch [redacted] in the mid 70s. [redacted]

[redacted] 8. [redacted] Details posting prior to joining the SDS, including roles in 'B', 'C' and 'E' squads [redacted]

- [REDACTED]
6. I have seen an appraisal written by DCS Derek Kneale dated 20 April 1979 (Doc 2, Tab 2, MPS-0726721-36), which refers to a dip in my level of work due to domestic circumstances towards the very end of my deployment with the SDS.
  7. The "domestic circumstances" refer to issues in my relationship with my wife at the time, which eventually led to separation after I left the SDS. The issues in our relationship were partly due to the irregular hours I worked whilst in the SDS, and the stress of working undercover. I found the undercover work more and more stressful as time went by, but I would have found it stressful whatever my other domestic circumstances had been.
  8. The dip in my level of work refers to the fact that I attended fewer meetings and produced fewer reports toward the end of my deployment. I am not known for being a depressive person, but the undercover work got me down and for one reason or another and I did less as a result.
  9. I did not do any undercover work or work using a cover identity prior to joining the SDS.

### **Selection for the SDS**

10. There was no formal selection process to join the SDS and I was not up against any other candidates as far as I am aware. But, prior to joining the SDS, I was approached by DI Creamer and asked if I would be willing to attend an activist meeting at a polytechnic in north central London on a weekend and report back about what was going on. I went along and provided a report. I cannot recall what the meeting was about now, but I do recall that it was fairly dull and there was lots of earnest talking. I did this without any knowledge of the SDS. I did not have a cover name or legend at that point, and probably just used my first name.
11. DI Creamer was clearly satisfied with my report as I received a phone call from him shortly afterwards instructing me to go to room 1818. I went and spoke to someone who asked me if I wanted to join the SDS. I cannot recall who that

[REDACTED]

person was now. It was a straightforward invitation. It was a specialist unit and very few people were asked to join as far as I was aware, so there was an element of pride at having been asked. I think I decided there and then; that is the kind of person I am. I had been accepted to join SB, which I knew did all kinds of secretive police work, so to be asked to join this very specialist squad was a natural progression.

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12. I have seen a memo that shows I was transferred to the SDS [REDACTED] in late [REDACTED] 1975 (Doc 3, Tab 6, MPS-0730665-1). This date seems to fit with my recollection.
  13. The SDS managers discussed the impact on my family life with me in general terms. They said that my family would have to accept that I would be working very irregular hours, that I may be home in the daytime or mornings but out until late at night. The MPS knew I was married as I had been in married quarters, so I assume the SDS managers knew I was married as well, although they did not speak with my wife before I commenced my deployment. I do not think the information I was given was deficient, but I did not fully appreciate the effect that undercover work would have on me and my family. There is no way to know if you are someone who will cope well with living undercover, and I now know that I am not someone who generally manages stress at all well.

#### **Training and guidance in the SDS**

14. I spent around the first five months in the SDS in the SDS office. There was no formal training, just loose and unwritten guidelines. We wanted to look as unlike a policeman as possible and behave as unlike a policeman as we possibly could. Everything was very informal and we were expected to take information in through the skin. I found that strange in many ways: maybe I was expected to ask a lot more questions but no one said that I should be more inquisitive. Each handwritten report from a UCO would be typed up by the administrative staff. Although I was not involved in typing them up myself, my time in the office involved reading reports, handling them, getting to know cover names of the UCOs, how the filing system worked and the secret stamping of documents.

- [REDACTED]
15. During that period, I was sometimes taken out to meet the UCOs at the SDS meetings. It was as much an opportunity for me to get to know them as for them to get to know me. I found out later that part of the reason for this was so the established UCOs could take a look at me and give their views. I recall that a special branch officer was brought to a meeting as a prospective UCO and we all said we were not sure [REDACTED] because of his distinguishing features [REDACTED] although they appointed him anyway. 11(i)
16. I have been asked whether I was aware of a "Tradecraft manual" containing guidance about how to behave whilst I was undercover. I was definitely not shown any manual as part of my training, and I do not even recall hearing of a manual.
17. I have been shown a Home Office circular titled "Informants who take part in crime" (Doc 4, Tab 4, MPS-0727104). I was not shown or made aware of this circular when I was a UCO. Neither can I recall being told any of the content. However, I did not think it was permitted to be involved in crime. I thought that if I got into a situation where I was expected to take part in criminal activity, I would have to get guidance from my managers. If there was not enough time to do that, I would have had to maintain cover and go along with it until I got advice. The situation most commonly discussed was if we got arrested whilst on a demonstration: as far as I recall, we were told just go along with it and the managers would sort it out afterwards. I cannot recall any other particular instructions if we got arrested, or anything about misleading a court or obtaining information subject to legal privilege.
18. I was given no particular instructions or guidance in relation to the extent to which we could get involved with activists' private lives or engage in sexual activity or relationships while undercover. If there was any advice then it was simply "be very careful" if you were going to get involved in people's private lives, especially if you are going to engage in a sexual relationship. I decided at the very beginning that I was not going to get involved in any criminal activity or intimate relationships while undercover.

[REDACTED]

19. I have been asked whether my training was refreshed, but there was no particular training to be refreshed. I did not receive any training on race equality or gender equality.

### Undercover identity

#### Cover name

20. My cover name was "Graham Coates". This has been disclosed to the public as part of the inquiry. I did not have a nickname.

21. My cover name is a deceased child's identity. I was told to go to Somerset House, to go through the records, and to find a deceased child

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22.

Details how HN304 selected his undercover identity

I was also advised that the person should not have died very old, although the exact age was left to the individual UCO, as a 16-year-old would have had much more history that could be checked than a 5-year-old.

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23.

I did not have any other cover background apart from the information on the birth certificate, such as where the child came from. I did not research anything about the child's wider family or education. My cover name was approved by my managers but I cannot recall the discussion.

24. I have been shown a document titled "Penetration of Extremists Groups" (Doc 5, Tab 3, MPS-0724119). I think I was shown this document when I was in the

[REDACTED]

office. However, I was never asked to write an autobiography as suggested, so although it seems a familiar document, I did not follow its instructions.

25. The only official identity document I had in my cover name was a driving licence.

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[REDACTED] It was just a small red driving licence, with no photograph like today's licences. I did not apply for a passport or a birth certificate in my cover name. I kept a rent book and I also think I may have joined a library and had a library card in my cover name, but I did not have any paperwork in relation to my cover employment, such as payslips.

### *Cover employment*

26. My cover employment was initially as a runner for a photographer. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

27. After a few months, I set up as a self-employed window cleaner on my own initiative. The job fitted the lackadaisical lifestyle I wanted as I could make my own hours. It was also easy to pull off as I did not need lots of equipment. Over time, I added that I was interested in activism due to a general dissatisfaction with right-wing politics. I did not really do any window cleaning and was never paid to do so. I handed out some leaflets and knocked on doors but the owners already had window cleaners.

### *Cover accommodation*

28. My cover address was a flat in Linthorpe Road in Stoke Newington, which I rented through a private landlord I located in a newspaper advertisement. The landlord was not aware of my role as a UCO. I then moved to an address off

[REDACTED]

Blackstock Road in Finsbury Park, which I found in an advert in a shop window. I arranged both of the addresses myself. The reason for the move was that I switched my focus from the socialist to the anarchist field. I had a rent book and the office gave everyone cash to pay their rent. I did not share either address with any other people. No UCOs ever came to my cover addresses and I didn't go to anyone else's cover address. Occasionally, activists came to my cover address. I never hosted any meetings or large social events, but I would have two or three people around for a coffee or a beer or simply a chat on a very informal basis. I did this deliberately to fill out my cover personality a bit. I recall thinking that there was then a risk they would pop round to my cover address when I was not in. To counteract that risk, I often went to my cover address after meetings or stayed there until late in the evening before going home.

[17]

29. I had a family address at the same time. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]. I slept there most nights and tried to spend as few nights as possible at my cover address.

*Legend building*

[18]

30. Before I joined the SDS, I had short hair, [REDACTED] and smoked cigarettes. The SDS were known as the "hairies" as they were mostly men with long hair and long beards. I was unable to grow a convincing beard or a moustache at the time, but I did change my appearance when on deployment. I grew my hair long and had a perm. I also wore thick, heavy-framed glasses and habitually smoked a pipe. [REDACTED]

[18A]

- [REDACTED] I felt I had to come up with something to change my appearance and I thought the glasses and pipe would stand out. I also developed the habit of always having a hole in the knee of my jeans. This was part of my general scruffiness.
31. I did not go to great lengths to prepare for being undercover but, on one occasion, I made a detour to where the deceased child had been born so I was familiar with the area. I did not have to make the detour and would not have made a special trip, but I was close by anyhow. I do not recall discussing this with my

[REDACTED]

managers, but I think they would have approved as it helped in case I was asked any questions about the area by an activist. The only part of the deceased child's identity that I actually used was the name, but I wanted to be prepared in case I was questioned by activists who had researched his background.

32. When I was deployed, I used to frequent local pubs and cafes before I engaged with activists. I meandered about to familiarise myself with the area, where the groups would meet, and where I could buy the Socialist Worker newspaper and get chatting to them. I also went to my cover job with the photographer as often as I felt necessary. It was a much more gradual introduction than when I had simply been asked to attend a meeting by DI Creamer.
33. I also obtained a vehicle: a blue Mini with registration KBR 565F. It was like a van with side windows, but it did not have any wood at the back like a Mini Countryman. I used it to carry stepladders, a roof rack, and various buckets to support my cover employment as a window cleaner.

## **Deployment**

### *Infiltration of groups*

34. I was initially tasked to infiltrate the Hackney branch of the International Socialists ("IS"). After around a year and with SDS management approval, I switched my focus to the anarchist movement in North London, including the Zero Collective ("ZC"), the Anarchy Collective ("AC"), and Persons Unknown ("PUNK"). I do not recall infiltrating the East London Libertarians ("ELL"), but I have seen a number of reports on the ELL in the bundle and I accept that I may have done.
35. There was a transition period of a couple of months when I attended both socialist and anarchist meetings. I think this was in early 1977 as this is when the IS became the SWP. I do not recall infiltrating the SWP at all, or attending any SWP meetings, so I do not think I continued to be significantly involved with the socialist movement after the group became the SWP. When I transitioned, I tapered the number of socialist meetings I attended, whilst increasing the number

[REDACTED]

of anarchist ones. I think this was only possible as it was unlikely that people from socialist groups would be at anarchist meetings and vice versa; it would have raised eyebrows to belong to both socialist and anarchist groups. I may have infiltrated the SWP for a short period during this transition, but this would have involved all the same activists as had been members of the IS.

36. At the very end of my deployment, I was tasked to transfer back from the anarchist movement to the socialists, and infiltrate the Croydon branch of the SWP.
37. The only group that would have regarded me as a member was the IS. The IS had formal membership and I would have paid a subscription, which I would have claimed back in my expenses. Group membership was far too hierarchical for the anarchists, for obvious reasons, but once I became known in those circles, I would be welcomed as an individual rather than as a representative of a group. Dave Morris was a key person in the anarchist movement in the East End. From my recollection, once you were trusted by Dave Morris then you could go to more or less any anarchist meeting.
38. I have considered the reports in the witness bundle. I do not specifically recall the content of any of these reports, however I accept that I must have provided information for a number of them given my deployment dates and the groups I infiltrated.
39. I have considered the earliest reports in the witness bundle:
  - a. The report dated 10 June 1976 (Doc 6, Tab 11, UCPI0000009764) refers to a meeting of the North East London Workers' Action Support Group on 1 June 1976. I do not recall this group, and I note it is the only report about this group in the bundle. However, I do recall the meeting venue, Centreprise Bookshop in Dalston, which was the centre of my universe when I was first undercover. This could be my report but I have no recollection of that meeting or the names of the people listed.



- b. The report dated 13 July 1976 (Doc 7, Tab 11, UCPI0000010659) refers to a meeting of the Hackney branch of the IS on 8 July 1976. Again, I recall the venue, Centreprise Bookshop, and I recall Privacy I think I probably provided the information for this report as this is the branch I was tasked to infiltrate.
40. I have considered the reports on socialist groups around the time of my transition to the anarchist movement in early 1977:
- a. The only reports relating to the SWP for which I may have provided the information are those whilst I was transitioning to the anarchist movement in early 1977. I do not think I provided the information for any of the SWP reports dated after May 1977, as this transition only lasted a few months.
- b. The last two SWP reports for which I may have provided the information would be the report dated 3 May 1977 (Doc 8, Tab 11, UCPI0000017337), which relates to a SWP meeting on 6 April 1977, and the report dated 11 May 1977 (Doc 9, Tab 11, UCPI0000017375), which simply encloses an SWP bulletin from February 1977.
- c. I do not recall attending any meetings of the Seven Sisters branch of the SWP, such as the meeting on 1 June 1977 recorded in the report dated 16 June 1977 (Doc 10, Tab 11, UCPI0000017463).
- d. I certainly would not have provided the information for the SWP reports as late as January and February 1978. However, I am not aware of any other UCO replacing me in the SWP when I transferred to infiltrate the anarchists.
41. I have considered the reports on the anarchist movement around the time of my transition from the socialist groups in early 1977:
- a. I do not think I provided the information for any of the reports on the anarchist movement prior to January 1977 as I think I would only have been reporting on the IS at this time. I am also aware that another UCO, HN300

[REDACTED] was infiltrating the anarchist movement before me and so may have provided the information for these reports.

- b. I have seen a report dated 18 October 1976 (Doc 11, Tab 11, UCPI0000021486), which refers to a member of the East London Anarchists ("ELA"). This is the first anarchist report in the bundle and the only one about the ELA. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I think I would only have been reporting on the IS at this time. Although I recall the person named in report, I do not recall anything about the ELA.
- c. I have seen the reports dated 21 October 1976 (Doc 12, Tab 11, UCPI0000021514) and 12 November 1976 (Doc 13, Tab 11, UCPI0000021586), which refer to the Anarchist Workers' Association ("AWA"). I do not think I provided the information for these reports as I think I would only have been reporting on the IS at this time, although I recall the person named in the report dated 12 November 1976.

42. I have considered the latest reports in the witness bundle:

- a. The report dated 3 April 1979 (Doc 14, Tab 11, UCPI0000021152) refers to a person, Privacy who is an organiser of the "recently formed" North London Anarchist Group. I am not sure that I provided the information in this report as I do not recall this group or this person.
- b. The report dated 19 April 1979 (Doc 15, Tab 11, UCPI0000021197) refers to an anarchist meeting on 19 March 1979. I am not sure I provided the information in this report as I do not recall the venue, the Metropolitan pub, and not many of the attendees' names are familiar.
- c. The report dated 27 April 1979 (Doc 16, Tab 11, UCPI0000021215) refers to a meeting of the People's Commission. I do not think I provided the information in this report as I do not recall this group, although I recall some of the people listed as attendees. Also, the meeting was held at Conway

[REDACTED]

Hall, and I am sure I would recall a meeting at that venue as it is not somewhere I went very frequently. It is a sizeable venue and much bigger than the usual venues for anarchist groupings, and I have no recollection of attending an anarchist meeting there.

- d. The report dated 14 May 1979 (Doc 17, Tab 11, UCPI0000010632) gives a summary of the previous five to six months of the Anarchy Collective. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I do not recall the activist, [Privacy] mentioned at paragraph 2, and I was unaware the Zero Collective had become defunct, as mentioned in paragraph 3 of this report. Neither do I recall providing information arising from my undercover work after I left the SDS. I am not aware of any UCO replacing me in the field.
43. I doubt that I provided the information for the following reports on socialist groups:
- a. The report dated 3 September 1976 (Doc 18, Tab 11, UCPI0000010868) refers to a meeting of the Trico Strike Committee. I do not recall this group and I note that it is the only report on this group in the bundle. I do not recall attending any meetings in Southall, although it is possible that I attended with [Privacy] from the IS.
- b. The report dated 18 October 1976 (Doc 19, Tab 11, UCPI0000021494) in relation to the Workers' League. I do not recall reporting on the Workers' League at all, and note this is the only report on that group in the bundle. I do not think I provided the information for this report.
- c. The report dated 3 November 1976 (Doc 20, Tab 11, UCPI0000021556) refers to a meeting of the Islington Committee of Community Relations. I do not recall this group and I only know some of the names of the attendees. I note this was a public meeting and so SB did not need a UCO to cover it and could have sent someone else.



- d. The report dated 18 January 1977 (Doc 21, Tab 11, UCPI0000017677) refers to the International Marxist Group ("IMG"). The name of the person mentioned in the report is familiar, but I do not recall providing information about the IMG. I note it is also the only report referring to the IMG in the bundle. (N.B. There are two reports with the same reference UCPI0000017677. The other is dated 20 January 1977 and refers to a meeting of the SWP.)
  - e. The report dated 19 April 1977 (Doc 22, Tab 11, UCPI0000017306) refers to a bulletin from the Libertarian Student Network ("LSN"). I only vaguely recall the LSN and so I doubt that I provided the information for this report.
  - f. The report dated 18 May 1977 (Doc 23, Tab 11, UCPI00000017382) refers to a meeting of the International Communist League ("ICL") on 6 May 1977. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I was involved in anarchist groups by then, and it is the only report on the ICL in the bundle. I think it is highly unlikely I would have attended a meeting of a different socialist group at a time when I was transitioning to infiltrate the anarchist movement.
  - g. The report dated 14 July 1977 (Doc 24, Tab 11, UCPI0000017564) refers to a demonstration of the Lewisham 21 Defence Campaign. I recall this group, but it is not something I ever got involved with. I do not think I provided the information for this report.
44. I also doubt that I provided the information for the following reports about the anarchist movement:
- a. The report dated 10 January 1978 (Doc 25, Tab 11, UCPI00000[24598]), which refers to the British Anti-Nuclear Group ("BANG"). Although the name of the group is familiar, I do not recall the names of the activists mentioned in the report and I did not move in those circles. I think another UCO was deployed in this area towards the end of my deployment, but I cannot recall who it was.

- [REDACTED]
- b. The report dated 2 May 1978 (Doc 26, Tab 11, UCPI0000021641), which refers to the Graffiti Collective ("GC"). I do not think I provided the information for this report as I do not recall the GC and it is the only report regarding the GC in the bundle.
45. I provided handwritten reports to the SDS managers and my reports were typed up in the office. I cannot recall whether I signed them with my real or cover name, if at all. I did not see the final reports, and so I cannot give a definitive explanation for why my cover name appears on some reports. The only explanations I can think of are that either my cover name was added by whoever typed up my report, or that my presence was recorded in another UCO's report. I was not aware of other UCOs being at the same meetings as me.
46. I note that some reports appear to have been submitted a number of weeks after the event they describe, such as the report dated 17 July 1976 (Doc 27, Tab 11, UCPI0000010789) about a meeting on 22 June 1976. From my recollection, I wrote up my reports as soon as practically possible, i.e. at the next SDS meeting. I would also sometimes make notes after a meeting at my cover address and then bring them to the SDS meeting to assist me when writing my report. I assume the report was typed up on the date given, and that the process of typing was the cause of the delay.
47. I recall that, towards the end of my deployment, I moved back to the socialist movement and was tasked to infiltrate the Croydon branch of the SWP. I have seen that DCS Kneale states in his appraisal dated 20 April 1979 that I have "moved to another area of work" (Doc 2, MPS-0726721-36). I think this refers to my move back to the SWP. I recall attending a few meetings in Croydon, but it would only have been a couple of months at most. I did not continue meeting any anarchists once I starting infiltrating the SWP again.
48. The only categories of reports that I think are missing are the set of reports on the Croydon branch of the SWP, for which I provided information at the end of my deployment in 1979, and any reports of demonstrations I attended whilst

[REDACTED]

infiltrating the socialist movement. Excluding the incorrectly attributed reports set out above, I think the number of reports is quite low and so I think there must be some other reports for which I provided information that are missing.

### *Tasking*

49. I was asked specifically to connect with the International Socialists in Hackney. I cannot recall exactly who asked me but it would probably have been the Detective Chief Inspector or the Detective Inspector in the SDS. Either one of those would have been told by a Chief Superintendent. I was aware that other UCOs were already infiltrating other branches of the IS, but there was no handover of information from or any liaison with them.
50. The SDS was generally there to gather information from left-wing organisations and feed it back into the system for the maintenance of good public order. It had come out of the Grosvenor Square riots: the police did not want to be caught on the hop again. I was never given the task to disrupt, just to gather information.
51. Gathering information was certainly the primary reason for the SDS, and no scrap of information was ever rejected as irrelevant; it was all squirreled away however seemingly unrelated it was to public order, e.g. if someone noticed that a person was particularly close with another person. Any piece of information was fair game because it might become relevant later.
52. I was told I would be in the SDS for 4 years. I was tasked to infiltrate groups and pass back information including who was attending the meetings, useful or identifying information I could provide about them, the plans for the group, and how many people from my group would attend a demonstration. If it was a small demonstration then this was easy to do, but if it was a regional or national demonstration then all those individual UCOs would be looking to find out within their region how many of their contacts would be going and asked to give a likely number. This was often done orally at the weekly SDS meetings about any upcoming weekend demonstrations.

- [REDACTED]
53. I would report back all information I came across as far as I was able. I would not necessarily go out of my way to find out information but, for example, I would try to report everything from a meeting as it came. I do not think I was alone in thinking a large number of the topics discussed were deadly dull, especially the administrative matters, but if I had not reported such matters then I would not have given a true picture of what the group was like, such as how well-organised and how united it was.
54. I was not given access to any information from other sources about intended targets of my undercover work except when I was shown photographs taken by SB photographers. These photographers would operate from hidden observation points and take photographs of activists during demonstrations. I would then be shown the photographs at an SDS meeting and asked to identify the person in the photograph. This was the only other intelligence I was ever shown.
55. The only time my tasking changed was when I transitioned from the socialists to the anarchists in early 1977, and then back to the Croydon branch of the SWP right at the end of my deployment in 1979. The type of information I was tasked to provide was the same, regardless of the particular group I was infiltrating.
56. I suppose I had quite a lot of influence over my tasking in my deployment as I prompted the transition from infiltrating the IS to the anarchist movement. My primary motivation was that I found infiltrating the IS very dull, and I was more interested in finding out about the anarchists. I think I just spoke to my SDS managers at a routine weekly SDS meeting. They did not take much persuading as the IS was already being targeted by other officers in other areas of London, and they were happy to receive information on anarchist groups, about which they knew next to nothing. The anarchist side was much less reported on, and yet there was a considerable degree of anarchist activity in the East End. I also knew that another UCO, [REDACTED] HN300 [REDACTED] who had been infiltrating the anarchists was due to come out of the field. My deployment overlapped with his for a while, although he did not especially help me to integrate into any anarchist groupings. I think I was also drawn to the anarchists as I felt their unstructured and disorganised lifestyle might match my own lifestyle at that time.

- [REDACTED]
57. I felt that the SDS managers would have had to have had sound reasons to refuse my request to transfer to the anarchists. I recognised at the time that job satisfaction was paramount to the managers. They desperately did not want people unhappy and misplaced and so were, generally speaking, prepared to listen and accede to requests if they fitted with the general SDS scheme. This attitude of freedom encompassed the whole of UCO life to the point that it sometimes seemed the managers did not want to instruct the UCOs at all. I do not think managers were weak, but it seemed as though they were deliberately blind in some areas, such as sexual activity by UCOs while undercover.
58. I cannot recall being given any specific taskings beyond being told which groups to infiltrate. The IS was a fairly self-contained group but activists on the anarchist side were so loosely connected that the boundaries of my tasking were not as clear. In the anarchist movement, the groupings were so nebulous that I had to use my own initiative about who to approach and what to do. I had to set myself milestones to make connections and also to relieve the monotony of undercover work. I challenged myself to integrate into the anarchist movement, and then into the Anarchy Collective ("AC") by meeting [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy. Also, on one or two occasions, I met Albert Meltzer, who was the grandfather of the anarchist movement in the East End. He had flown the anarchist flag for decades and published an anarchist magazine called "Black Flag". He did not come to any meetings of the AC, but I remember going with Dave Morris specifically to meet him in Whitechapel. I suppose you might call it a little vanity project, but it was very important for me to set myself little targets like this as I found the day-to-day life undercover very monotonous.

*Premises and meetings with other SDS UCOs*

59. At any one time, there were two safe houses called "West" and "South". The "West" house was in <sup>21</sup>[REDACTED] West London, but I cannot recall where the "South" one was. I think the "South" house changed during my deployment as I recall requests to come and decorate it. The SDS managers and administrative staff also used the

[REDACTED]

main 'S' squad office at the top of the tall tower block at Scotland Yard, but the UCOs never went there after they had been deployed.

60. Normally there were two SDS meetings per week that would take place at one or other of the safe houses. I cannot recall exactly on which days, but they were during the day during the working week. This was primarily to submit our SB diaries and expense claims, as well as to hand in any reports. The diaries were the same blue books as every SB officer used; our entries were very formulaic and did not go into too much detail as this was included in our reports.
61. The usual format for an SDS meeting was that, first, all the UCOs would write up their diary and reports, as this enabled us to complete our expenses claims. Then there was an informal discussion with all the UCOs and the SDS managers. There was no particular agenda for these discussions, and we spoke fairly freely with one another about our deployment. We would exchange information about up and coming events and find out whether UCOs were able to attend. The general attitude towards all the left-wing groups was that they had poor organisational skills, so the UCOs would often share anecdotes mocking the plans of various groups.
62. We could always ask to have one-to-one discussions with a manager if we wanted to do so. The manager might speak individually with you then, or arrange another occasion to meet. The meetings were very laid back and were usually followed by a lunch or a trip to the pub.

*Pattern of life whilst undercover*

63. I recall one camp of UCOs who argued strongly that you were always on duty as a UCO. I agreed with that to an extent because I found it so difficult to switch off. When you are living undercover for a significant part of your life, it seemed that you were undercover the whole time. Even though you may go home at midnight or 1.00am, I felt that I was still really on duty in my head, turning over the day's events in my mind.

- [REDACTED]
64. In the morning, I would call into the office and book on-duty at some time in the mid-morning. I would then go out at around lunchtime, possibly to my cover address, possibly to my cover employment, to an SDS meeting if there was one, or generally to be in the area I was supposed to be operating in the afternoon. In the evening, I would go to an activist meeting or meet with other activists in the pub. I would then often go back to my cover address, and then go home late. I cannot recall the exact hours that I worked but I believe that I did not claim nearly as much overtime as some other officers.
65. We were able to book leave if we wanted to go away. I would sometimes tell the activists that I was going away but often said nothing because, if I told them a lie then they might say "can you pop in on so-and-so while you are there", and I would be exposed or have to change my plans. Generally speaking, the activists in the groups I infiltrated did not keep close tabs on you. So long as I turned up to regular meetings and the larger demonstrations then it was not difficult to disappear for a weekend.
66. My SDS deployment was completely different to my other SB work. All of my other SB work was from 10.00am to 6.00pm in an office. Although you could go out and make enquiries, you were basically office-based and expected to be there at the beginning and end of each shift. I also had to man the telephones overnight at the weekend once every few weeks. I always had to be smartly dressed in my other SB work: I recall the first time anyone came in wearing a pink shirt and it caused outrage because it was not white or blue.

#### *Pay and overtime*

67. I received increased pay when I was in the SDS as compared to my other SB work due to the overtime. As far as I recall, my 8-hour shifts would begin whenever I booked on-duty with the office, and I was paid overtime for anything beyond 8 hours per day. As most days I was out until late, this resulted in a significant increase in my income. I cannot recall any other factors that affected my take home pay whilst I was in the SDS.

## Reporting on the IS and SWP branches

68. When I was deployed, I initially spent a lot of time in Dalston at community venues and at the weekly market. Eventually, I struck up conversations with the activists selling left-wing newspapers. I would meet them for a drink at the pub or at their places and we would talk generally about what was going wrong with the world. I waited for an invitation rather than pushing for one. First I was invited to sell newspapers with them, and also joined them on the picket line, before I was invited to a meeting.
69. The Hackney branch of the IS was a very small group that was fairly recently formed at the time I was deployed. The IS were fanatics for meetings. There were private meetings by invitation only that seldom had more than seven or eight people at them. They were usually held in the Centreprise bookshop on Kingsland Road, Dalston. This was a bookshop promoting alternative ideologies and principles; it was New Age and political. A variety of groups used to meet there and it was a hub for left-thinking organisations.
70. I thought it would appear too eager to start attending all of the IS meetings straight away, but I would turn up at as many as I felt was right. The meetings were generally in the evenings after people had come home from work. They would have been run by a chairperson of that local branch. I had a reasonable relationship with many of the members and I never felt that I was regarded with particular suspicion.
71. There were also public meetings, which took place when there was some overarching left-wing concern across many groups. I would sometimes attend these public meetings, although SB could also send other officers who were not undercover.
72. I primarily infiltrated the Hackney branch of IS, although I also recall attending the Finsbury Park branch. I was not specifically tasked to attend the Finsbury Park branch, but I was probably invited to their meetings. I cannot recall who

[REDACTED]

invited me but I recall there were members who attended more than one branch of the IS. I do not recall regularly reporting on any other branches of the IS.

73. I do not recall attending meetings of either the Islington or Tottenham branches. Although I may have attended meetings of the Islington branch on occasions, such as recorded in the report dated 4 January 1977 (Doc 28, Tab 11, UCPI0000017643). That report refers to a public meeting hosted by the Islington branch, which was supported by the Finsbury Park branch. I do not think I regularly attended meetings of the Islington branch and I do not think I attended any meetings of the Tottenham branch. I cannot recall how many UCOs were infiltrating the IS at this time, but I imagine there was another UCO infiltrating the Islington and Tottenham branches. I cannot recall who that may have been.
- a. I have seen the reports dated 7 October 1976 (Doc 29, Tab 11, UCPI0000021468) and dated 11 January 1977 (Doc 30, Tab 11, UCPI0000017653), which provide information about members of the Tottenham and Islington branches of the IS, respectively. I do not recall these people, but I think that I could have obtained this information without attending a meeting of either branch, and so these reports could still be based on information I provided.
  - b. I have seen a report dated 3 November 1976 (Doc 31, Tab 11, UCPI0000021548), which refers to a member of the Haringey branch of the IS. I do not recall this person, but I think that I could have obtained this information without attending a meeting, and so this report could still be based on information I provided. I do not recall going to any meetings of the Haringey branch of the IS.
74. I have seen the report dated 24 August 1976 (Doc 32, Tab 11, UCPI0000010831), purportedly by Vince Miller, which refers to a person with my cover name giving a talk on the history of the Labour Party. I do not recall giving this talk, but I accept that it must have been me as I do not recall any other people with the same name. I do not think that I would have volunteered to give this talk but I think that, as a newish member of the IS, I might have been asked to do so

[REDACTED]

as way of them finding out how serious I was as a socialist. I think giving a talk like this would have been permitted by the SDS managers. I would not have needed to clear it with my managers beforehand, although it might have been discussed afterwards. I do not think the SDS management would have raised eyebrows about the subject matter of the talk, although it surprises me because my knowledge of the Labour Party was shaky at that time. If I gave this talk, I think it must have included a large element of saying what I thought they wanted to hear, and I think making a reasonable showing would have cemented my position in the group.

75. I cannot recall Vince Miller. I assume it is the cover name of another SDS officer.

I knew the other UCOs' cover names [REDACTED]

21a

[REDACTED] I do not recall coming into contact with Vince Miller, and I am not aware of him attending other IS meetings as well as me. We were not part of a co-ordinated dual deployment.

76. I do not recall giving any talks to the IS. The only talk I recall giving was at an AC meeting in Highbury around half-way through my deployment. The AC were looking for articles for their newspaper "Anarchy". I said I would write an article about "work" and gave an impromptu talk about true work and exploitative work. I then wrote an article in greater depth on same subject. I recall volunteering for this as I felt that eventually I would be asked to write or say something anyway. I thought that, if I could do so on my own terms by giving an acceptable talk on a topic of my choosing, I could avoid having to do so later on a topic I knew nothing about.

77. I have seen the report dated 30 September 1976 (Doc 33, Tab 11, UCPI0000021409), which refers to premises jointly owned by members of the Hackney branch of the IS. I think I may have provided the information for this report as I recall two of the names mentioned, [Privacy] and [Privacy] [Privacy] but I do not recall the content of the report. If I provided the information for this report, I think the purpose might have been to show how collaborative the IS could be in terms of taking a joint mortgage. Supplying the additional detail that the repayments were "crippling" is a way of showing that the

[REDACTED]

activists were on such low incomes that they were unable to service the mortgage between the four of them.

78. I have seen the report dated 4 October 1976 (Doc 34, Tab 11, UCPI0000021431), which refers to the secretary of the Hackney branch of the IS and his wife. I may have provided the information for this report as I was deployed to that group at this time, however I cannot read the name of the person mentioned to decide if I recall it. I am surprised to be asked about the purpose of providing this information. It was standard for all SB reports to submit as much information as you could, whether UCO or otherwise. It was simply the standard way of putting a report together and how we were trained to do it. This report fits the format of a standard SB report. We were encouraged to report in this way because no man is an island. In this instance, it was likely that his wife was sympathetic to his views and suggests she might, eventually, become an activist too. If she had previously come to the notice of SB, her reference would either be mentioned in SB records or she would have had her own file and that reference would have been quoted. The person typing up this report would have added that file reference. The comment that she "cannot be identified as having previously come to our notice" would have been added by the office and indicates that they could not positively identify a file in her name.
79. I have seen the report dated 5 November 1976 (Doc 35, Tab 11, UCPI0000021558), which refers to a named schoolboy in the Socialist Worker Youth Movement. I note that the date in the rule 9 request is given as 8 November 1976 in error. I may have provided the information for this report as I was deployed to that group at this time. No consideration was given to reporting on children and I received no advice on this subject from the SDS managers. I do not think anyone would have thought it strange to report on an adolescent at the time, although I suppose it might be thought more sensitive these days. Nowadays there are myriad more considerations that did not exist then towards privacy, data protection, young people and sexual orientation that were simply not considered at the time I was deployed in the SDS.

[REDACTED]

22A

about HN304 22

80. I have been asked above various reports which refer to the personal affairs of activists: HN304 22

- a. The report dated 21 January 1977 (Doc 36, Tab 11, UCPI0000017682) refers to relationships between activists. I may have provided the information for this report as I recall the names of the activists mentioned.
  - b. The report dated 29 June 1977 (Doc 37, Tab 11, UCPI0000017523) also refers to relationships between activists. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I would have transferred to the anarchist movement by this time, although I vaguely recall the names of the activists.
  - c. The report dated 13 July 1977 (Doc 38, Tab 11, UCPI0000017563) refers to an activist who "visits other female companions" as well as his girlfriend. Again, I do not think I provided the information for this report as I would have transferred to the anarchist movement by this time, and I do not recall the people mentioned in the report.
81. The purpose of providing information on the personal affairs of activists was that, by joining the dots between people SB achieved a fuller picture of activist activity. This pattern of contacts could also establish links between known activists and others who may not previously have been known. In terms of reporting more generally, I do not think any UCO or SB reporting officer primarily thought about grading the usefulness of information. It was also almost inevitable that our reporting would end up at Box 500. Our job was only to report. I appreciate there is a dangerous suction effect of any information-gleaning organisation: nobody wants to cast any information aside because you do not know where it is going to lead and it might be useful in the fullness of time.
82. I have seen the report dated 22 April 1977 (Doc 39, Tab 11, UCPI0000017323), which refers to the sexual orientation of an activist. I note that the reference in the rule 9 request is given as UCPI0000017327 in error. I may have provided the information for this report as I recall the name of the activist mentioned. I received no specific instruction or encouragement to report that individuals were

[REDACTED]

homosexual. However, it was normal SB practice to report any information that could be obtained. If it later turned out that a person's sexuality was crucial to an investigation or establishing a link with another person, and it had not been reported, serious questions would have been asked. The appropriateness of such reporting was never discussed.

83. I have seen the report dated 16 June 1977 (Doc 40, Tab 11, UCPI0000017465), which gives details of the "Women's Voice Group" organiser of the SWP. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I would have transferred to the anarchist movement by this time. I do not recall the name of the person mentioned in this report. However, as above, the purpose of reporting information such as a person's address, employment and car details was usual SB practice. This information would be useful to identify that person through their vehicle, or to establish potential links between them and others in the area where they lived or at their employment.

84. I have seen the reports dated 30 January 1978 (Doc 41, Tab 11, UCPI0000011706; Doc 42, Tab 11, UCPI0000011680), which give activists' bank account details. I do not think I provided the information for these reports as I would have transferred to the anarchist movement by this time. In addition, this information would only easily have been available to a UCO appointed to a financial position within a branch, such as treasurer. I never had such a position in the IS. I am aware that SB could also obtain people's bank account details but I was never involved in that as a UCO. As an SB squad enquiry officer, there were some occasions where I had to speak to a senior officer who took the details of the person concerned, made an enquiry with the bank, and relayed the information back. Therefore, the information may not have been provided by a UCO at all. If the information was provided by a UCO, the purpose was once again to provide as much information as possible about a person as it was not clear what may become useful in the future. For example, it may be important to know whether a person had access to funds that would allow them to financially support a group or purchase materials necessary for items to be used in criminal activity, such as explosive devices.

[REDACTED]

85. I have seen the report dated 30 August 1977 (Doc 43, Tab 11, UCPI0000011244), which encloses a photograph of an activist. I do not think I provided the information for this report as I would have transferred to the anarchist movement by this time. In addition, I do not recall the person mentioned in the report, and I do not recall submitting any photographs with my reports. I had no easy means of taking a photograph as I never owned or used a camera as part of my undercover work. In those days, taking a good photograph required knowing the correct settings for the camera, but I did not have this knowledge. It would also mean being able to develop the film, but it would have been unhelpful as a UCO to be set apart as the bloke who has his camera and develops his own pictures. There were plenty of professional quality photographers within SB who would take photographs of activists covertly and show them to the UCOs at SDS meetings for identification.

86. I have addressed the issues of subversion, public order and criminality within the IS below.

### **Reporting on anarchist and related groups**

87. As set out above, I transitioned to infiltrate the anarchist movement in early 1977 after I had exhausted what I could report back about the IS. I first became involved with the Zero Collective ("ZC") in the Docklands area. I do not recall how I first heard about ZC or first engaged with them. ZC rented a tumble-down old Victorian premises in Back Church Street, which I think may have previously been a Jewish tailor's. The floorboards were rotten and the windows were broken, so I pitched in and helped them renovate it. It was used for meetings, although this would usually be only three or four of us. Their numbers could have swelled to 10 or 12 on a good day, but the group really were not a threat to anyone. However, the SB hierarchy were always interested to hear about these little groupings even though they must have known they were harmless from [REDACTED]

23

**HN300** I suppose they could not ignore them given the bombings carried out by the Angry Brigade, and they did not want to be caught out again.

[REDACTED]

24

HN304

88. Eventually, I made contact with a new grouping called the Anarchy Collective ("AC"). I almost certainly made contact either through a bookshop or their magazine called "Anarchy". [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy were the leaders of the group, and had been involved with the Angry Brigade. I do not recall exactly how involved they had been with the Angry Brigade, and I am not sure I knew at the time. I made it my task to get involved with them. I mentioned it to those above and they agreed. The AC could have posed a public order threat merely because they had been tenuously connected with the Angry Brigade. Even though the leading lights of the Angry Brigade were now in prison or abroad, [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy would have said that the Angry Brigade still existed. I remember seeing [REDACTED] Privacy and others wearing a badge that read "We are the Angry Brigade". It was like the T-shirts people wear nowadays saying "This is what a feminist looks like". The badge was worn to show people that they were angry and they identified with the Angry Brigade. [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy maintained contact with a prominent member of the Angry Brigade, Stuart Christie, who was up in the Orkneys. I never met him, but I heard about him through them.

89. The AC met at [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy home in [REDACTED] Privacy in Highbury. They had weekly meetings of only around 3 to 5 people. I deliberately did not attend meetings too regularly as I did not want them to expect that I would always turn up. It probably also had the concomitant result that I was perhaps never regarded as fully committed. The meetings were all a bit theoretical: they seemed to just love talking about things, critiquing and discussing them. [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy were quite academic. Their main focus was to publish their magazine. The magazine was published monthly and printed in A4. They would take articles from anyone willing to write for them, and it contained reports of interest to anarchists from abroad and articles about work. I was an occasional contributor to the magazine and wrote around 5 or 6 articles. [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy covered the cost of publication. I think the magazine had a relatively small readership as it was only of interest to anarchists and so was only sold in bookshops rather than on the streets.



90. I would also frequently see the anarchists outside meetings. I would meet them in the pub, at their address, at a bookshop, or occasionally at my cover address, usually in a small group. This was often instigated by them, and I could not always say "no" as it would not fit with my cover. I gingerly encouraged friendships with people, but I always had the background concern that, if I was going to form a friendship with an activist, I would have to open up to a certain extent. This bred a feeling of extreme vulnerability as I often had to make up bits of cover history on the spot. I would occasionally travel outside London with activists, although I cannot recall where we went.

91. There are various reports on other anarchist groupings in the witness bundle. The anarchists were quite paranoid about not wanting to be seen to have a formal group structure as they were, after all, anarchists. They were flexible with their names: names did not matter to them as they knew each and that was enough. Apart from the ZC and the AC, the only other grouping that I recall being peripherally involved with is Persons Unknown ("PUNK"), as I think I went to some of their meetings. I do not recall reporting on the ELL, but accept I may have done. I do not think I provided information for the reports on the BANG or the GC, for the reasons set out above.

92. Whilst I do not particularly recall the following anarchist groupings, I think I may also have provided the information for the following reports in which they are mentioned:

- a. In relation to the two reports which refer to the Federation of London Anarchist Groups ("FLAG"), dated 4 January 1977 (Doc 44, Tab 11, UCPI0000017639; Doc 45, Tab 11, UCPI0000017641), I vaguely recall the venue, The Tabernacle, and most of names in these reports, namely Dave Morris, Privacy and Privacy. I also think I was probably already trying to infiltrate the anarchist movement by this time.
- b. The four reports which refer to the Freedom Collective ("FC"), dated 17 January 1977 (Doc 46, Tab 11, UCPI0000017661), 25 November 1977 (Doc 47, Tab 11, UCPI0000011576), 21 February 1979 (Doc 48, Tab 11,

[REDACTED]

UCPI0000013164), and 30 March 1979 (Doc 49, Tab 11, UCPI0000013269). I recall this group and the people named in these reports, although only the November 1977 report refers to an FC meeting.

- c. The report which refers to the London Workers' Group ("LWG"), dated 8 November 1978 (Doc 50, Tab 11, UCPI000012947). I recall this group and the person named in this report.
93. I have seen the report dated 8 February 1977 (Doc 51, Tab 11, UCPI0000017723), which refers to an ELL meeting enclosing a copy of their newsletter. I recall it being ever so easy to get hold of copies of newsletters. They were lying around and always available at meetings, so I would always pick one up and submit it with my report. The purpose of submitting a newsletter is that it sets down in writing what the activists had in their minds. Their views are a clue to their future actions; it was them thinking aloud. I would submit as much information as possible in the hope the SB hierarchy would join the dots together.
94. I have seen the reports dated 24 February 1977 (Doc 52, Tab 11, UCPI0000017761; Doc 53, Tab 11, UCPI0000017762), which refer to the ELL. The description in paragraph 3 of the first report (Doc 52) is an excellent description of the anarchist movement in a nutshell. It was really quite a chaotic scene. The purpose of the information in this report is to describe the chaotic setup of this organisation and many other similar anarchist groupings. There is also a photograph enclosed with the second report (Doc 53). I imagine the SDS managers would have brought this photograph out to an SDS meeting and asked the report-writer to identify the person shown, so that person could be more easily identified at future events affecting public order.
95. I have seen the report dated 24 February 1977 (Doc 54, Tab 11, UCPI0000017760), which refers to the formation of the ZC. The purpose of reporting the formation of a new group was obvious: it could attract mass membership or present a serious threat to public order. SB would want to track the progress of the group and see if the group increased in size or posed a particular threat. The mention that the group had "not previously come to the

[REDACTED]

notice of Special Branch" would have been added by the office and simply indicates that they could not locate a reference for the ZC.

96. I have seen the reports dated 20 September 1977 (Doc 55, Tab 11, UCPI0000010971), and 22 September 1977 (Doc 56, Tab 11, UCPI0000010988), which refer to [REDACTED] Privacy's young children. I accept that I probably provided the information for these reports as they refer to the AC.

The purpose of reporting the existence of these children is that it enables [REDACTED] 24a [REDACTED] SB to anticipate [REDACTED] Privacy's movements. She may have scaled down her activities or taken an interest in educational groupings due to her having young children. For example, she was unlikely to be leaving the children at night to go on long vigils. The information gives a broad picture and allows SB to consider what they could expect from a young mother. The report dated 22 September 1977 (Doc 56) is a good example of how the existence of children affects the actions of parents as it states that she or her partner intends to become a school governor as their elder daughter had just started school. The appropriateness of reporting on children was not discussed, however I note that, in this report, only the names of those children are reported.

97. I have seen the report dated 26 September 1977 (Doc 57, Tab 11, UCPI0000010996), which refers to a member of the AC. I do not recall the names of the people mentioned in this report, but I accept that I probably provided the information as I was deployed to infiltrate the anarchist movement at this time. As set out above, the purpose of referring to the sexual orientation of an activist is to help establish a link with another person. In this case, the people mentioned were both homosexuals and living together, and so there was reason to think there was a strong connection between them. The relevance of reporting an activist's nationality is that the anarchist groupings were always alert to spreading their gospel overseas and so were keen on welcoming people from abroad into the organisations for enlarging their network of contacts. The appropriateness of reporting such personal information was never discussed.

98. I have seen the report dated 14 October 1977 (Doc 58, Tab 11, UCPI0000011086), which refers to [REDACTED] Privacy having a "mongol child". I recall



Privacy I knew of Privacy although never met him. I do not recall knowing that Privacy had a child, but I accept that I probably provided the information for this report as I was deployed to the anarchist movement at the time. I have explained the relevance of reporting on children above. The fact the child had Down's Syndrome would have been included simply because it was information about a known activist. The appropriateness of reporting such personal information was never discussed. I appreciate that the term "mongol" is now considered offensive, but this was not the case at the time.

99. I have seen the report dated 7 November 1977 (Doc 59, Tab 11, UCPI0000011525), which refers to the "exact parenthood" of the children mentioned being "unknown" and the "squalid conditions" in which they lived. The purpose of this information is to paint a picture, and painting a picture of the squalid conditions tells SB something about individuals described.
100. I have seen the report from an unknown date in June 1978 (Doc 60, Tab 11, UCPI0000021776), which provides a physical description of an activist. The purpose of a detailed description was to assist with identification. The report refers to the activist having a "large Jewish nose". The appropriateness of reporting information in this way was never discussed.
101. I have seen the report dated 7 July 1978 (Doc 61, Tab 11, UCPI0000011265), which encloses a photograph of an activist. This photograph has all the hallmarks of one taken by SB photographers from a covert location: it has been cropped, and there are no other people in the photograph apart from the individual. That is how they were taken. As explained above, I would not have taken or come by that photograph. It would have been provided to a UCO for identification at an SDS meeting. I cannot recall being shown this particular photograph, but I think it may have been as this report refers to an anarchist at the time I was infiltrating the anarchist movement.
102. I have addressed the issues of subversion, public order and criminality within the anarchist movement below.

## **Reporting on individuals**

103. I have seen a number of reports in the bundle which refer to individuals joining or leaving groups, and giving personal details about them. I would routinely report information of this nature. The purpose was to establish links between activists that would assist with the primary function of the SDS to counter public order issues.

## **Alternative methods**

104. I do not think there were alternative methods available to SB to obtain intelligence of a similar kind without using the undercover tactic. SB used to send officers to public meetings and this was known to the activists, who knew they were likely to find someone looking incongruous and possibly taking notes at the back of their meeting. But officers could not have got into a private meeting without being undercover. SB could have sent a SB officer to the public meetings and bought all the newsletters every month, but would still not have received the colour of how an individual or a group were thinking, what their plans might have been, or direct reportage on those individuals themselves.

105. In particular, SB could not have got any information from the anarchist movement except through a UCO, as the anarchists did not hold public meetings, they were very cagey, and an individual just would not know where to go.

## **Trade unions**

106. I did not join a trade union or become involved in their affairs whilst serving in the SDS. Trade unions may have been discussed more in the IS than in the anarchist movement and, at most, I may have reported on a trade union discussion in the course of reporting on a meeting.

## **Public order**

### *International Socialists*

[REDACTED]

107. I witnessed public disorder whilst at demonstrations at Grunwicks film-processing factory in North London with the IS. The IS were protesting against unfair management practices: I think female Asian workers were being unfairly treated by the firm. It turned into a long-running public order challenge for police, including marches and demonstrations outside the factory. Activists attended from across the far-left spectrum of groups, and I attended some of those events when I was infiltrating the IS. I would have written reports on these demonstrations, but I have not seen any in the bundle.

108. I recall that there was lots of yelling and shouting at the Grunwicks demonstrations. I have a mental image of a sea of people, pushing and jostling. This also escalated into violence on occasions. I recall seeing scuffles between activists and police officers, although I cannot remember the details. I never witnessed any violence close-hand, but heard afterwards from other activists that people had been hit by the police. I think there were many arrests at Grunwicks for public order offences, such as obstructing the highway, offensive or abusive words or behaviour, and possibly resisting arrest. I was vocal and jostled with the rest of them but was never arrested.

109. The Grunwicks demonstrations were the only significant public order disturbance I witnessed. I was involved in smaller demonstrations in East London but they did not result in any significant disorder, although I think they might have done if they had not been properly policed.

### *Anarchists*

110. I did not witness any public disorder whilst infiltrating the anarchists. The anarchists I reported on posed a minimal challenge to public order. They did not do much in the way of public demonstrations. Their numbers were small so, even if everyone in greater London who was prepared to call themselves a Libertarian or an anarchist had joined a demonstration, I doubt there would have been more than around 100 people. The anarchists did not even really discuss activities that would be a public order threat. Their threat was only based on anarchist history

[REDACTED]

(e.g. the Angry Brigade). They would say "we need to take public action", but they were never specific about what this would involve and would never have got enough people to make it effective.

### **Violence**

111. The only violence I witnessed was at the Grunwicks demonstrations, as set out above. I never witnessed any damage to property. I was never involved in any violence during my SDS deployment.

### **Subversion**

112. I did not think SB had a role countering subversive activity. SB had a role in gathering information on subversive activity and disseminating it to the relevant authorities, such as the uniformed officers or the Security Service, but I did not think SB was responsible for countering that subversive activity.

113. I do not think either the IS or the anarchist movement was subversive in terms of their actions and their capacity to achieve tangible results. The IS thought themselves to be subversive and wanted to be subversive. Their beliefs were subversive to the extent that they wanted to subvert the existing political system. But I cannot recall their activities ever causing anything to take place that seriously threatened the survival of the existing system. They would distribute flyers, attend meetings and demonstrations, but did not actually succeed in being subversive.

114. The anarchists would also like to have thought themselves subversive. Their views were subversive to a conservative government, but they were not actively subversive. None of the anarchist groupings I reported on were significant in terms of numbers or even in terms of threat. The whole thing was riding on the tailcoats of the Angry Brigade in terms of what the MPS, the government and SB feared they were able to do. The grouping that had most potential was the AC because of its link to the Angry Brigade, and even they did not become subversive in their actions or what they achieved.



115. I knew that the vast majority of SDS reporting was passed on to the Security Service. This made sense as it is the premier organisation for collating and maintaining indices of material against the state. But I was never contacted by the Security Service for any update or request based on the reports I had provided. Once or twice I was told by my SDS managers to find out more about something I had reported, but I cannot recall the details. I did not have any direct contact with the Security Service.

### **Sexual relationships**

116. I did not engage in any sexual activity whilst undercover with the SDS. I was never involved in intimate relationships or casual sex whilst I was in the SDS.

### **Other relationships**

117. The closest relationship I had with an activist during my deployment was with Dave Morris, a member of the AC. He was a postman and was quite well-known for a short period. He had been around the anarchist scene for a long time and was trusted and well-connected in those circles. We got on very well and I remember him because it was fairly easy to get on with him. He was everywhere on the scene so he was not hard to find; he was very eager and proselytising. Of course, this was before the McLibel case and I never met Helen Steel or Bob Lambert. I made a deliberate choice to get close to someone who was central to the anarchist movement, and it was also easy to do as he was around a lot. However, I would mainly see him at meetings and occasionally in the pub. I do not think we were so close that he would have confided any piece of information with me that he might have considered at all delicate.

118. My next closest relationship was also in the anarchist field, with Privacy Privacy and Privacy. We had a friendly relationship, but I would not say we were close. I would visit their house and spend time with them in a small group of just 4 or 5 of us. It was never just me and them. We would inevitably discuss

[REDACTED]

their magazine, "Anarchy". I do not think I ever met Privacy children, and I do not recall attending any other social events with them.

119. I do not recall being close to anyone in the IS. I rarely saw IS members outside of meetings, except if I had agreed to go to Ridley Road market to sell the Socialist Worker or outside a factory or workplace at one of the minor industrial disputes in the area. I almost never met with them socially except briefly after a meeting.

### **Criminal justice**

120. I did not participate or encourage any other person to participate in any criminal activity whilst undercover with the SDS. I was never arrested, charged, tried or convicted of a criminal offence whilst undercover, nor did I appear in criminal proceedings in my undercover identity.

121. As far as I am aware, the fact I was an UCO was never disclosed in connection with any arrest or court proceedings, nor was my reporting ever disclosed in any criminal investigation or prosecution.

122. I never provided evidence in support of any prosecution arising from my SDS deployment.

### **Other legal or disciplinary proceedings**

123. I was not involved in any other legal or disciplinary proceedings in my undercover identity.

### **Legal professional privilege**

124. I never became aware of any legally privileged information whilst I was deployed as an UCO.

[REDACTED]

## Elected politicians

125. I had no involvement in or awareness of targeting of elected politicians.

[25A] [REDACTED] reporting HN304 [25]  
The use to which your reported was put

HN304 [26]

126. As far as I was aware, my reporting was filed by SB and passed to the Security Service where necessary. I thought the most common use of my reporting was the week-by-week policing of the Metropolis in maintaining law and order on the streets.

127. I have no idea what contribution my reporting made to policing. I do not believe any information I provided whilst I was deployed was particularly significant. I do not think it would have made any difference to public order if I had not worked for the SDS. I was very cautious and I think my intelligence would have been of limited benefit.

## Exfiltration

128. The end of my deployment was all very sudden. I was not happy and not performing well. I had difficulties at home and I was finding living undercover very stressful. I was out of London but I cannot recall the reason. I was stopped by [27] police [REDACTED] and foolishly told the officer my real name by mistake. To this day, I still do not know why. The officer was very suspicious because my driving licence was in my cover name. [REDACTED]

[27A] [REDACTED]

129. Although the officer let me go, the news of the incident clearly got back to DI Ferguson and I was hauled in before him the next day to explain what had happened. He was very angry and terminated my posting. I think his fury was mainly that I had compromised the SDS to another police force. I have not told anyone about this before, and did not mention this to the Risk Assessors, as I was embarrassed to admit my mistake.

- [REDACTED]
130. This incident was the reason my deployment ended. I do not think DCS Kneale was referring to this incident in my appraisal dated 20 April 1979 (Doc 2, MPS-0726721-36) when he states that I had not maintained my previously high standard, as he also says I should remain in squad for a further year. This means the incident must have been after 20 April 1979.
131. I did not have an exit strategy in place. I simply never saw the activists again. Given that the anarchist movement was very chaotic, it was common for people to drift away and I am not aware of any repercussions.
132. I was told that my deployment would be 4 years. I was told that this was the perfect length because it would take 12 months to become properly efficient, but if the deployment was more than 4 years than I would either burn out or become so stressed that I would be ineffective. I have seen that the document titled "Penetration of Extremist Groups" (Doc 5, MPS-0724119) refers to deployments lasting 12 months. I was not aware of this rule.

### **Managers and administrative staff**

133. The managers I recall from the SDS during my deployment are Derek Kneale, Les Willingale, Angus McIntosh, Ken Pryde, Mike Ferguson, and Geoff Craft. The only administrative staff member I can recall was [REDACTED]<sup>28</sup> who was a Detective Sergeant. These were people with whom we had regular contact. My chain of command did change over time. Mike Ferguson was a DI during the latter part of my deployment and withdrew me from the field. Les Willingale and Geoff Craft were both around in the middle period of my deployment, but I cannot put them into any meaningful sequence.
134. I do not recall there being any other managers in the SDS who were not in my chain of command. I have seen the structure in the document titled "Penetration of Extremist Groups" (Doc 5, MPS-0724119), but the SDS did not follow a structure with multiple Detective Inspectors whilst I was deployed.

[REDACTED]

135. Overall, I think that the SDS management did a good job. They made clear we could always contact them for advice or help. I know other officers had serious issues with maintaining their cover, with which the managers helped them. I am aware of at least one other UCO, Rick Clark, whose identity was compromised and for whom there were extreme safety concerns. I think it was whilst I was still in the office before going out, but the SDS vehicle record from 1976 (Doc 62, Tab 5, MPS-0739669) states that Rick Clark was withdrawn from the field in November 1976, so it cannot have been fully resolved until I was also in the field. As far as I recall, Rick was instructed to attend an activist meeting for a showdown where they confronted him with documentary evidence from various public sources to show he could not be who he said he was. The SDS managers had put a plan in place to withdraw him from the field and provide him with protection as he was leaving. I do not know the details of the arrangements they made.

**Management and supervision: general arrangements**

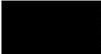
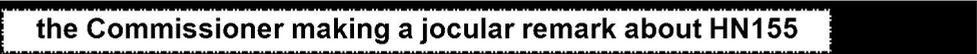
136. I had routine contact with the DCI and DI. This was mainly Les Willingale and Geoff Craft during my deployment. The SDS meetings were the main way of maintaining contact, as well as calling into the office each morning. You could have a one-to-one meeting by prior arrangement whenever you wanted, although I never requested one outside of the regular SDS meetings. The managers would contact me if there was anything they needed to discuss. I reported back to them via my handwritten reports submitted at SDS meetings. They never critiqued an individual officer's reports; they were all received with thanks. At most, the managers might request that I pay more attention to a particular activist, for example, based on one of my reports.

137. The managers did not expect to know where you were at all times. I was not expected to tell my managers if I was going to an activist's house, for example. However, as a matter of common courtesy I would have told my managers if I was going outside Greater London for a protracted period. If it was just a short period, then I would not have needed to notify them in advance. The managers would find out afterwards in my report anyhow.



138. My managers would have said that the regular SDS meetings served to monitor my welfare. There were no other arrangements for doing so. I think that, by and large, they were effective in monitoring our welfare, and they realised when there was something wrong in my personal life.
139. There was nothing during my deployment that caused me to be concerned about being compromised in my undercover role, except the incident immediately prior to my withdrawal.

### Senior management and oversight bodies

140. I recall that, on one occasion, a commissioner, Robert Mark, came to a safe house for an SDS meeting. I think there was a lunch arranged, as we sometimes had one in the safe house that we prepared and cooked ourselves. He wanted to meet the UCOs and I think he addressed the group on how deeply appreciative he was of our work and how he understood how stressful it was. I particularly <sup>29</sup> recall  the Commissioner making a jocular remark about HN155  because his overtime claims were seen as high by the senior officers.

141. I think that, occasionally, a SB commander visited the SDS, and I am almost certain that a Superintendent or Chief Superintendent would also visit us, although I cannot recall any particular instances. I cannot recall anyone from an outside body or with oversight responsibility visiting the SDS during my deployment.

142. I did not receive a commendation for my undercover work.

### Deployment of contemporaries

143. I recall the following being members of the SDS at some point:  <sup>30</sup> HN13, HN21, HN80, HN96, HN126, HN155, HN200, HN296, Rick Clark, HN300, HN303, HN342, HN356 . Based

[REDACTED]

31 on the SDS vehicle record from 1976 (Doc 62, MPS-0739669), I note that [REDACTED]  
32 HN298 [REDACTED] HN301, and 33 HN354 [REDACTED] must also have been members of the  
SDS.

144. I recall the following UCOs being deployed at the same time as me: [REDACTED]

34 [REDACTED] HN13, HN80, HN155, HN296, Rick Clark, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] HN300, HN356 [REDACTED] Based on the SDS vehicle  
35 record from 1976 (Doc 62, MPS-0739669), I note that [REDACTED] HN200 [REDACTED]  
36 HN303 and 37 HN354 [REDACTED] must also have also been deployed at the same  
time as me.

145. As far as I recall, none of my contemporary officers committed or encouraged others to commit a criminal offence, were charged, tried or convicted of any criminal offence, were involved in any public disorder, violence or other criminal activity, were privy to any legally privileged information, or tasked to report on the activities of elected politicians.

146. I am aware that some UCOs did engage in sexual activity or relationships while undercover, although this was not commonplace or routine and was nothing to do with their official duties. I had no first-hand knowledge of or involvement in such matters, but jokey remarks were occasionally made in SDS meetings which I took at face value and believed to be based on truth. I assumed that the women said to have been involved were activists, but cannot say whether this was the case or not. My supervising officers would have been aware of these remarks because they were present at the meetings when they were made. I cannot recall how often such matters were discussed or any specifics, but I have a vague recollection of the following:

- a. I recall one occasion where Rick Clark had his leg pulled during a group discussion at one of the weekly meetings about a sexual encounter. I note that the SDS vehicle record from 1976 (Doc 62, MPS-0739669) states that Rick was withdrawn from the field in November 1976, so my memory must be from the early part of my deployment. I think the other UCOs and the SDS managers were present, but I cannot recall any specifics. I cannot

[REDACTED]

recall who was involved in the joking or what was said. Rick was easy to get on with and had a good sense of humour and he also had a reputation for being something of a "ladies' man". I did not know the details of anything he had done to gain this reputation, but I believed it was based in truth. I cannot recall anything about Rick's deployment or seeing him in the field and I do not know if the joking was about a one-off encounter or a long-term relationship. The gist of the joking was that Rick had done something which reflected his general reputation.

b. I vaguely recall a later occasion when similar joking took place in an SDS meeting about a different UCO (not Rick Clark, but I cannot remember who) having had some kind of sexual encounter while undercover. Again, I think the other UCOs and SDS managers were present, but I cannot recall who was involved in the joking, or any of the particular jokes made. My recollection is that this was not just playful teasing or joshing and the suggestion was that something had actually happened, but I cannot be sure. The overlap and intermingling between the various activist groups meant that different UCOs would sometimes come across the same individuals who would sometimes be discussed at group meetings. These discussions could spill over into more informal banter and comments and this could have been the context for the joking, e.g. about a particular woman.

c. I recall that <sup>38</sup> [REDACTED] HN300 had a reputation as someone who was always chasing after women. It was widely known that he was a philanderer and had been married multiple times. For instance, he would freely comment that he was kept poor through having to pay alimony to his ex-wives. Although I cannot recall any particular instances relating to <sup>39</sup> [REDACTED] HN300 while he was with the SDS, his name would almost certainly be mentioned as a gauge in connection with joking about relationships with women.

147. I was never told explicitly not to have a sexual relationship with an activist and I did not speak to the SDS managers about the appropriateness of UCOs engaging in sexual activity while undercover. I do not recall anyone challenging

[REDACTED]

the behaviour of UCOs when jokes were made about sexual activity or relationships in SDS meetings. As far as I was aware, these jokes never prompted a question about where to draw the line or resulted in disciplinary action. No one encouraged UCOs to engage in sexual activity while undercover, but the managers appeared to turn a blind eye to the bits of banter and innuendo I heard. I do not know what they thought about such matters, what they knew of the details or how much of it was even true. I think they probably assumed that each UCO was capable of managing any situation they got themselves into. However, they must have known it was almost bound to happen with certain individuals who had a predilection for chasing women (before, during and after their time with the SDS). Indeed, single men were generally not admitted to the SDS and I understood this was partly about avoiding relationships. For example, I was asked if I was married or in a stable relationship in a way which made it clear it was almost a pre-requisite for joining the SDS. That said, I was not aware of anyone else, other than Rick Clark and <sup>40</sup> [REDACTED] HN300 with the same reputations for womanising.

148. I do not know whether any sexual activity or relationship contributed to Rick's cover being compromised, or whether either Rick or <sup>41</sup> [REDACTED] HN300 were withdrawn from the field due to such matters. As far as I was aware, <sup>42</sup> [REDACTED] HN300 was only withdrawn as his 4-year deployment had come to an end.

149. My personal view was that life as a UCO was difficult and stressful enough without the unnecessary complication of sexual or romantic entanglements. In hindsight, I think there should have been much stricter guidance in terms of the potential damage of such relationships to individuals and families, and that intimate relationships by UCOs should have been discouraged.

150. I do not know what my contemporaries achieved for the benefit of policing. If the SDS had never existed, I do not think disaster would have befallen the streets of the capital apart from maybe on a very small number of occasions when there were very large demonstrations. But I think the work of the SDS helped to make sure police resources were not being wasted on small demonstrations, and that larger demonstrations were properly policed.



151. I am not aware of anything my contemporaries achieved to assist the Security Service beyond their reports being sent to the Security Service. I cannot comment on what the Security Service did with this information.

## Post deployment

### *Period immediately post deployment*

152. There was no period of rest after my deployment. I cannot recall being debriefed by anyone about my SDS deployment after my meeting with DI Ferguson. I was never offered any advice or ongoing support by the MPS following my withdrawal.

### *Post SDS police career*

43

153.

Details post-SDS career

154. Working in the SDS had significant short- and long-term effects on my welfare:

- a. In the initial months after my deployment, I was very twitchy when I was out and about in public, even though I had cut my hair and was no longer wearing my thick-rimmed glasses. I was out in central London on one occasion when I recognised someone, and just took a detour down a side street to avoid them.
- b. I chose to retire from the MPS partly due to the long-term after effects of my deployment, although it was also due to a general ongoing dissatisfaction with being in the police, the way of life in the MPS, and living in London.

- [REDACTED]
- c. My deployment had a huge impact on my family. My eventual divorce came about as a result of stresses and strains of my SDS deployment. It was not the sole reason, but the nature of the job with <sup>44</sup> [REDACTED] young kids meant there was always a background of disruption in our marriage. I would not be a part of the SDS again for this reason. Without proper oversight, it is potentially too destructive of UCOs and their families, and it requires UCOs to become involved to an extent which will always leave them affected in some way or another.
- d. It was very stressful to maintain a fictional life over a long period. When you are stressed, it affects how you make decisions, and I do not cope well under pressure. That aspect of undercover work was not adequately highlighted at the beginning of my posting. There should have been much more emphasis on the stresses and strains of long-term deployment on potential UCOs before they entered the field.

155. I was not offered any welfare services by the MPS. This was presumably because I had not made it clear enough that I felt in need of some special support. I have not spoken to anyone since about the impact of my deployment on my mental health. I feel I have now worked through it, although some kind of welfare support may well have been helpful in the past.

#### *Leaving the police*

<sup>45</sup>  
156. [REDACTED] My rank was Detective Constable when I left the MPS. I left on good terms with the MPS and my senior officers generally.  
[REDACTED]

#### **Undercover work in the private sector**

157. I was never given instructions or guidance about working undercover in the private sector and I never did any undercover work in the private sector.

**Any other matters**

158. There is no further relevant evidence that I am able to give.

**Request for documents**

159. I do not have any documents that are potentially of relevance to the Inquiry's terms of reference. I have not referred to any other documents which were not included with the Rule 9 request.

**Diversity information**

160. I am a white British male.

I believe the content of this statement to be true.

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Signed:

HN304

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Date

11th October 2019