

Monday, 10 May 2021

(10.00 am)

MR FERNANDES: Good morning, everyone, and welcome to Day 13 of hearings in Tranche 1 Phase 2 at 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. As at the beginning of every live evidential session, a recording is going to be played, made earlier. There will be a difference today: the visual image of the only witness to be called, "Madeleine", is not going to be shown in the hearing room, but all the rest applies.

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

1 made a number of orders which affect what you may and
2 may not do in the hearing rooms and after you leave
3 them. Breach of any of the orders is a serious matter
4 and may have serious consequences for you.

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

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

22 In particular, you may transmit your account of what
23 you have seen and heard in a hearing room to any other
24 person, but only once at least ten minutes have elapsed
25 since the event which you are describing took place.

1 This restriction has a purpose. In the course of
2 the Inquiry I have made orders prohibiting the public
3 disclosure of information, for example about
4 the identity of a person, for a variety of reasons.
5 These orders must be upheld. It is inevitable that,
6 whether by accident or design, information which I have
7 ordered should not be publicly disclosed will sometimes
8 be disclosed in a hearing. If and when that happens,
9 I will immediately suspend the hearing and make an order
10 prohibiting further disclosure of the information
11 outside the hearing rooms.

12 The consequence will be that no further disclosure
13 of that information may be made by mobile telephone or
14 other portable electronic device from within the hearing
15 room, or by any means outside it.

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

25 If you have any doubt about the terms of this

1 message or what you may or may not do, you should not
2 hesitate to ask one of them and, with my help if
3 necessary, they will provide you with the answer.

4 "Madeleine"

5 THE CHAIRMAN: "Madeleine", can you hear me? "Madeleine",
6 can you hear me? It may be that the mute button is on.
7 It's a mistake that we have all made.

8 A. I know, I know. It's different from my computer at
9 home.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, very well.

11 Do you wish to swear or to affirm?

12 A. To affirm, please.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Then may the words of affirmation be read to
14 you, please.

15 (Witness affirmed)

16 Thank you.

17 I think we may have a small technical hitch because
18 I cannot see "Madeleine", although the arrangements were
19 made for me to see her. I wonder whether that can be
20 put right.

21 A. Can you see me now?

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, I can see you know. Splendid. That's
23 marvellous. These technical hitches are bound to occur.
24 I'm sorry, they always occur at the most inconvenient
25 moments, but we'll do our best.

1 We're planning to have a break at about 11.15, but
2 if you need a break before then, all you need to do is
3 to say so and we'll have one immediately?

4 A. Thank you.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Ms Hummerstone is going to ask you questions
6 on behalf of the Inquiry.

7 A. Thank you.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Ms Hummerstone.

9 Questions by Ms Hummerstone

10 MS HUMMERSTONE: Thank you, Sir.

11 You will be known to this Inquiry as "Madeleine"
12 throughout, but you provided a witness statement dated
13 18 February 2001. Have you been able to review that
14 witness statement recently?

15 A. I have. I'd just like to say, I had -- it was prepared
16 in an incredibly short period of time, and reviewing it
17 now, there are changes that I would have made to it.
18 But, you know, the time was very pressing.

19 Q. I was going to ask you whether you can confirm that it's
20 true to the best of your knowledge and belief. Can you
21 still do that, albeit you want to make some changes to
22 it?

23 A. Oh, no, it's still true, it's just that I think I would
24 have expanded on -- on some -- some things.

25 Q. So there would be additions that you would make?

- 1 A. Yeah, but it is true, yes.
- 2 Q. I'm grateful. Well, perhaps you can have an opportunity
3 to expand on the points that you want to make during
4 the course of your oral evidence today.
- 5 In your witness statement you set out your family
6 history and how it influenced your growing political
7 awareness and informed your later political activism; is
8 that right?
- 9 A. It is right, yes.
- 10 Q. You became politically active in your teens; is that
11 right?
- 12 A. It is right.
- 13 Q. Initially with the Young Communist League and then
14 the International Socialists, later
15 Socialist Workers Party, when you were in your early
16 20s; is that correct?
- 17 A. That's right. Well, I joined IS when I was about 15,
18 I think, and was active for a number of years. I think
19 there was a kind of a short break when I was studying,
20 and, yeah, kind of rejoined IS, which then became SWP,
21 round about 1970 ... I can't remember.
- 22 Q. I think it was 1977. Does that sound about right?
- 23 A. Earlier than that. Maybe about '74. But it's -- yeah.
- 24 Q. You -- also, in your witness statement, you set out
25 the context in which you became politically active both

1 within the SWP and a trade unionist. You refer to
2 the rise of the far right and the increase in racist
3 attacks that you became aware of; is that right?

4 A. That's right, yeah. It was very pressing at the time.

5 Q. In 1973, you became a member of the Walthamstow branch
6 of what became the SWP and then, after the branch split,
7 the Leyton branch; is that right?

8 A. That's right, yes.

9 Q. This of course was the branch reported on by
10 the undercover officer that you knew as "Vince Miller"
11 throughout his deployment, which is from sort of early
12 1977 to the autumn of 1979.

13 I want to start, please, if I may, just asking you
14 some very general questions about the SWP?

15 A. Okay.

16 Q. The SWP was a revolutionary Socialist Party; is that
17 right?

18 A. That's right, yeah.

19 Q. Seeking to create, as you say in your witness statement,
20 a society -- a fair and just society -- this was its
21 aim: a fair and just society through revolutionary
22 rather than parliamentary means; is that correct?

23 A. Well, I think I'd have to take issue with that slightly.
24 I think we -- we saw Parliament as a kind of a useful
25 forum, and as a way of, you know, being able to kind of

1 focus people's attention to various things, say, in
2 election campaigns. However, we basically believed that
3 extra-parliamentary activity was essential because,
4 you know, it's -- we wanted to kind of increase
5 democracy, we felt that people should be active and
6 participate at all levels, not just, you know, voting
7 once every five years and then having -- I think we just
8 have to look now at how accountable lots of politicians
9 are and how self-serving they are. So our belief was
10 in, you know, broadening participation in democracy.

11 Q. And thorough both democratic means and revolutionary
12 means, you mean?

13 A. Well, I don't think a revolution was imminent in 1973.
14 Not in this country.

15 We did believe that, you know, (inaudible) needed to
16 be disbanded. But, you know, we saw it as a system that
17 was -- you know, it had inherent contradictions which,
18 you know, with two classes, you know, in constant kind
19 of conflict and battle, if you like. And we basically
20 felt that, you know, that system had to change. And,
21 you know, we kind of thought that it would change
22 through the acts of, you know, the working class,
23 through industrial activity, through trade union
24 activity; and change would occur in that way.

25 Q. And is that how -- so, how did you seek to bring about

1 that objective, that overthrow of the capitalist system?

2 A. Well, I don't think that the SWP or the left ever felt
3 that it would be in a position where it could overthrow
4 anything. I think we -- we sought to basically extend
5 the class struggle, you know, to talk, to educate, to
6 kind of draw out the contradictions, to be active in our
7 trade unions, to campaign on issues which we felt,
8 you know, kind of impacted, you know, greatly on
9 the working class in particular; and, you know, raise
10 awareness like that, and build a mass movement.

11 You know, we were not a terrorist group, we were not
12 a violent group. We basically, you know, saw -- we
13 wanted to build a movement, a mass movement, which we
14 wouldn't necessarily have anything -- if it came to
15 revolution, I'm sure that we didn't feel that we would
16 be leading it.

17 Q. And how did you seek to build the movement? What means
18 did you use in the SWP?

19 A. Well, we were all active in our trade unions not because
20 we were infiltrating them, which, you know, I've seen
21 that kind of being referred to many times, but just
22 because, you know, we believed that change only came
23 from below. So it was, you know, as people, as workers,
24 it was in our interests to -- to be members of unions,
25 so that we could help to -- you know, help to kind of

1 improve conditions, help to increase pay, you know, take
2 action over, you know, safety at work, you know, those
3 types of things. And we had lots of public meetings,
4 always open to the public, sold papers, went on
5 demonstrations and just, you know, perfectly legal and
6 legitimate methods.

7 Q. What was the SWP's attitude towards violence to further
8 their aims?

9 A. We did not -- you know, we did not support violence in
10 any way, shape or form. You know, we -- it was -- in
11 fact, there were a group that were expelled from the SWP
12 -- I think it was Red Action who were expelled because
13 of their, you know, violent confrontations, and they
14 were expelled. You know, we didn't -- we saw it as
15 totally counter-productive and alienating, and,
16 you know, we -- we sought to build a mass movement,
17 you know, of -- I think most people would quite rightly
18 be absolutely horrified, you know, at violence, as -- as
19 I am myself.

20 Q. "Madeleine", I'm being told by the shorthand writers
21 that your voice is quite quiet. I don't know whether
22 that requires an adjustment to the volumes or whether
23 sitting close to the screen would help or closer to
24 the microphone? I'm awfully sorry.

25 A. I'll come a bit closer. I'll try and speak louder.

1 I do have a quiet voice, so ...

2 Q. Thank you very much. Thank you. If you forget, I'll
3 try and remind you, okay?

4 A. Okay, yes.

5 Q. Thank you.

6 Your branch, the Walthamstow branch, we see from
7 the documents it was a relatively large branch. I think
8 in September 1977 it had 43 members before it then split
9 into the Leyton and Walthamstow branches in late 1977.
10 During the course of the split, did that roughly halve
11 the numbers, so there was sort of 20 plus in each
12 branch; or how did it work?

13 A. I think, I think, yeah, that's probably a kind of a
14 fairly equal -- equal split. I think that what we did
15 is, you know, because geographically maybe more people
16 lived in Walthamstow than lived in Leytonstone or
17 Leyton, there were probably -- there was probably
18 a crossover of people from Walthamstow still attending
19 our meetings, at least for a period of time.

20 Q. Right.

21 And was it relatively static membership, or did
22 people drop in and come and go?

23 A. There -- there was probably a kind of -- you know, kind
24 of a central group who would, you know, be in IS and
25 then the SWP for quite a number of years, and there were

- 1 other people that kind of came and left. But, yeah,
2 there was probably a fairly stable group.
- 3 Q. Branch meetings, those were weekly, were they, largely?
- 4 A. Yes. Yeah.
- 5 Q. We also see from the documents there is mention of
6 the aggregate meetings of the Outer East London District
7 Branch. Were there -- additionally to the weekly
8 meetings, were there also the aggregate meetings that
9 were attended by branch members?
- 10 A. There were. I think we were in the outer London
11 district, and I think it was composed of Walthamstow and
12 Leyton branch, and I think Ilford and Newham. And,
13 yeah, I mean, obviously they didn't happen every week,
14 they were less frequent, but we did get together, yeah.
- 15 Q. Do you know how frequent those meetings were?
- 16 A. I can't actually remember, but I think it was probably
17 maybe every two months, maybe every month, two months,
18 every three months.
- 19 Q. Okay, so not all that frequent, in fact?
- 20 A. No, unless something big was going on, and then,
21 you know, they might be convened more frequently.
- 22 Q. Other branch activity. You engaged in -- all members of
23 the branch, it seems from the documents, were involved
24 with the selling of the newspaper; is that right?
- 25 A. That's right, yeah. It was a main focus of our activity

1 as a way of getting out and talking to people, you know,
2 in the street and on pickets, etc.

3 Q. And how frequently do you think you would do that in
4 the course of any general week?

5 A. Oh, every week.

6 Q. Every week.

7 A. It was a core -- it was a core part of our activity.

8 Q. And would that be once a week, twice a week, or just
9 whenever you had the opportunity?

10 A. Well, we had -- both Walthamstow and Leytonstone both
11 had -- I could call them "pitches". So we had
12 a regular, you know, selling spot in Leytonstone. And
13 we always had the permission of, you know, the kind of,
14 say, the shop owner or the building. You know, because
15 in Leytonstone, we actually met in -- outside
16 the LEB showrooms, and we asked permission and we had
17 a regular pitch there every single Saturday.

18 Walthamstow was the same, there at the top of the
19 market every single Saturday. But during the week, we
20 did also go to workplaces. So we might stand outside
21 factories, and we might have a regular sale outside
22 factories, especially, say, if there was a -- you know,
23 action kind of going on. And we also then sold papers
24 on estates. So we would sometimes go knocking door to
25 door trying to sell our paper on estates.

1 So it could be once a week, you know, the two
2 permanent sales.

3 Q. Yes.

4 A. But the other -- other sales, yeah, probably two or
5 three times a week, actually.

6 Q. Two or three times a week.

7 A. Yeah.

8 Q. Okay, thank you.

9 How about demonstrations? How often did you attend
10 demonstrations as part of your role, do you think?

11 A. During the 70s, there were lots of demonstrations.
12 Sometimes every weekend.

13 Q. Right.

14 A. Possibly, you know, depending upon, you know, how
15 important or how big the issue was, or how current
16 the issue was, everybody would attend.

17 Q. And we see from your witness statement and some of
18 the documents, flyposting was another activity carried
19 out by the branch. How often do you think that would
20 take place?

21 A. Well, we would do flypostings if we had a public
22 meeting. We probably had a big public meeting with a --
23 a kind of -- you know, a fairly well known speaker,
24 you know, or a very, you know, somebody like Paul Foot,
25 for example. And we would then fly-post and give out

1 leaflets and stuff, to basically build the audience for
2 the meeting.

3 Q. And roughly how often were the public meetings, do you
4 know?

5 A. I think we tried to have a public meeting about once
6 a month.

7 Q. Once a month, right.

8 A. But -- but, you know, we had to pay for halls and stuff
9 like that, so expense was incurred.

10 Q. I'm trying to gauge the level of commitment that was
11 involved in being a member of the Walthamstow SWP.
12 Would it be fair to say it was -- it took up really
13 quite a lot of your --

14 A. Oh yes --

15 Q. -- spare time?

16 A. -- absolutely, yes. I mean we were -- we were pretty
17 dedicated. And we were -- you know, our lives revolved
18 pretty much around politics. And we socialised together
19 as well, so our lives were very enmeshed.

20 Q. Was that the whole of your branch felt like that, so
21 sort of all -- or was that -- was it a very hard --
22 close-knit group of people, who all felt a similar way?
23 Or was it a sort of group in the centre who were very,
24 very committed, with other people sort of coming and
25 going around the edges?

1 A. Well, I think the people in the centre, I suppose, were
2 very committed, but it was always our aim when new
3 people came to get them involved in activity as well.
4 You know, we were -- our main focus was on being active,
5 you know, because, you know, we had a message to spread,
6 we had a world to build.

7 Q. And in the Walthamstow branch, the Leyton branch, were
8 the other members of the branch roughly -- broadly at
9 the same sort of age and stage of life as you were, or
10 was it a mixture of different people?

11 A. On the whole, it was a fairly young group. Some of
12 the people who had been around for longer, there were
13 quite a few kind of married couples who were possibly
14 five or six years older than us.

15 Q. Right.

16 A. But on the whole, it was young. Although we did have,
17 you know, a few, you know, kind of older people, and one
18 or two people that were in their 50s, say. But mostly
19 it was people in their early 20s.

20 Q. Right.

21 You've said that you also socialised together. You
22 say in your witness statement that after your weekly
23 meetings I think you had the meetings in a room above
24 a pub, is that right, and then you'd go down to
25 the bar --

- 1 A. Yeah.
- 2 Q. -- afterwards as a group; is that right?
- 3 A. Yeah, yeah, mostly as a group, yeah. I mean, some
4 people might have to go home early because they had to
5 get up for work, but, yeah, it was -- we were -- we were
6 very social. There were lots of -- lots of socialising,
7 not just after meetings, but we had parties and socials
8 and, you know, met up a lot.
- 9 Q. And you also say in your witness statement that
10 sometimes, particularly at a weekend, people might come
11 back to your house that you shared with other --
- 12 A. That's right.
- 13 Q. -- others --
- 14 A. -- yeah.
- 15 Q. -- having a drink once the pub had closed; is that
16 right?
- 17 A. That's right, yeah. My house was -- I lived in a -- it
18 was a big house, it was a big flat-share, and we had,
19 you know, four bedrooms, we had a huge living room, we
20 had a shared kitchen. And we were also very close to
21 two incredibly popular pubs in Leytonstone, which were
22 crowded with people at the weekend particularly; not
23 just people from the SWP but people from -- you know,
24 all sorts of people. And -- so we did socialise widely,
25 and my house did host meetings on occasions, and we did

- 1 have parties and socials.
- 2 Q. And your housemates, were they SWP activists also?
- 3 A. Yeah, during the 70s, I think maybe one wasn't, but
- 4 yeah, mostly we were all in the SWP.
- 5 Q. And "Vince Miller", "HN354", as we also call him, has
- 6 described your house-share as "a drop-in centre for SWP
- 7 activity". What's your -- does that sound broadly
- 8 accurate? What is your reaction to that description?
- 9 A. Well, it makes it sound as if, you know, we had
- 10 a printing press or something like that. It was -- as
- 11 I say, we were social. You know, people would pop
- 12 round. We would -- you know, we might meet there if we
- 13 were kind of going off to do something. But, yeah,
- 14 I mean, we were young social adults. We enjoyed --
- 15 you know, enjoyed partying, I guess.
- 16 Q. The other branch members with whom you socialised, would
- 17 you have regarded those people as your friends at the
- 18 time? Did they make up most of your social group?
- 19 A. Almost exclusively at that time, I think, yeah.
- 20 Q. And that of course was the social group which was then
- 21 infiltrated by "Vince Miller" in 1977. I'm going to
- 22 come on to ask you some questions about him in a little
- 23 while.
- 24 First of all, I just want to look at a few, please,
- 25 of the reports that you have in your pack, and to see

1 what it was that he was reporting about the Walthamstow
2 and the Leyton branches of the SWP during the course of
3 his deployment, insofar as it touched on you.

4 Please can we have up on screen {UCPI/17456},
5 please.

6 And, Sir, in the hard copy bundle, that's at tab 20.
7 Thank you.

8 This is a report dated 13 June 1977, and it is
9 a report about a meeting of the Walthamstow branch of
10 the Socialist Workers Party held at the Rose and Crown
11 Public House, with 25 people in attendance, between 8 pm
12 and 11 pm. Is that broadly the sort of time a weekly
13 meeting would take, about three hours, or was that quite
14 a lengthy meeting?

15 A. I think if there was a lot of discussion after -- after,
16 you know, the -- because it was usually there would be
17 a speaker, and then there would be lots of discusses, so
18 it could go on for that -- for that long. And the Rose
19 and Crown was somewhere that was our regular meeting
20 place, yeah.

21 Q. In paragraph 3 it says this:

22 "The discussion topic of the evening
23 was 'revolutionary feminism' and the guest speaker was
24 [Privacy] from the Newham Teachers Branch of the Party.
25 The conversation became rather heavy however, and was

1 only enlivened by comment from an unidentified female
2 who would not listen to any of the proposed specialist
3 alternatives to her extreme view on the subject."

4 Revolutionary feminism, was that something that
5 interested your branch, or feminism in general?

6 A. Well, feminism in general, yeah. You know, during
7 the 70s, the Women's Liberation Movement was
8 making great -- you know, had a great impact on -- on
9 people's thinking. And obviously, you know, it was
10 something that was, you know, fairly close to our
11 hearts, you know, because I think we saw, you know, that
12 women's oppression was, you know, not only were they
13 oppressed as workers, but they were also oppressed as
14 women. And the vast -- you know, the vast bulk of --
15 you know, in essence, women had two jobs: not only did
16 they have to go to work because most families could not
17 actually live on one wage, but they also had, you know,
18 prime responsibility for children, the housework, and
19 all of those things. And we saw that, you know,
20 the personal was very much political.

21 So, yes, it was something that, you know, we were
22 very interested in.

23 Q. Thank you.

24 Paragraph 4 says this:

25 "The branch business was then discussed.

1 The anti-Jubilee picnic in Epping Forest on Monday,
2 6 June 1977 was to receive full support and this was to
3 be preceded by a full Branch turn out on Saturday,
4 4 June, 1977 to sell copies of 'Socialist Worker',
5 featuring the 'Stuff the Jubilee' headline."

6 The anti-Jubilee picnic, what sort of occasion was
7 that?

8 A. Well, it was a picnic in Epping Forest. I think at that
9 time, you know, there was a lot of kind of flag-waving,
10 Empire nostalgia, and the Jubilee was something that was
11 hard to escape. And you know not being a supporter of
12 the monarchy myself, and, you know, we were not
13 generally supporters of the monarchy; we saw it as
14 a kind of anachronistic kind of relic hanging over from
15 feudal times, and we didn't support it, and we had our
16 own alternative party.

17 Q. So it was a social occasion, a party?

18 A. Yeah, it was a social occasion in -- on -- yeah, in
19 Epping Forest, on the grass.

20 Q. Was it likely to involve any public disorder, or
21 anything of that nature?

22 A. Absolutely, not, no. It was just -- it was a picnic.
23 With children, I might add. So yeah, no possibility of
24 public disorder.

25 Q. Was it a broader group of people than were involved in

1 your branch? Was it an SWP-wide picnic?

2 A. Well, I think it was, because at that time, so June '77,
3 I think the Rock Against Racism had been set up by
4 actually somebody in our branch, Roger Huddle was
5 instrumental in setting up RAR. And so we would have
6 had lots of, you know, kind of young music fans, people
7 that were kind of gravitating around Rock Against
8 Racism, they would have come as well.

9 Q. Thank you.

10 The call for the full branch turnout to sell
11 the Socialist Worker Jubilee edition, this would be
12 a public sale, would it, of the Socialist Worker, not
13 a covert activity?

14 A. No, not covert at all, no. We never -- we didn't feel
15 that we had anything to hide; we were very open. We
16 weren't doing anything clandestine. And, you know,
17 there's free speech in this country. You know, if you
18 don't support the Jubilee, then you have every right to
19 say so.

20 Q. Can you scroll down, please, in this document to
21 paragraph 5 -- so I can see paragraph 5 and 6. That's
22 lovely. Thank you very much.

23 Paragraph 5 reads:

24 "Following the unsuccessful attempt to occupy
25 the Sainsbury's supermarket in straightforward, E15 as

1 a protest against rising prices (organised by
2 local 'Women's Action' groups) it was mentioned that
3 this tactic would be tried again at various Sainsbury's
4 stores."

5 The Women's Action groups, was that something that
6 you were involved in?

7 A. I think I would have -- yeah, I probably would have gone
8 to some meetings. But I don't know if I can make
9 a point about this -- this whole, you know, Sainsbury's
10 think.

11 Q. Of course.

12 A. At the time, you know, we basically believed that food
13 prices were kept artificially high because of the need
14 for big supermarkets to extract profit for shareholders.
15 And now I'm thinking to myself, goodness, you know, we
16 were so right. You know, at the moment in this country
17 we have over 2 million people, you know, using food
18 banks. We have 4 million children, you know, living in
19 extreme -- in poverty -- what would be classified as
20 poverty. We have people like Marcus Rashford,
21 a footballer, having to organise to get free school
22 meals. I mean, it's an absolute total indictment of
23 this system that children go to bed, you know, hungry,
24 that families have to choose between heating and food.

25 So, absolutely, this is something that was extremely

1 important.

2 Q. The occupation of branches at Sainsbury's, was that
3 likely to involve large numbers of people or small
4 numbers of people?

5 A. I don't think that -- I think what we probably did --
6 I don't remember an occupation as such -- is that we
7 would have turned up with leaflets and some banners and,
8 you know, would have been leafletting people coming in
9 and people coming out and, you know, talking to them
10 about these issues, about, you know, why are food prices
11 so high. And, you know, I believe that food like,
12 you know, clean water, fresh air, etc, shelter, are
13 basic human rights.

14 Q. Paragraph 6 says:

15 "Finally, it was announced that [Privacy] wished to
16 resign as treasurer of the Branch and would therefore be
17 replaced in the near future."

18 We know, of course, that "Vince Miller" was
19 appointed as the branch treasurer at some stage and
20 later the district treasurer and to the social committee
21 of the Outer East London District Branch.

22 Can I ask you this question slightly out of turn.
23 The social committee of the SWP district, what would
24 that have involved, do you know? Being on that
25 committee, what would be the -- what would he have

1 responsibility for?

2 A. Well, I -- I can't remember this that clearly, but
3 I should imagine it would have been like, you know, kind
4 of maybe fundraising kind of music events, fundraising
5 parties, you know, that -- you know, social activities,
6 pretty much, you know, because --

7 Q. Social activities for SWP members or social activities
8 as a form of activism, or both?

9 A. Well, both. Yeah -- yeah, mostly -- well, I think,
10 you know, if it was, say, music gigs and stuff like
11 that, you know, we would, maybe in conjunction with,
12 say, Rock Against Racism, we did have, I think, Carol
13 Grimes played at one of the first RAR gigs, which was in
14 Forest Gate, I believe, which was near us. So it could
15 have been that they were kind of working, you know,
16 alongside those groups to promote that type of thing.

17 Q. Thank you very much.

18 You can take that document down now, please, and can
19 we put up {UCPI/17571}, please.

20 This is at tab 21 of the hard copy bundle, Sir.

21 This is a report dated 15 July 1977, and it was
22 a report of the decisions taken at a recent annual
23 conference of the SWP, a meeting held in the Rose and
24 Crown public house. It's a meeting of the Walthamstow
25 branch of the Socialist Workers Party, with about 30

1 people present. This is before the split of
2 the branches between Walthamstow and Leyton.

3 Can we, please, scroll down to paragraph 4.1,
4 please. It says this:

5 "The chief points raised were:

6 "i) When contacts were already indeed a workplace,
7 whether white collar or manual, the 'Socialist Worker'
8 and/or a rank and file bulletin should contain articles
9 of particular interest to the workforce at that
10 establishment in an attempt to establish a periphery of
11 sympathisers, some of whom might be recruited into
12 the SWP."

13 Is this an example of the sort of
14 consciousness-raising that you, the SWP, were carrying
15 out amongst workers?

16 A. Yeah, absolutely. You know, we basically believed that,
17 you know, you start where people are, you know, if you
18 were to turn up and start talking about the finer points
19 of dialectical materialism, most people would show you
20 the door.

21 So we were kind of, you know, seeking to raise
22 consciousness, as you say, about particular --
23 particular issues that would be pertinent to that
24 workplace; whether that was equal pay or whether it was
25 safety conditions, or things like that.

1 Q. And with the ultimate aim, is this right, of recruiting
2 people to your cause; is that right?

3 A. Yeah, we wanted to build the movement, not necessarily
4 to get them to join the SWP, but we wanted to build
5 the movement. That was part of our -- you know, we were
6 out in the community, you know, we weren't a kind of --
7 we weren't a secret sect, we were very much
8 community-based.

9 Q. And perhaps that is supported by the second paragraph:

10 "The campaign to gain support for the 'Right to
11 work' march in September would concentrate on the dole
12 queues, punk rock gigs and youth work, and local trade
13 unions."

14 Does that support what you've just said about your
15 trying to meet people where they were --

16 A. Yeah.

17 Q. -- and --

18 A. Yeah, and don't forget, you know, at that time, youth
19 unemployment particularly was very high, you know, there
20 were lots of -- yeah, I mean, there was lots of kind of
21 feeling amongst young people that there was absolutely
22 no future for them, you know, that they faced a future
23 of unemployment or low collar -- sorry, low -- low paid,
24 you know, insecure jobs.

25 Q. At paragraph (iii):

1 "The work of various 'Women's Voice' groups would
2 centre on local issues, such as the closure of maternity
3 hospitals and abortion, and at factories with a high
4 proportion of female staff."

5 Is this right, was Women's Voice a subgroup of
6 the SWP?

7 A. Well, it was, yes, and it produced a -- a magazine and
8 stuff, and had separate meetings as well. But most of
9 the SWP women that were in -- in -- obviously -- sorry,
10 SWP women were members of Women's Voice as well as
11 the SWP, but there were other people that were members
12 of Women's Voice who weren't members of the SWP.

13 Q. Right. So it had a broader membership --

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. -- but SWP women were part of Women's Voice, but not all
16 Women's Voice members were SWP; is that right?

17 A. Yeah, exactly, yeah.

18 Q. And so does it follow then that you were a member of
19 Women's Voice and attended their meetings?

20 A. I -- yeah, I would have been a member. I would have
21 gone to some meetings. However, at that time, I think
22 I was working on the buses then. I was doing irregular
23 shift work, and I was heavily involved in my own union,
24 which also had weekly meetings. So, you know, I had
25 lots of -- lots of commitments on my time. I wasn't

1 particularly active in Women's Voice.

2 Q. Right. So you were a member of the group but you didn't
3 necessarily become involved in their activism, would
4 that be -- is that right?

5 A. Well, I would have supported it, but I -- I couldn't
6 commit all my time to it.

7 Q. Right.

8 At paragraph (iv), if you can just scroll up just
9 a tiny bit, please, just so we can get the end of that
10 paragraph. Thank you:

11 "With regards to united work with the Communist
12 Party of Great Britain, the SWP was to take
13 the initiative at trade union and rank and file levels.
14 Attempts would be made to involve CPGB members at all
15 levels, including the AUEW Presidential campaign, racism
16 and the Grunwicks dispute. This did not extend to
17 workers elections (the SWP would field 50 to 60
18 candidates at the next general election at an estimated
19 cost of £50,000)."

20 Is this an example of what you spoke about earlier,
21 the ways in which the SWP was seeking to work also
22 within a democratic setting whilst having ultimately
23 revolutionary aims?

24 A. Yeah, I guess -- I guess so, yeah.

25 Q. Over the page, please, {UCPI/17571/2}, paragraph (vii)

1 I just want to look at very briefly. Thank you.

2 This reads as follows:

3 "The SWP restated its support for
4 the Provisional IRA but remained critical of that
5 organisation's policy of random bombing of working class
6 people."

7 Is that an accurate reflection of what the SWP
8 attitude was to the Provisional IRA?

9 A. We did not support bombing at all. Absolutely not. We
10 supported a united Ireland, and we felt that the --
11 you know, the Irish people had the right to
12 self-determination. And we saw the British Army as
13 basically an occupying force. But we did not support
14 bombing at all. In fact, I was working on the buses
15 when the whole bombing thing was going on, and, you
16 know, we didn't allow people to leave parcels or -- or
17 suitcases -- you know, they were the old-fashioned
18 Routemaster buses -- on the back. We were very security
19 conscious. This is something that, you know, I felt
20 personally absolutely did not support those kinds of
21 methods at all.

22 Q. I think you say in your witness statement, your view was
23 that you supported the campaign for a united Ireland and
24 the Irish -- and self-defence against the British Army
25 and the Royal Ulster Constabulary; is that right?

1 A. Yeah, but when we talk about "self-defence", you know,
2 it's self -- self-defence has to be seen in broader
3 terms. It doesn't mean that we -- you know, that we
4 were thinking that the Irish people should start
5 attacking anybody. You know, we felt that -- you know,
6 in fact, there's a lot of evidence that the RUC and the
7 British Army were the ones that were causing, you know,
8 lots of -- you know, look at Bloody Sunday, for example;
9 they were causing, you know -- were attacking
10 the communities. But, you know, we basically saw
11 self-defence in terms of -- you know, say, for example,
12 that you might say you were going to go on strike;
13 you know, you would -- you would take action like that,
14 as a way of defending your community; or that you would
15 have a rent strike, or that you would, you know, take
16 that type of activity.

17 Q. Thank you.

18 Just scroll on, please, to paragraph 6. It's on
19 the next page, {UCPI/17571/3}.

20 Perhaps reinforcing an earlier point that you made
21 about the publicness of your statements:

22 "Finally, [Privacy] appealed for those uncommitted
23 members of the audience to join the SWP."

24 Does it look as if this was a public meeting with
25 access to all?

1 A. Yes, absolutely, you know -- and we have to bear in mind
2 that, you know -- I think we're seeing a lot in some of
3 these -- these reports, you know, there's a little bit
4 of embroidery going on in many of the reports. There
5 would -- there would have been people there who would
6 have expressed opinions that we wouldn't necessarily
7 agree with, but, you know, we would discuss and debate
8 and argue with those people. They don't necessarily --
9 everything that's reported in these reports does not
10 necessarily reflect the views of the SWP.

11 Q. Was there a distinction between a private and a public
12 meeting? Did the SWP hold private meetings?

13 A. We did hold private meetings, and they were usually kind
14 of organisational things, you know, kind of branch
15 business really. Yeah, we didn't -- we didn't plot,
16 let's put it that way.

17 Q. Thank you. You can take that document down now, please.

18 And can you please put up {UCPI/11129}, please.

19 This is at tab 15 of the hard copy bundle, Sir.

20 This is a report dated 2 August 1977 at a meeting of
21 the Walthamstow branch of the SWP, again held at
22 the Rose and Crown Public House. And it was a meeting
23 about Chile, where there was a Chilean national who was
24 -- who was the guest speaker. If we can just focus,
25 please, first on paragraph 4:

1 "[Privacy] ..."

2 Who is the Chilean national:

3 "... started by explaining that he was a former
4 member of the MIR revolutionary group in Chile and said
5 that the internal arguments between his Party and the
6 Communist Party had been a major factor in the smashing
7 of the Allende Government. He went on to say that there
8 were many similarities between his former Party and the
9 SWP. The need for workers to be properly armed and have
10 adequate supplies at the time of revolution, was
11 paramount."

12 He seems to be discussing there divisions between
13 revolutionary groups which meant that any defence of
14 the Allende regime was fractured; and secondly,
15 the failure to arm those groups, and so they couldn't
16 come to any sort of defence to the Pinochet coup; is
17 that right? That would be the broad gist of it?

18 A. Well, you know, I think it's no secret that on the left
19 there is a lot of sectarianism and division, which
20 obviously, in a situation like Chile, would have to be
21 overcome.

22 However, you know, I think we have to -- you know,
23 thinking about Chile, you know, I know that I later say
24 in my statement that -- you know, I talk about this.
25 But we have to remember, there was a legally elected

1 government of Allende which was violently overthrown by
2 an illegal coup led by Pinochet. Our feeling was that
3 had the Allende government basically distributed arms to
4 defend that legally and democratically elected majority,
5 things could perhaps have turned out differently. And
6 with the lack of defence -- you know, don't forget, you
7 know, countries go to war to protect themselves.

8 You know, this -- this isn't particularly controversial,
9 I don't think. And I think given the -- the lack of --
10 of support, we saw thousands of, you know, left --
11 left-wingers, trade unionists, journalists, anybody that
12 was opposing them, you know, brutally murdered,
13 disappeared and tortured. You know, it was -- it seems
14 to me to be an entirely sensible thing to do.

15 Q. This individual seemed to draw a comparison between his
16 former revolutionary group in Chile and the SWP. Can
17 you recall that?

18 A. Not off the top of my head I -- I can't, but I should
19 imagine that he was talking about our long term aims.
20 You know, bear in mind, we -- we were not an armed
21 paramilitary group. We did not -- didn't train
22 ourselves up, or anything like that. So, you know, he's
23 talking about ideology, he's not talking about -- and
24 probably the way that they operated in an open
25 democratic fashion to us.

1 Q. And that -- of course, that long term aim being
2 revolution/overthrow of --

3 A. Well, that long term aim being to create a fair society,
4 I would say.

5 Q. Can we just scroll down to paragraph 5, please:

6 "This speech led to a great deal of discussion on
7 the method by which the inevitable revolution in
8 the United Kingdom could be achieved and protected. It
9 was decided that arming the workers would have to be
10 the first step."

11 And you of course have addressed this in your
12 witness statement.

13 A. That's absolute nonsense. Absolute nonsense.

14 Q. Did the SWP see the revolution as imminent?

15 A. No.

16 Q. And how about inevitable?

17 A. I think that we felt that capitalism would collapse at
18 some point, that that was inevitable because of,
19 you know, the kind of the contradictions and the
20 conflict, you know, where you have a society where you
21 have a tiny, tiny minority owning and controlling
22 everything and the majority, you know, having virtually
23 nothing, we felt that this, you know, was a stage of
24 development -- capitalism was a stage of development
25 that we would pass through and that, you know, at some

1 point we would -- we would have -- have
2 a socialist society. That was -- that was our -- our
3 main aim.

4 Q. Was it anticipated that in order to bring about any
5 ultimate revolution, imminent or not, the workers would
6 need to be armed? Was that something anticipated by
7 the SWP?

8 A. No, I just -- it -- this -- this view, it seems to be --
9 it's such -- it lacks -- it totally lacks nuance,
10 doesn't it? It -- it's kind of -- no, absolutely not.
11 We -- we did not -- you know, we -- we foresaw, as I've
12 said, that a new society would be born when the vast
13 mass of people basically, you know, organised
14 themselves, took action and decided that things would --
15 would change. We didn't believe that a tiny, tiny sect
16 of people -- you know, we weren't the red brigades, you
17 know, or anything like that; we didn't support that type
18 of activity. We basically believed that, you know,
19 the working class would organise itself, and the working
20 class would bring about this change, not us.

21 Q. Paragraph 6 now:

22 "The guest speaker also indicated that no people's
23 army could directly oppose a fully trained one and to
24 achieve victory the standing army would have to be
25 infiltrated. This idea was accepted as an important and

1 logical step in any revolution on the left."

2 Was that something that the SWP contemplated,
3 infiltrating the standing army?

4 A. No, not at all. Not at all. Interestingly, though, as
5 you've brought this point up, the National Front, it was
6 one of their policies to enroll within the territorial
7 army. And they were actually -- you know, they -- they
8 had secret cells, they were building links with European
9 far right groups, and there was evidence that they were
10 actually training in Germany, they were training
11 themselves militarily. The SWP, we were selling papers
12 and having meetings. We did not support this at all.

13 Q. And finally paragraph 7:

14 "The meeting was finally addressed by [Privacy] who
15 broke down in tears after summarising the Chilean
16 conflict and the result of a recent rape case heard in
17 the High Court. This outburst was rapidly followed by
18 another comrade throwing an epileptic fit, which
19 effectively put a stop to any further business."

20 You have said in your witness statement that that
21 sums up the attitude of the author only and appears to
22 be written for comic effect?

23 A. Oh, yes, I think -- I think it was.

24 You know, I knew somebody -- as I said in my
25 statement, I knew somebody who was a political -- had

1 been a political journalist in Chile who had been
2 arrested and had been tortured, had been hung up over
3 a vat of liquid and had had electrical -- you know,
4 electricity kind of applied to his body, and had
5 finally, you know, managed to get out of the country and
6 been given asylum hear. You know, this -- you know,
7 we're talking about, you know, incredibly grave matters,
8 you know, very moving, you know. No wonder she was
9 crying. You know, this is -- you know, most people in
10 the SWP, to my knowledge, were very compassionate
11 people. And fact that somebody could write this and
12 find it funny almost just beggars belief.

13 Q. Thank you.

14 We can take that document down now, please.

15 Just dealing with matters chronologically. That
16 meeting was in early August of 1977, and on
17 13 August 1977 was the Battle of Lewisham, which we know
18 there was significant violence on that day at various
19 points.

20 "Vince Miller", HN354, says in his witness statement
21 that he went to the area of the proposed route of
22 the National Front march on the previous evening and
23 deposited bricks at strategic locations along that route
24 for use during the course of the march.

25 Did you know anything about that?

1 A. Before we go on to this, could I -- could I just ask if
2 you could bring up one of my images?

3 Q. Yes, of course. I was going to do that in any event,
4 but let's do it now. Which one would you like?

5 A. If you could bring up the one that ends "34395".

6 Q. Yes, so that's {UCPI/34395}.

7 A. Yeah, that's right.

8 Okay, yeah. Now, this is something that, you know,
9 because of my family history I feel really, really
10 strongly about this. And I think what we can see here,
11 you know -- and I'd just like to, you know, say I find
12 it absolutely horrifying that we were just over 30 years
13 from the end of World War II, a war in which 60 million
14 people, including 5 million Jews, were killed; we'd seen
15 searing images of Belsen, Auchwitz, and it was within
16 living memory. You know, lots of people, like myself,
17 we were kind of the next generation, we were living,
18 you know, with traumatised parents or whatever. It was
19 incredibly, you know, still a very potent, you know,
20 kind of thing. And I just find it amazing that avowedly
21 Nazi parties were allowed to organise and to demonstrate
22 on the streets of this country, seemingly with
23 the approval of the government of the day and with
24 the protection of the police.

25 We can see Colin Jordan there, who was the founder

1 of the National Socialist Party in -- the British
2 National Socialist Party in 1962 wearing a Nazi uniform,
3 with a fascist armband of the British movement that you
4 can just see, posing in front of a picture of Adolf
5 Hitler. There were many far right groups at the time.
6 In fact, one of the splinter parties of the far right
7 group was called Column 88, which, for those who don't
8 know, "88" stands for the eighth letters of
9 the alphabet: Heil Hitler.

10 They believed in the Aryan ideal of white supremacy,
11 and regarded black and -- in particular, black races as
12 inferior, subhuman scum. These are the groups that were
13 the forerunner of the NF.

14 And I find it amazing that even, you know, though
15 the Race Relations Act in 1968 had outlawed
16 the promotion of race hate, these far right parties, as
17 I've said, were building links to other fascist groups
18 abroad, undertaking military training, etc. And yet,
19 you know, we know that the far right wasn't being
20 monitored by our -- whether it's the SDS or
21 the Security Services, whatever, wasn't being monitored
22 until the 1980s. I just find that absolutely
23 extraordinary.

24 That's all I wanted to say about that particular
25 image.

1 Q. Thank you. I'll give an opportunity to comment on
2 the other image a moment, if I can. We'll take it in
3 stages.

4 Can we take that photograph down now, please.

5 With that context in mind, the depositing of bricks
6 along the proposed route of the National Front march
7 that "Vince Miller" says he took part in, was that
8 something that members of your branch took part in?

9 A. Absolutely not. I would -- you know, I would really
10 take issue with this. You know, this is -- he's also
11 claimed that we took weapons in bags to the march.
12 There is absolutely no way that any of us -- we all came
13 on public transport. There's no way that any of us
14 would have brought weapons in bags. You know, there's
15 the obvious risk that we would, you know, be picked up
16 at the police station -- sorry, at the train station
17 and, you know, it did not happen.

18 And as for the bricks, you know, that's the first
19 I heard of it when I read that report.

20 So what I'd really like to know is how much, you
21 know, was "Vince Miller" acting as an agent provocateur?
22 Was he depositing bricks. And if he knows that people
23 were depositing bricks or whatever, why isn't there
24 a report? Where are the names? You know, this is --
25 I absolutely refute this.

1 There were lots of bricks laying around in -- at
2 that time, because, you know, it was a rundown area,
3 there were lots and lots of building sites, and I think
4 that the road was being repaved as well. So, yeah, no,
5 that didn't -- as far as I'm concerned, that didn't
6 happen, and it's not something that anyone that I know
7 would have supported.

8 Q. You say in your witness statement that you attended
9 the demonstration with members of your branch. I think
10 you say you demonstrated -- you went to the part of
11 the demonstration organised by the All Lewisham Campaign
12 Against Racism, ALCARAF; is that right?

13 A. That's right, yes.

14 Q. There was another group loosely affiliated,
15 the August 13 ad hoc organising committee, which seems
16 to have been a broad coalition of SWP, IMG and the CPE.
17 Were you mainly aware of the sort of ALCARAF
18 demonstration, or did you have anything to do with any
19 other organisation?

20 A. Well, I think -- you know, I think that we have to kind
21 of bear in mind that, you know, ALCARAF was set up in --
22 you know, which was a broad based group, including trade
23 unions, local community groups, faith groups, church
24 leaders, etc, in -- I think it was in January 1977,
25 mainly in response to National Front attacks and

1 violence which was going on in the area.

2 Just a little bit more kind of context to that --
3 that whole march. The police, who I think share a huge
4 amount of blame for what happened on that day, were ...
5 carried out -- you know, because the National Front,
6 their vote had grown exponentially in the area, they
7 were feeling very confident. There were attacks on --
8 I think it was a Sikh temple was attacked. They were
9 attacking shops. They attacked individuals. And the
10 police at that time decided to basically start an
11 anti-mugging campaign. And it's well documented,
12 actually, that I think what -- I'm not sure which month
13 it happened in, but it was kind of in the early summer.
14 They carried out a number of dawn raids, which have been
15 described as "apartheid-like raids", on the houses of
16 young black people, where they smashed down front doors
17 and back doors with axes, arresting a large number of
18 young people -- in fact, it's well documented that one
19 of the young people was -- a 16-year old boy was dragged
20 out onto the street in his underwear, and a girl who was
21 living at -- in -- in his house, a white girl, was taken
22 to the police station, strip searched and was subject to
23 vile comments by the police about the diseases that she
24 may have caught living with black people.

25 As a result of this, I think something like 60

1 people had been arrested. 18 young people were charged
2 by the police. A defence committee was set up in
3 the community to defend those young people. And as
4 a result of the defence committee, which involved
5 the families of those, another three people were
6 arrested by the police, so there were 21 in total. And
7 the Lewisham -- I think it was called the Lewisham 21
8 Defence Committee was set up.

9 They had a march -- I think it was in about June or
10 July -- which was attacked by the National Front, in
11 which acid was thrown on a young girl, somebody's jaw
12 was broken and a teacher was knocked unconscious.

13 The -- in the community, it was widely -- and
14 I think Paul Foot has reported this, the late
15 journalist, Paul Foot, reported that in the community it
16 was believed that Lewisham police had logged the --
17 the arrests as Operation PNH, which -- and I don't mean
18 to be offensive -- stands for, as the community believe,
19 it was an acronym for "police nigger hunt". This was --
20 it was widely felt in the community that the police were
21 racist, that they were disproportionately picking on
22 young people, young black people, and the National Front
23 were feeding on this -- this whole, you know,
24 anti-mugging kind of thing.

25 So, I think that's the context that -- you know,

1 before we think about that march, we have to think about
2 the whole context of the preceding six months and
3 the out-of-control nature of the NF, and, it seems, of
4 the police.

5 Q. Thank you.

6 A. Sorry, I'll let you --

7 Q. No, no, thank you very much.

8 What I wanted to ask you about is what part of
9 the events of that day you attended. We know there was
10 a demonstration in the morning organised by ALCARAF
11 which met at Ladywell Park and was addressed by I think
12 the Mayor of Lewisham and the Bishop of Southwark,
13 amongst other people, and there was then
14 a peaceful march to Loampit Vale. Did you join in that
15 part of the demonstration?

16 A. I did. And I think what had happened, prior to that,
17 because, you know, there was obviously some elements,
18 you know, in the anti-fascist movement that believed
19 that having a simple march, you know, to just, you know,
20 oppose them was insufficient, that they actually needed
21 to be stopped. Because when you think about it,
22 you know, their anti-mugging march that they called
23 wasn't in the West End, it was a deliberate provocation;
24 it was an act of violence against the community itself.
25 It was determined to go through an area of, you know,

1 high immigration, where it was already like a tinder
2 box, you know. And allowing that march to go ahead, to
3 me, it was -- you know, effectively the police struck
4 the match and threw it, and watched the whole thing blow
5 up.

6 Q. With that in mind, we know that a number of
7 demonstrators who were on the ALCARAF demonstration then
8 went through the back streets to New Cross Gate, which
9 was along the route of the National Front march. Did
10 members of your branch do that, do you think?

11 A. Yes, we did. But as well, the ALCARAF march had been
12 coordinated with the SWP and others, so that -- it was
13 timed so that the two marches wouldn't happen
14 simultaneously, but they were timed so that there was
15 enough opportunity for people to leave the first march
16 and then go to the second march, and I think we did go
17 down there.

18 I'm a bit vague about the geography of the streets
19 and all the rest of it, but we were basically aiming for
20 Clifden Rise, where we wanted to basically use the sheer
21 numbers, because there were thousands there, of locals,
22 you know, lots of black kids, lots of not just
23 anti-fascists -- you know, not just SWP, not just
24 the left, huge numbers of the community. And we felt
25 that our sheer, you know, physical bodies would -- would

1 -- would stop them from being able to march.

2 Q. So that was your intention --

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. -- to physically stop the march?

5 A. Yeah, to physically -- yeah, to block the road and, you

6 know -- and if -- to be honest, if I were in charge of

7 public disorder on that demonstration, I -- I would

8 have, you know, basically have stopped the march, which

9 -- you know, there was an attempt to stop the march and

10 that's -- going through the High Court. And it was --

11 basically it was allowed to go ahead. The route -- and

12 in actual fact, talking about the ALCARAF march itself,

13 the route had been arranged and then was changed at

14 the very last minute by the local police chief, who was

15 told that he had orders from on high, so presumably

16 the government, "on high", to curtail their march and to

17 make it go in kind of a circle. And there's film

18 footage of the discussion between the -- one of the --

19 I think it's the Mayor and the police chief, where he

20 basically said, you know, "You'll be arrested if you

21 carry on -- if you carry on the march." Meanwhile, they

22 were allowing the National Front to go down the High

23 Street, which the local community saw as a total affront

24 and that the police were taking sides.

25 Q. We know that there was a confrontation in Clifden Rise

1 between demonstrators and the police, because the police
2 were penning in the demonstrators. Did you witness that
3 confrontation?

4 A. I was in the middle of it. Yeah, I think we made our
5 way down to Clifden Rise. And at some point I can
6 remember everybody was kind of kettled at some point,
7 and there was a kind of a crushing situation arising,
8 where people were climbing up onto, you know, kind of
9 there was lots of corrugated iron, from what I remember.
10 And people were trying to get away from the crush and to
11 get out. And then I can remember being, I think it
12 was -- yeah, Clifden Rise, where one end of the street
13 was completely -- there was a wall of police at one end
14 of the street, there were shops opposite. Behind us
15 there were some fairly -- there was lots of housing with
16 gardens. The people that lived in the houses, all
17 the windows were open, there was lots of loud music
18 pumping out, there were people hanging out of windows
19 standing on walls. And it was absolutely solid, solid
20 with people.

21 And my understanding at that time is that
22 the National Front were around the corner in a car park.
23 And nothing happened for quite a long time. And I think
24 some people were kind of trying to find out what's
25 happened, is the march stopped, you know, what's going

1 on. And they reported, and a few people went up and
2 came back and reported that the National Front were too
3 frightened to come out because they'd seen the huge
4 numbers of people. There was a massive wall of sound
5 and they were totally outnumbered.

6 Sorry, and I was going to say -- at some point --
7 sorry.

8 Then, at some point, a whole load of police horses
9 just charged straight through the crowd, right the way
10 through the crowd, causing absolute mayhem and panic.
11 We were pushed back, crushed back against the road --
12 against the walls of the gardens and everything, and
13 people climbing into the gardens to escape. It was lots
14 of police horses just charged straight down. And it was
15 very frightening. Really frightening, actually.

16 Shortly after --

17 Q. -- (overspeaking) --

18 A. Sorry, if you wanted me to carry on.

19 Q. No, no, I wanted to ask you this, because I think this
20 might be an opportunity to show your second photograph.

21 A. Yes -- (overspeaking) --

22 Q. (inaudible) -- know that some of the demonstrators
23 managed to break through the police lines that were
24 being held at Clifden Rise.

25 A. I don't think we broke through the police -- police

1 lines. I think what happened is that -- to my
2 recollection, the police were solid at one end, then
3 suddenly the police horses came through. And then
4 the National Front -- I think they had to show their
5 National Front badges or whatever -- were more or less
6 pushed out. They had the honour guard at the front with
7 their banners and their flags and everything. And they
8 got pushed out into this crowd. What were they
9 thinking? What were the police thinking? Pushed into
10 this crowd. And I think the honour guard seemed to have
11 kind of fairly adequate police protection. But once
12 the honour guard had gone through and they had
13 the ordinary -- you know, the less hardcore
14 National Front, there was virtually no police protection
15 at all. Which we all found extraordinary, considering
16 how many police that were there, they were absolutely
17 exposed. And then, you know, as we know, all hell broke
18 loose.

19 I think, from a public order point of view, that was
20 a disaster.

21 Q. And by all hell breaking loose, are you referring to
22 the missiles thrown, the bricks, the bottles?

23 A. Yeah, there were lots of things coming from behind us
24 actually and we were -- you know, I can remember we were
25 just ducking and thinking what's going on. There was

1 lots of things being thrown over our heads, some landing
2 on people.

3 You know, I am a -- 5-foot 3 -- in those days
4 I weighed 7.5 stone. There's no way that I wanted to be
5 in a confrontation with anyone. And we were trying to
6 get out of the situation, to get back away from missiles
7 and stuff like that.

8 Q. Does it follow then that you weren't involved in any of
9 that violence?

10 A. No, not at all. Not at all. I didn't have a missile,
11 would never have thrown a missile. In fact, one of my
12 best friends who was there saw somebody fall over, who
13 it turned out was -- was a National Front member, and
14 she helped him up and asked him if he was okay.

15 Q. Thank you.

16 And finally this, just before we have our break.
17 There was some later violence towards the police at
18 Lewisham town centre. Were either you or any of your
19 group involved in that, can you recall?

20 A. No. I think what happened is that after -- you know, my
21 memory of the day, you know, when we kind of somehow got
22 from that situation, we were in the High Street, and
23 there was absolute chaos. Police vans -- a police van
24 was driven into the crowd. And it seemed to me that
25 the police just lost control and just went wild. They

1 were picking people up, arresting anyone that they could
2 get their hands on, and we -- you know, at no point
3 did they announce -- you know, we found out later that
4 the National Front had already departed. There was no
5 announcement that the National Front had gone; there
6 seemed to be no attempt to calm things down from
7 the police. It seemed as though there was a --
8 you know, the police were in a rage, and they were
9 picking people up.

10 We left. We had to walk miles to get to a train
11 station because we were afraid that we would get
12 arrested. And I think, you know, from everything that
13 I understand of the aftermath of the march is that it
14 was basically a pitched battle between the local youth
15 and the -- the police. And given -- you know,
16 especially black youth.

17 One of the things that I could say is that in -- and
18 it's probably not that much different now -- is
19 the majority of people on marches were white, and yet
20 there were huge numbers of black people -- you know,
21 obviously they're local to Lewisham. And, you know,
22 given the PNH and, you know, everything else which had
23 been happening, there was absolute rage and frustration
24 and hatred towards the police, and it exploded.

25 MS HUMMERSTONE: Thank you very much, "Madeleine".

1 He does not say he was the person planting bricks.

2 I'm asked to make that correction, so I -- I make it.

3 Can we please look at document {UCPI/11196}, please.

4 That's tab 16, Sir, of your hard copy bundle.

5 Thank you.

6 A document dated 26 August 1977, so shortly after
7 the events at Lewisham. In fact, it's a meeting that
8 was held on 17 August, so very shortly after the events
9 in Lewisham. It is a meeting held at the Rose and Crown
10 Public House of the Walthamstow branch of
11 the Socialist Workers Party.

12 I haven't got "Madeleine" on the screen, actually.
13 Is it simply because she's not speaking that I can't see
14 her.

15 A. I'm here. Can you hear me?

16 Q. Thank you very much. Thank you. That's wonderful.

17 Thank you.

18 This is a meeting of 30 people, a regular weekly
19 meeting, it says. It postdates the Battle of Lewisham.

20 Can we look at paragraph 4, please.

21 First, paragraph 3:

22 "[Privacy] gave a spirited speech on fascism which
23 lasted about half an hour and the meeting was then
24 opened for discussion, from which nothing of particular
25 interest arose."

1 Paragraph 4:

2 "It was concluded that the main tactic of the now
3 beaten and retreating National Front would be individual
4 intimidation. Following a lengthy discussion on this
5 issue, several comrades decided that they would arm
6 themselves with catapults and ball bearings for use in
7 the event of personal attacks."

8 You have addressed this in your witness statement,
9 but does that sound right, that individuals at this
10 meeting, or 30 people indicated their intention to arm
11 themselves with catapults and ball bearings?

12 A. Not to my recollection. I think that's -- you know, if
13 somebody had said that, it may have been a personal view
14 that somebody had expressed. That was not our view.
15 And in actual fact, after the demonstration, I'm just
16 wondering if we're going to be talking about Lewisham
17 a little bit more, whether it might be worth bringing up
18 my other picture.

19 Q. Gosh, I'm awfully sorry; I forgot to do that. I said I
20 would do it. Let's go back to that now then, please.
21 Let's look at that photograph. It's {UCPI/34396}.

22 So this is a photograph that you have supplied.

23 A. That's right, yeah.

24 Q. For use. Thank you.

25 A. Yeah, what I wanted to say about this is that just prior

1 to the march, Martin Webster had a press conference, and
2 he said, "We intend to destroy race relations here in
3 Lewisham." It's -- you know, that's a deliberately
4 provocative -- you know, to march through that
5 multi-cultural area with a high immigrant population
6 with such a message of hate. And I really, you know,
7 have to kind of stress that, you know, permitting and
8 facilitating that march, the police were inflaming
9 things. And our intention on that march was to help
10 protect the community, which was -- you know, is
11 obviously under -- under attack.

12 They actually -- this isn't a picture -- a picture
13 of the front -- the banner that they had at the front of
14 the meeting. But they did have a banner which said,
15 "Stop the Muggers", it was in flagrant breach of
16 the Race Relations Act, it said, "Stop the Muggers", it
17 said "80% of muggers are black, 85% of victims are
18 white".

19 And in this picture you can just spot a guy just
20 looking this way near the "NF" -- just underneath
21 the NF sign -- I'd describe him as a charming example of
22 the Master Race, holding two huge lumps of wood on
23 the march, standing by a flag which, you know, is
24 the closest you could probably get away with in terms of
25 representation of a swastika, police standing around

1 doing nothing, given that, you know, lots of them were
2 holding weapons like these lumps of wood. And I have to
3 ask, you know, were -- you know police racism at that
4 time has -- has, you know, been widely reported.

5 You know, did they have sympathy for the NF? You know,
6 why were they so intent on protecting them?

7 And another point, you know, I'd like to make is
8 that it's also been reported that in December of 1977,
9 Durham Police actually hosted Martin Webster to give
10 a talk to the police on the issue of law and order.
11 It's outrageous. Absolutely outrageous.

12 In terms of subversion, another word that we've seen
13 a lot, about whether or not we were subversive groups,
14 there is clear subversion from the National Front.
15 You know, they were standing in elections. They were
16 totally undemocratic. You know, we could see where
17 their philosophy ends. You know, we know where it
18 ended. You know, my husband is Jewish. His family have
19 the yellow star of his great-grandfather, his family --
20 part of his family were immigrants from Germany. We
21 have a family tree where part of the family tree ends in
22 the 1940s at Auschwitz. You know, this is -- you know,
23 this has to be understood that these are Nazis.

24 Q. Thank you. We can probably take that photograph down
25 now, please.

1 I'm not going to take you to these two reports -- or
2 perhaps I will briefly. {UCPI/11513}, please.

3 This is in reference to a meeting that took place on
4 27 October 1977 at Wood Street Library. This was
5 the Leyton and Walthamstow branches of
6 the Socialist Workers Party. So it postdated
7 the division of the Walthamstow branch into two groups.
8 A joint meeting to discuss the life and works of William
9 Morris, a local born revolutionary.

10 Is that William Morris -- he was a Victorian
11 thinker, is that right, and socialist?

12 A. That's right. He's one of the famous sons of
13 Walthamstow.

14 Q. And also an artist influential in the arts and crafts
15 movement?

16 A. That's right, yeah. Famous for his wallpaper designs,
17 which were all the rage, actually, in the 70s.

18 Q. The third paragraph reads:

19 "The speaker was [Privacy], who delivered a well
20 prepared speech, which he illustrated with photographs
21 and slides. In short, he said that Morris could
22 probably be described as the 'Pioneer of English
23 Socialism', even though some of his views were not
24 entirely consistent with those of the SWP.

25 "Little discussion followed and the meeting was

1 quickly brought to a close."

2 Have you got any comment about that report, about
3 the life and works of William Morris?

4 A. No, not -- not really. I mean, you know, he's written
5 many books. There's -- there is now a gallery, which
6 was established in -- in Walthamstow, with the help of
7 people and it's actually -- there are a few SWP members
8 who volunteer there at the moment.

9 In terms of his -- you know, was pretty mainstream
10 in terms of his books and his thoughts and his designs.
11 And I'm just wondering why on earth the SDS felt it
12 necessary to report on a meeting like that, when it's so
13 mainstream and not at all subversive.

14 Q. You can take that document down now, please. And
15 perhaps a document that may give you the same reaction.
16 I'm not going to take you to it, but there is another
17 meeting in your -- that was sent to you, at which you
18 were present. A public meeting featuring the theatre
19 group North West Spanner. I think that was a joint
20 meeting between the Leyton Labour Women, I think it is,
21 and the -- sorry, let me just get this right --
22 the Leyton Labour Women and a meeting of
23 the Waltham Forest district of the Socialist
24 Workers Party, jointly had a public meeting featuring
25 the theatre group North West Spanner.

1 Again, can you think of any reason why that
2 particular public meeting might have been reported on,
3 that featured a theatre group?

4 A. No, none at all. None at all. It was from -- you know,
5 it was kind of basic agitprop kind of, you know, acting
6 and absolutely mainstream.

7 Q. Thank you.

8 The next document I want us to look at, please,
9 {UCPI/11337}.

10 Your tab 12, Sir.

11 A document dated 31 July 1978. I wonder if we can
12 make it a little bit bigger, please. Thank you.

13 A meeting that took place on 12 July 1975 of
14 the Waltham Forest District of the Socialist
15 Workers Party. It's an aggregate meeting.

16 Is this what the Outer East London District became,
17 the Waltham Forest District?

18 A. Yeah, I think that must be '78, actually, because
19 I think '75 --

20 Q. Sorry, did I say "'75"? I meant '78.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Sorry, my mistake.

23 A. -- (overspeaking) -- it -- yeah, it's the kind of
24 meeting that we would have had, yeah.

25 Q. If you could just scroll down a little bit further,

1 please. Sorry, a little bit further up. That's a bit
2 too far. I want to look at paragraph 4.

3 "It was also confirmed that the Walthamstow district
4 would be changing the format of its
5 meetings. 'geographical' branches, ie Walthamstow and
6 Leyton, would now meet fortnightly and in the
7 intervening weeks comrades would get together in the
8 following groupings under the leadership shown."

9 And so there are the different subgroups set out
10 there: Women's Voice, Industrial group, Agitprop,
11 Anti-Nazi League, School Kids Against the Nazis, the
12 Right to Work, and so-called "black work".

13 The industrial group, the leadership of
14 the industrial group is set out there: Paul Weardon and
15 "Vince Miller". What was the Industrial group
16 responsible for, can you remember?

17 A. Yes, so that's Pete Weardon.

18 Well, it was to coordinate paper sales at factories.
19 It would have -- yeah, that would have been the main
20 focus, coordinating, supporting pickets. For example,
21 there was, while I was in the SWP at that time --
22 I can't remember which year it was, but there was
23 a firefighters' strike because of cuts. And, you know,
24 they were going to take some appliances away, which is
25 obviously -- would impact on public safety and impact on

1 firefighter safety. And there was a strike, they had
2 pickets, we collected money for their strike fund and
3 supported them. So it's that type of activity that
4 the Industrial group would have looked at.

5 Interestingly -- I don't know if I can say this, but
6 -- at this point, is that you may be getting on to
7 talking about "Vince Miller" talking about the success.

8 Q. Yes, I think, to assist you, we'll look at that
9 document.

10 A. Yeah.

11 Q. If we can take that document down now, please. Can we
12 put up {UCPI/13063}. Tab 19 of the hard copy bundle.

13 A report dated 3 January, so some five or six months
14 after that previous report:

15 "The following information concerning the newly
16 formed Waltham Forest District of the Socialist
17 Workers Party has been received from a reliable
18 source~..."

19 And this in fact is a report setting out
20 the organisation of the branch into the various --
21 the district into the various groups and their
22 activities at present.

23 If we scroll forward, please, to page
24 {UCPI/13063/3}. At (b) it lists the various subgroups,
25 and at 3(b) it deals with the Industrial subgroup?

1 A. Yeah.

2 Q. And it says this:

3 "Convened by [Privacy] (specifically moved into
4 Waltham Forest by [Privacy] for the purpose), this
5 active and politically aware group is concentrating on
6 building its contacts within the local factories, mainly
7 based on the 'Staffa Road Industrial Estate'. Sales of
8 the Party's newspaper 'Socialist Worker' are on
9 the increase, but not in factories where the workforce
10 is predominantly Asian, as these workers have stated
11 that they have been threatened with either violence or
12 the sack if they were to persist in their support."

13 A. So could I just say something at this point about this,
14 is that "Vince Miller", by getting himself on
15 the industrial committee -- we know he was also
16 treasurer, we know he was also social secretary -- had
17 lots access to contact details of lots of people. One
18 of things that we would do is -- you know, selling
19 papers outside factories and things like that, is that
20 people would sometimes give us their contact details, so
21 that they could be told if there was a meeting coming up
22 that they could come to, and just, you know, that type
23 of thing. And it's interesting that he says, you know,
24 that the workforce, predominantly Asian, workers have
25 stated to our sellers, including "Vince Miller", that

1 they had been threatened with the sack, or violence on
2 some occasions, if they persisted in their support.
3 I find it really interesting to think he had the contact
4 details, possibly, of people that were sympathetic to us
5 that may have given us their details. What we now know
6 about blacklisting going on is I wonder whether they
7 used these details, they knew where these workers --
8 which factories they were working in, and whether,
9 you know, they were passing on details to factory owners
10 and bosses about which particular workers were
11 sympathetic to the SWP. He was in the perfect position
12 to do that. I find that -- you know, I find that
13 subversive.

14 Q. The paragraph continues:

15 "The Industrial group publish a bulletin based on
16 the above-mentioned estate and have held two public
17 meetings, one on the Ford dispute and another on
18 the restrictions and cuts in local hospital services.

19 "The group is also making good progress within
20 National Plastics and Phonodisc -- two adjacent
21 factories situated on the North Circular Road at
22 Chingford -- and are currently achieving
23 a combined 'Socialist Worker' paper sale of 50 copies
24 per week.

25 "There is little doubt that, in the next few months,

1 the Industrial group will prove to be the most effective
2 in increasing the membership of the Party. It has had
3 a boost from the current bakers' strike, benefiting, in
4 particular, from the presence of Nevilles on the Staffa
5 Road estate, the largest bakery in the area. The SWP
6 now feel they have gained considerable favourable
7 publicity as the only political party to have
8 successfully intervened on behalf of local strikers."

9 We know of course that at least in July of 1978,
10 "Vince Miller" had been the leader of that subgroup.
11 What is your reaction to the report that says that this
12 is -- the Industrial group is the most -- is the most
13 effective in increasing the membership of the party,
14 please?

15 A. Well, you know, possibly he was doing a good job.

16 You know, we had 50 -- 50 sales a week was -- was -- was
17 pretty good. But as I said, you know, he positioned
18 himself to get, you know -- you know, he was in
19 a favourable position to get lots of information about
20 what was going on. And, you know, this is an example of
21 how, you know, this type of activity, this type of
22 intervention by the SWP was an example of, you know,
23 the risk -- the good reception that we were getting from
24 people. You know, we could supply them with possibly --
25 you know, help print leaflets for them and things like

1 that, to kind of, you know, deepen and spread their
2 cause.

3 So, yeah, it's good activity.

4 Q. Can we move on to page 4, please, just one other brief
5 point I want to ask you about, {UCPI/13063/4}, 4(e) in
6 the middle of the page.

7 This is a paragraph about SKAN, School Kids Against
8 the Nazis. And it reads as follows:

9 "SKAN have been very successful. Set up initially
10 by [Privacy] and now almost entirely run by [Privacy]
11 the group can, with short notice, get large numbers of
12 school students onto the streets, should the need arise
13 (for example, to heckle an impromptu National Front
14 meeting). The group started about a year ago when
15 the National Front held a public meeting at [Privacy]
16 school in Walthamstow. At that time an Anti-NF picket
17 of about 200 persons was organised; following
18 the inevitable confrontation with police, 18 arrests
19 were made and of these all but one were black. This
20 gave good impetus to the formation of SKAN as a youth
21 anti-Nazi group and it has since been adopted and
22 promoted nationally. Indeed, it is largely through
23 these student activities that the ANL
24 [Anti-Nazi League] in Waltham Forest has been able to
25 earn any success."

1 Just this, please. Is it right that the group could
2 get at short notice large numbers of school students
3 onto the streets? Do you think that sounds like an
4 accurate portrayal?

5 A. Well, you know, this particular -- this particular group
6 was set up because, as it -- as it says, a public
7 meeting of the National Front was -- was to be held in
8 their school. It was a school that had a huge number of
9 black kids at that school. It was a self-organising
10 group, pretty much. You know, they were -- they were
11 outraged. They knew what the National Front stood for.
12 You know, lots of these black kids had been subject --
13 and Asian kids, had been subject to racism on
14 the streets. And, yeah, they felt very strongly about
15 it.

16 You know, the idea that we would have somehow had to
17 have planted these ideas in their heads is -- is -- is
18 a bit ludicrous really. Their own experience -- they
19 were a self-organising group. That's all, you know?
20 And as young people would be, they, you know, wanted,
21 you know, to be active in their opposition to
22 the National Front.

23 Q. Thank you. We can take that document down now, please.

24 Can we put up, please -- it's tab 13 of the hard
25 copy bundle, please, {UCPI/12924}.

1 A meeting dated 2 November 1968 of the Waltham
2 Forest District of the Socialist Workers Party. It's an
3 aggregate meeting. 22 people were present. Can we
4 scroll down the page, please, to paragraph 6.

5 This reads as follows:

6 "[Privacy] then organised a rota of comrades who
7 were to sleep at [Privacy], Dagenham, in order to
8 protect a black girl resident there and her Jewish
9 boyfriend from attacks from the National Front."

10 And if you scroll down the page, please, to the next
11 page {UCPI/12924/2} and go to paragraph 9, there is
12 a gloss on that account:

13 "With reference to paragraph 6 of this report, it
14 has been confirmed with Dagenham Police Station that at
15 11.15 pm on Wednesday, 18th October, 1978, two windows
16 at [Privacy], Dagenham -- the home of ..."

17 The name has been redacted:

18 "... aged 24 years, a half-caste -- were broken with
19 two bricks. One brick carried the letters DAK
20 (understood to mean Dagenham Axe Clan), while the other
21 had a leaflet of an extreme right-wing nature wrapped
22 around it."

23 So evidently a matter that has been reported to
24 the police.

25 Was the rota to protect this couple, was that

1 something often organised by your SWP district, or was
2 that something that was fairly rare?

3 A. Well, I think this is -- this is an interesting example,
4 actually, of the kind of, you know, the DAK, we
5 understood that the "K" stood for the Ku Klux Klan, and
6 yet the police seem to have kind of muted that somewhat
7 by translating it as "clan" with a "C". It was an
8 obviously neo-Nazi group, whoever they were. It's
9 interesting that there were no records of them in
10 the police force. And, yeah, you have to kind of
11 wonder, you know, why was it left to the left to protect
12 these people?

13 Q. Was this a group known to you when you were in
14 the Walthamstow branch of the --

15 A. What, the DAK? DAK?

16 Q. Yes.

17 A. No, we'd not -- we hadn't heard of them. But I'm not
18 sure how we came to know about this, but the rota
19 consisted of basically sleeping in her house because she
20 was so frightened. So why were we protecting her and
21 not the police?

22 Q. How might members of the SWP who were on the rota have
23 sought to protect this girl and her boyfriend?

24 A. How? Well, the National Front were, you know, doing
25 things like, you know, smashing their way into people's

1 flats, and stuff like that, you know? So obviously
2 the first thing to do would be to call the police. If
3 the police didn't come -- you know, as far as I'm
4 concerned, people have the right to defend themselves.
5 Self-defence is no offence. If somebody smashed their
6 way into my house, I would try and defend myself. And
7 I would hope that there were people there to help me.

8 Q. Thank you. So is that the sort of thing that was
9 envisaged if there were to be another National Front
10 attack on these --

11 A. Yeah, entirely self-defence. You know, our whole focus,
12 you know, with regard to the fascists was that, you
13 know, we were very concerned with keeping ourselves
14 safe. We tried to -- you know, we tried to avoid
15 confrontation with them, because, you know, they were
16 hardened boot boys, they were street fighters. We
17 weren't; we were pretty soft. And, you know, I could
18 run fast, you know, that was one of the things that I --
19 I would try and do is -- is to run and get myself out of
20 danger.

21 But if they're actually attacking someone's house
22 with people inside it -- vulnerable people inside it,
23 I think it was only morally right to offer that -- that
24 form of support to somebody.

25 Q. Thank you.

1 We can take that document down now, please.

2 Just a few left now "Madeleine".

3 The next document, please, {UCPI/21044}, please.

4 Tab 22 in the hard copy bundle.

5 Thank you.

6 A report dated 16 July 1979. And it's
7 a Waltham Forest District of the Socialist Workers Party
8 meeting entitled "Police are the murderers, disband
9 the Special Patrol Group".

10 And if you can please scroll down to paragraph 4,
11 this reads:

12 "[Privacy], the only one of the invited speakers to
13 attend, then delivered his talk. He maintained that
14 the role of the Police in any capitalist society was to
15 protect the system at all costs and Police and Armed
16 Forces, although both of working class origin, must
17 therefore be considered to be the repressive arm of
18 the State. In his view, the dissolution of the SPG was
19 just a small step along the road to a socialist
20 revolution but, even so, its disbandment had to be aimed
21 for in the light of the present public attitude wards
22 the Police following the death of Blair Peach.
23 The remainder of [Privacy]'s speech then adopted
24 the usual lines of 'a just society will only be achieved
25 through socialism and this is what we must all work

1 for'."

2 First of all, before I ask you a little bit about
3 the Special Patrol Group, the speaker that said that
4 the role of the police in a capitalist society was to
5 protect the system and should therefore be considered to
6 be the repressive arm of the state, was that a view that
7 was held generally by SWP members, or was that somebody
8 expressing a view at a meeting that wasn't necessarily
9 the view of everybody at the meeting; can you remember?

10 A. Well, I think it's obviously the view of an individual.
11 And I think that, you know, the police action, you know,
12 we've seen with the SDS -- it seems to be entirely
13 political. You know, if the SDS, for example, were
14 looking at, you know, for -- you know, we keep hearing
15 about public disorder and violence. They were looking
16 in the wrong place. You know, the National Front were
17 known to be violent. Football hooligans are known to be
18 violent. You know, in terms of the propensity for
19 violence on the left, as opposed to any other sector of
20 society, I think, you know, we haven't seen reports of
21 widespread arrests for violence, or whatever, of people
22 on the left throughout this -- this Inquiry. And
23 I think that, you know, the police, the SPG in
24 particular, you know, and we've seen in relation to
25 the death of Blair Peach of the -- you know, the locker

1 revealing the weapons, etc, that were held by some of
2 the SPG, yeah, I think the SPG were an out-of-control
3 group.

4 Q. Just dealing briefly with the police in general, which
5 seems to be the first focus -- (overspeaking) --

6 A. I think -- can you --

7 Q. -- of this speaker's --

8 A. Yeah --

9 Q. -- I just want to ask you this -- sorry, I don't want to
10 interrupt you.

11 Was it your view at the time that the police should
12 be considered the repressive arm of the state? Or was
13 that simply somebody speaking in a sort of rhetorical
14 and perhaps polemical fashion at a public meeting?

15 A. Well, I think the political policing is definitely
16 the repressive arm of the state. However, community
17 policing where, you know -- you know, the Dixon of Dock
18 Green, if you like, you know, where people are
19 protected, communities are protected, and the police
20 investigate crime, as opposed to political thought,
21 which it seems as though this was the focus that it was,
22 you know, Orwellian kind of -- you know, kind of view
23 of -- of, you know, our -- our thoughts, etc.

24 So yeah, I'd have to make the distinction between
25 community policing, or policing that looks after

1 people's safety, and this SPG that seems to me to be an
2 entirely political force.

3 Q. The SPG, of course, the Special Patrol Group, they were
4 the mobile unit of the Metropolitan Police that targeted
5 public disorder, and they were present at
6 the Anti-Nazi League protests in Southall, and
7 responsible for the fatal blow to the head which killed
8 Blair Peach. And of course, we heard from his former
9 partner last week. That incident had taken place three
10 months previous to this report.

11 Does this meeting indicate the attitude of the SWP
12 towards, in particular, the SPG following that
13 demonstration which led to Blair Peach's death?

14 A. Yes, I think it did. Yeah, I think, you know, the view
15 was that the police had killed Blair Peach. It was
16 a police officer that had done it. The SPG, we felt,
17 were out of control. And, you know, from many of
18 the reports of demonstrations -- Leicester, Southall,
19 wherever -- there was a lot of violence perpetrated by
20 the police on the left, and on, you know -- you know,
21 even in -- yeah, that's all I have to say really.

22 Q. He says that the dissolution of the SPG was a small step
23 on the road to a socialist revolution. Was that a view
24 shared by other members of the SWP, do you think?

25 A. I don't think --

1 Q. This was a small, important step along that road?

2 A. I think it's an irrelevant step. You know, it was --
3 the SPG needed to be disbanded, and we felt that
4 policing had to be responsive to community need. And it
5 was -- they were kind of behaving almost like
6 a paramilitary force against the population of this
7 country. Yeah, but it had nothing to do with, you know,
8 a step to revolution, or anything like that, at all.

9 Q. Can we just scroll up the page, please, to paragraph 3.

10 This reads as follows:

11 "Because the meeting had not been advertised in any
12 paper or journal (information concerning it had been
13 passed from hand to hand amongst members of the SWP and
14 their contacts) the attendance of two strangers, who
15 arrived separately, caused some suspicion and both were
16 assumed to be police agents. This seemingly accurate
17 assumption was based on the general appearance of
18 the strangers (two men) and the fact that they refrained
19 from giving any information about themselves. It was
20 also noticed that they both left early, having clearly
21 tired of the evening's Marxist rhetoric. After they had
22 left [Privacy], the chairman, announced that they were
23 obviously members of the Special Patrol Group ... or
24 perhaps Special Branch."

25 This appears to have been a meeting which was

1 slightly more private in nature, is that right, in that
2 it had been organised amongst the SWP and not advertised
3 more broadly? Does that sound right?

4 A. Well, yeah, without any sinister kind of implication, it
5 could well be that it was just a meeting which was
6 called at the last minute, and so, you know, the only
7 people that had been informed were, you know, people
8 that -- that we -- that we knew.

9 In terms of -- I think, you know, we were generally
10 very concerned with security because, you know, as
11 you've heard from other witnesses, meetings were
12 sometimes broken up by the National Front. So, I think,
13 you know, particularly in the aftermath of -- I'm not
14 sure the date of this again, but in the aftermath of
15 Lewisham there was an increase in attacks, so we were
16 becoming very security conscious. So two people that
17 turned up out of the blue in those circumstances,
18 you know, we probably would have looked at them and
19 thought, "Who are you?" But, yeah, I don't see anything
20 -- anything sinister about that meeting at all.

21 Q. Thank you.

22 Now, I'm going to just take you very briefly to
23 three further reports before we move on to considering
24 "Vince Miller" in a bit more detail.

25 Can we look at {UCPI/11550}, please, at tab 6. No,

1 sorry, that's not the right -- yes, thank you, that's
2 right.

3 A report dated 17 November 1977:

4 "The following information has been received from
5 a reliable source:-

6 "'Madeleine', an active member of
7 the Socialist Workers Party, has obtained a part-time
8 job as a [Privacy] [Privacy] at a [Privacy] school
9 [Privacy] [Privacy] and receives a weekly salary of
10 about £25. She began this employment on [Privacy]."

11 So we can see, despite the proliferation of privacy
12 redactions, that is evidently a report about an
13 employment you have contained at a school, and giving
14 details of your salary.

15 What's your -- sorry, and also contains
16 a description of you:

17 "Her current description is as follows ..."

18 It's all been redacted. That contains a physical
19 description of you.

20 What is your response to reading a report like that
21 written about you?

22 A. Well, I'm outraged really. I mean, I find that a
23 real -- you know, a gross invasion of my privacy. Why
24 did they need, you know, a detailed physical description
25 of me, you know? To what end? What was that used for?

1 Why, you know, was there reporting of my job, when
2 I started, how much I earned? You know, I just -- yeah,
3 it's just -- yeah, it seems to me to be either
4 irrelevant intelligence -- so-called
5 intelligence-gathering. You know, I'd like to know what
6 that was used for. You know, I got a job in a school
7 because I loved kids. You know, that's -- always have
8 and, you know, liked working with children very much.

9 Q. Another report in a similar vein. Please can we put up
10 {UCPI/11289}, please. Tab 11. Thank you.

11 Rather faint this one:

12 "The following information has been received from
13 a liable source:-

14 "'Madeleine', a long serving member of
15 the Socialist Workers Party, was married on [Privacy]
16 1976, at [Privacy] Register Office, to [Privacy].

17 "The couple have been living at [Privacy] ..."

18 Appears to be the address:

19 "... since their marriage.

20 "Madeleine is the subject of ..."

21 And gives a file reference number there.

22 Again, what is your reaction to this report, which
23 sets out details of your marriage some two years
24 previously?

25 A. Well, yeah, again, absolutely outraged. I'd like to

1 know how this information was got, given that
2 "Vince Miller", you know, hadn't been deployed at that
3 stage. You know, it's so detailed. How did he get that
4 information? Why was it necessary, you know, for anyone
5 to know who I was married to, when I was married, etc?

6 And as for this thing at the bottom, you know,
7 I know that I'm the subject of something that's been
8 redacted, dating from 1970 when I was 16 years old and
9 still at school. And I find that, you know, absolutely
10 -- you know, I find that really sinister, because, you
11 know, I became involved in politics at the age of 13.
12 I was obviously being spied on in 1970 at the age of 16.
13 Was I being spied on before?

14 And, you know, I'd like to ask the Chair, you know,
15 what possible -- you know, for what possible reason --
16 you know, this is over 51 years ago. You know, why
17 can't I see what I was subject to that's been redacted?
18 I find that really, really sinister. And I want to
19 know, you know, why they started spying on me in
20 the first place.

21 Q. Finally, this report {UCPI/21299}, please, at tab 14:

22 "The following information has been received from
23 a reliable source ..."

24 This is 31 May 1979:

25 "'Madeleine', a member of

1 the Socialist Workers Party, has, after a variety of
2 jobs, finally gained regular employment as a bus
3 conductress."

4 And gives some more details which are covered by
5 privacy.

6 "She continues to reside at ..."

7 And your address has been redacted from that.

8 Finally, "Madeleine", what's your reaction to that
9 report about some new employment?

10 A. Well, again, why was it being recorded? You know,
11 I left my job at the school because unfortunately
12 I couldn't live on the wage. Although I loved what
13 I was doing and I loved kids, I couldn't afford to live
14 on that wage. I had to find another job that paid me
15 better, as it were. And that was the job that I found
16 at the time.

17 Again, you know, is it because I was active in
18 the union that that was reported? Yeah, I'd like to ask
19 "Vince Miller" why he recorded it.

20 Q. Thank you.

21 You can take that document down now, please.

22 "Vince Miller" joined the Walthamstow branch, it
23 seems, in early 1977. The Walthamstow branches in early
24 1977, were they members -- Walthamstow branch meetings,
25 were they members-only branch meetings, or could anyone

- 1 turn up?
- 2 A. No, anyone could turn up. That's how -- I think
- 3 "Vince Miller" first made contact with the SWP through
- 4 the paper sale at the top of the market on Saturday
- 5 morning, so eventually came to a public meeting.
- 6 I should imagine it was a public meeting first, and then
- 7 subsequently joined. But yeah, it was probably a public
- 8 meeting.
- 9 Q. What was the attitude of branch members towards new
- 10 members, or visitors who turned up? How would they feel
- 11 about new people --
- 12 A. They were generally really excited. Somebody new had
- 13 turned up, you know, great. You know, we thought
- 14 the more the merrier. And it's somebody like "Vince",
- 15 who we thought was just a, you know, kind of ordinary
- 16 working class guy, was exactly the kind of person
- 17 that -- that we would, you know, hope to recruit.
- 18 You know, there were lots of teachers and social
- 19 workers, and people like that. Fairly, kind of, middle
- 20 class, white collar people in the SWP at that time,
- 21 students. So somebody like "Vince" would have been
- 22 really welcomed, and we would have welcomed him.
- 23 Q. Did he become active within your group, can you recall?
- 24 A. Yeah, absolutely. Yeah, very active in our group.
- 25 Q. Can you help us with what sort of things he got involved

- 1 with, please?
- 2 A. Well, he would have been selling papers; he used to go
3 flyposting with people, because he had a van, so that's
4 -- you know, could always give people lifts. He went on
5 pickets, actually with some of my flatmates, to
6 Grunwick, he went down there. He would have gone on
7 demos. He would have gone to gigs. And, yeah, so every
8 activity -- he would have joined in with every activity.
- 9 Q. You said he had a van. Was that a common feature of SWP
10 members at that time, some sort of transport?
- 11 A. No, no. Hardly anyone had a vehicle.
- 12 Q. And so of what use would that have been, if a new member
13 joined with a vehicle?
- 14 A. Well, you know, he obviously -- he -- we now know that
15 he used that as a cover for, you know, his -- his
16 supposed employment. But it would have been useful
17 because I think, you know, he picked up papers and stuff
18 like that, and distributed papers. I think he may have
19 gone to the print shop. The paper was printed once
20 a week -- picked up the papers, distributed them,
21 distributed leaflets, gave people lifts, went
22 flyposting, you know, with buckets of paste in the back
23 and posters, and that type of thing. So, yeah, it would
24 have been really useful.
- 25 Q. So he was a useful addition to your --

- 1 A. Oh yeah, yeah. I mean, he would have been useful
2 without the van, but added a big plus having a van.
- 3 Q. And can you recall -- you have described your -- you
4 have described that your political activism was a huge
5 commitment in your life, and made up most of your --
6 took up most of your spare time and all your sort of
7 socialising time, either socialising with members of
8 your group or being politically active with members of
9 your group.
- 10 A. Yeah.
- 11 Q. How about "Vince Miller"? Can you recall his level of
12 commitment? Or perhaps you can't.
- 13 A. No, I think he was -- he was kind of -- he had his feet
14 under the table, let's put it that way. He was very
15 enmeshed in the group, socially and politically. He may
16 have portrayed himself as a little bit naive
17 politically, you know, not -- not a kind of hardline
18 hack, or anything like that. But yeah, he was,
19 you know, part of -- part of the crowd, part of
20 the group. You know, went to parties with us, went to
21 gigs with us. You know, he was well integrated for, you
22 know, three years, from virtually the beginning of his
23 deployment to the end.
- 24 Q. You have described a very sociable group that often went
25 to the pub or to parties together. Did he join that

1 group and was he as sociable as the others? Or how can
2 you describe his socialising?

3 A. Yeah, "Vince" was always the first to the bar. He liked
4 a drink, always had a pint. He came across as a very
5 friendly, you know, jovial, laid-back, really nice guy.
6 Everybody liked him. He was -- he was -- he was well
7 liked.

8 Q. Did the social aspect -- the socialising aspect of your
9 SWP activities, did that have any sort of political
10 dimension to it? Did you chat about forthcoming
11 demonstrations or plans, or anything of that nature?
12 Did it have that sort of aspect to it, the socialising,
13 or was that mainly dealt with in branch meetings and
14 public meetings, and matters of that nature?

15 A. Well, it would have mostly been dealt with at branch
16 meetings and stuff like that, and the socialising was
17 probably less political and was probably much more
18 people dancing and, you know, kind of talking about all
19 kinds of things. Politics would inevitably come up, and
20 people might then have a kind of little debate about
21 something. But yeah, we talked about all kinds of stuff
22 really.

23 Q. Thank you.

24 You said that he accompanied you to other social
25 occasions as well. So quite apart -- so there's

1 the drink after the weekly meeting in the pub; did he
2 attend that?

3 A. Yeah, yeah, always. Always first to the bar. Always
4 there with a pint, yeah.

5 Q. And drinks after flyposting? Did he go to drinks after
6 flyposting?

7 A. Yeah. I mean, as well as, you know, my house, lots of
8 people often coming back to my house, say, after the pub
9 and stuff. I lived within a couple of minutes' walk of
10 two very popular pubs, which were kind of -- you know,
11 at the weekends, those pubs were kind of meeting places
12 for people as well. There would often be crowds of
13 people with me; sometimes people would come back to our
14 house after the pub had shut and stuff. But --

15 Q. Did "Vince Miller" come back to your house after the pub
16 closed?

17 A. Oh yeah, yeah. He was there. He was a frequent visitor
18 to my house, yeah.

19 Q. And how soon after he joined the branch do you think
20 that started to happen, the -- "Vince Miller" sort of
21 socialising with your group as well?

22 A. Well, I think he probably eased himself in, as it were,
23 but in actual fact, I've been talking to one of my old
24 flatmates, who has extensive diaries from those times,
25 and he told me a couple of days ago that he'd found

1 dates where "Vince" had been to our house as early as
2 I think May or June '77. So within -- within a few
3 months he was a regular person dropping into my house.

4 Q. And did he become a trusted member of your branch?

5 A. Oh, absolutely. Absolutely. And he was -- he was very
6 good friends with my best friend as well, and her
7 brother. But he was -- yeah, we all -- we all trusted
8 him implicitly.

9 Q. And you have said that you viewed other branch members
10 as your friends. Would you have viewed "Vince Miller"
11 as your friend at this time as well?

12 A. When I first knew him, I was married. And I --
13 I probably was less friendly. Not unfriendly but less,
14 you know, kind of active sort of socially. I did regard
15 him as a friend. And obviously I had some very close
16 friends within the SWP and some people that I would
17 regard -- regard more as acquaintances. But yeah,
18 I regarded him as a friend, increasingly after my
19 marriage broke up.

20 Q. And I think your marriage broke up in about the autumn
21 of 1978; is that right?

22 A. That's right, yeah.

23 Q. Thank you.

24 Can we have up on screen -- this is a photograph
25 I think has been supplied by you -- {UCPI/34331},

1 please. Thank you.

2 This shows -- is that "Vince Miller" there with
3 the guitar?

4 A. It is, yeah. And my best friend is there as well.

5 Q. So --

6 A. And her brother.

7 Q. I'm grateful. So two individuals who have been redacted
8 for privacy reasons, their faces not shown?

9 A. Yeah -- (overspeaking) --

10 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- in a flat. Is this in a -- it's in
11 a private house; is that right?

12 A. It is in a private house. At first -- this was given to
13 me by -- recently by a friend who was in the SWP. And
14 I think I said it was my friend "J's" house. She's
15 there but it wasn't her house, it was the friend that
16 supplied the photo, it was his house, and he was in
17 the SWP as well. So it's a private house.

18 Q. Thank you.

19 And is this likely to be a political meeting or
20 simply a social occasion?

21 A. It looks to me like it's a social occasion.

22 Q. And is this typical of the sort of social occasions that
23 you engaged in when you were a 25-year old in the SWP at
24 that time?

25 A. Yeah, pretty much, yeah. People came around, play

1 music, chat, play guitar, you know, have a few cans of
2 beer, you know, that type of thing.

3 Q. And was this typical of the sort of occasions that
4 "Vince Miller" attended during his time in your branch?

5 A. I couldn't say how many times that he attended occasions
6 where -- you know, if I wasn't there, because I wasn't
7 actually at this -- this occasion. But it shows how
8 well integrated, you know, he was, you know, within our
9 group, yeah.

10 Q. Thank you. You can take that photograph down now,
11 please.

12 As to his character, you have described him
13 as "laddish" with the men and always first at the bar
14 with a pint. But he had a softer side when he spoke
15 with women; is that right?

16 A. Yeah, that's -- that's my recollection, yeah. He was --
17 he -- you know, there was a bit of banter with the guys
18 and, you know, quite a lot of drinking and everything.
19 But yeah, his demeanour was notably, I felt, softer with
20 women.

21 Q. And did he chat to both the men and the women in
22 the group, or did he tend to favour talking to the men?
23 How did he interact with your group?

24 A. I think he spoke to both, yeah. I mean, as I've said,
25 he was -- he was close friends with my friend "J", who's

1 female, and, yeah -- but -- but both, I think.

2 Q. Okay, thank you.

3 Your relationship came to an end in autumn 1978, and
4 you've said in your witness statement that was rather
5 a difficult breakup. By the following summer, you were
6 aged 25, is that right, in the summer of 1979?

7 A. Yeah, I was 25, yeah.

8 Q. And were you still -- were you single at that stage?

9 A. Yes, I was, yeah.

10 Q. And a single 25-year old in that -- but in the context
11 of a relationship having come to an end -- a marriage
12 having come to an end, were you seeking any new
13 relationship or any further long-standing commitment at
14 that stage; can you remember?

15 A. When the marriage broke up, I was absolutely
16 heartbroken, because, you know, I'd been passionately in
17 love with him, and it went, you know, very badly wrong.
18 I don't think I was actively seeking another
19 relationship. You know, I'd hoped that one, you know --
20 you know, that I would have, you know, a kind of --
21 another loving relationship at some point, but I don't
22 think I was actively seeking one, no.

23 Q. And what sort of person were you when you were 25,
24 having come out of a long-term relationship? Can you
25 describe what sort of person you were?

1 A. Well, in those days, you know, I was -- I was a -- I was
2 very shy, actually. I was quite a shy -- would
3 always -- was fairly reserved when -- you know, until
4 I got to know people, and then I would kind of open up
5 and be much more kind of chatty. I felt very vulnerable
6 at that time because of, you know, the -- because my
7 husband had been pretty abusive. So, yeah, I think
8 I was quite fragile, actually.

9 Q. You have said you considered "Vince Miller" to be
10 a friend. Did you chat to him about any difficulties in
11 your life, or anything about your life, or was he simply
12 somebody who you socialised with after meetings?

13 A. I think before getting together with him, I don't think
14 I would have necessarily spoken to him about, you know,
15 my marriage. Although -- and I note actually that he
16 seemed to be saying somewhere that he didn't know my
17 husband, but there is actually a photo with him in
18 the same photo as my husband, plus my sisters, plus,
19 you know, other -- other friends and everything at
20 the Rock Against Racism conference. He would have met
21 him at my house. And I have, you know, recollections of
22 him laughing and joking and high-fiving with my husband
23 in -- in our house.

24 I don't think I would have discussed with -- with
25 very many people at all, actually, about -- at the time

1 about, you know, what was going on with -- in, you know,
2 my relationship, because I think, like many women,
3 you know, who are in abusive relationships, I felt
4 a sense of shame about it; and, you know, didn't talk to
5 people unless I was very close to them about it.

6 Q. Yes.

7 You said that until your relationship broke down,
8 you perhaps hadn't known "Vince Miller" so well because
9 you weren't so socially active. Did that change once
10 your -- once you were -- you had -- your relationship
11 had broken down? Did you become more socially active
12 and did you come to know "Vince Miller" a bit better?

13 A. Yeah, well, I became more socially active. I started
14 kind of going out more and -- and doing stuff like that.
15 And yeah, he -- I would have come across him much more
16 and -- you know, one of the things about my first
17 husband, he was extremely possessive and, you know, had
18 he seen me talking to another man, for example, it would
19 have, you know, been something that he would object to
20 most strongly. So, you know, obviously that had an
21 inhibiting effect on my interaction with men in
22 particular, really.

23 Q. As you got to know "Vince Miller" a little better, can
24 you describe what sort of person you thought he was?

25 A. I thought he was lovely. A really nice guy. You know,

1 he's -- I thought he was a genuine, you know, lovely,
2 easy-going, you know, person. And, you know, he had
3 the -- I thought he was sensitive, you know. He'd had
4 this story of heartbreak and all the rest of it. I felt
5 that he was, you know, somebody that was, you know,
6 looking for genuine relationships with people.
7 You know, I didn't feel that he was any kind of --
8 anything other than that. I thought he was a genuine
9 guy.

10 Q. We know that your relationship moved on. And I want to
11 now ask you, please, about that.

12 You give an account in your witness statement about
13 attending a house party in Ilford; is that right?

14 A. That's right, yeah.

15 Q. Can you tell us, please, what happened at that house
16 party? And I'll ask you questions along the way, to
17 sort of bring out aspects. But if you begin, then I'll
18 start to ask you a few questions, if I may?

19 A. Okay. So I'd gone to the party with a group of people.
20 It was in Ilford. I don't know how -- I don't know how
21 we got there, whether we were in a -- I don't think we
22 were in a vehicle, but a vehicle got mentioned later on.

23 Q. Were they SWP people?

24 A. Oh yeah, yeah. Yeah, these were flatmates and -- and
25 people like that.

- 1 Q. The house in Ilford, was that an SWP populated house?
- 2 A. It was.
- 3 Q. -- (overspeaking) -- somebody else?
- 4 A. So it was an SWP house.
- 5 When we got there, there were quite a few people, it
- 6 was quite noisy. And I think "Vince" turned up late,
- 7 and he was sitting on a chair.
- 8 Q. Just a few questions about the party --
- 9 A. Yeah.
- 10 Q. -- please.
- 11 What sort of party was it? Dancing and drinking and
- 12 that sort of party, or a small quiet party, or a sort
- 13 of --
- 14 A. The dancing and drinking kind of party.
- 15 Q. And the sort of people there, first of all, how many
- 16 people do you think were there?
- 17 A. Oh god --
- 18 Q. Was it a largish sort of party or --
- 19 A. Maybe 50; 40/50, something like that.
- 20 Q. And were these all people at broadly the same sort of
- 21 age and stage, sort of young people in their --
- 22 A. Yeah.
- 23 Q. -- 20s?
- 24 A. Yeah, mostly. Mostly young people, yeah, yeah.
- 25 Q. And largely people involved in the SWP, to some degree?

1 A. Yeah, and maybe some friends of theirs and stuff, yeah.

2 Q. Did you go to the party with "Vince Miller"?

3 A. No.

4 Q. You say he turned up at some stage. Do you know whether
5 he came with other people or whether he came on his own?

6 A. I'm not sure whether he came with anyone. I think he
7 may have come with one other person.

8 Q. -- (overspeaking) --

9 A. I don't know how they would have known where the party
10 was. I think maybe he was brought to the party.

11 Q. I was going to ask you about that.

12 A. Yeah.

13 Q. The party of the people in Ilford; were the SWP people
14 in Ilford connected with your branch of the SWP, or were
15 they just simply people that you knew through being
16 politically active in general in the SWP?

17 A. They were part of the Outer London District, as it were,
18 so "Vince" would have known them as well.

19 Q. Right.

20 A. So I'm not -- you know, to be honest, I'm not sure
21 whether he independently was invited, or whether he was
22 taken there by somebody else. I'm not sure about that.

23 Q. Thank you very much.

24 You became aware of him at the party; is that right?

25 A. That's right, yeah.

- 1 Q. And I think you said he was sitting on a chair?
- 2 A. Yeah, he was sitting on a kitchen chair, or something.
- 3 Q. When you became aware of him, what did you do?
- 4 A. Smiled at him, waved at him, went over and tried to --
- 5 you know, it was very noisy -- tried to kind of say,
- 6 "Come up and dance," or something. And he basically
- 7 pulled me onto his lap, because it was very, very noisy,
- 8 and I was having to shout in his ear, etc, for him to
- 9 hear me; and he pulled me onto his lap, and that's where
- 10 I stayed for the rest of the night.
- 11 Q. Was it a surprise to you that he pulled you onto his
- 12 lap?
- 13 A. I think it was, yeah. I think it was. And at some
- 14 point during the evening when I was on his lap, he had
- 15 said to me how hard it had been to get to know me in
- 16 the past, which surprised me. You know, I didn't know
- 17 that he wanted to get to know me particularly any
- 18 better. But said, yeah, "You're very hard to get to
- 19 know."
- 20 Q. Does it follow that you hadn't had any indication
- 21 previously that he had any sort of romantic interest in
- 22 you?
- 23 A. I don't think I did, no. No.
- 24 Q. And he pulled you onto his lap. Was that something that
- 25 was all right with you? Did you mind being on his lap,

1 was that okay?

2 A. That was okay, yeah. I mean, I trusted him, liked him,
3 he was friendly. Yeah, and I -- I enjoyed sitting on
4 his lap, yeah.

5 Q. You said you spent the evening really sitting on his
6 lap. What were you doing with him whilst you were
7 sitting on his lap? Did you chat?

8 A. Yeah, chatting, flirting, yeah, that kind of thing. And
9 at some point, another friend of mine, who I worked
10 with -- at some point I worked at the SWP print shop.
11 And another friend, who I'll describe "M", turned up and
12 saw me, and came over and tried to get me to get up and
13 dance with him. And "Vince" kind of put his arms round
14 me and sort of said, "No, she's quite happy here", kind
15 of thing, and sort of held me down on his lap. I just
16 thought it was funny and laughed.

17 Q. Right.

18 At some stage you've described in your witness
19 statement that your friends said to you, "If you want
20 a lift, we need to leave now"; is that right? What was
21 -- what was "Vince Miller's" reaction to that, can you
22 remember?

23 A. Well, they'd said -- I think they said to me, "Are you
24 coming?", you know, "Because if you want" -- as you say,
25 "If you want a lift, you're going to have to come home

1 now." And I was reluctant to go with them, because
2 I was enjoying chatting and flirting with
3 "Vince Miller". And he said, "It's okay, I'll make sure
4 she gets home okay."

5 Q. Right.

6 Do you recall going home that evening?

7 A. I think at the time of writing my initial witness
8 statement, I was kind of unsure, because I was thinking
9 did we walk, did we go in a van. I think now we may
10 actually have gone in his van. I think his -- he may
11 have had a vehicle, and he took me back to my place.

12 Q. When you got to your house, what did "Vince Miller" do,
13 please?

14 A. Came inside.

15 Q. So he had driven you back to your house. At whose
16 instigation did he come into the house? Did you invite
17 him in? Or did he just come in? Or how did it happen?

18 A. I think there was a kind of a mutual acknowledgement
19 that he was going to come in, I think, yeah.

20 Q. And once in the house, did he go into your bedroom?

21 A. Not immediately, no.

22 Q. Right.

23 A. But --

24 Q. Just help us very briefly. I'm not asking you to go
25 into any sort of specific details, but just help us

1 briefly with what happened when you got back to
2 the house.

3 You'd come back to the house. He's delivered you
4 home; he comes into the house for a little while. Do
5 you stay downstairs and have a drink? Or what happened?

6 A. I think -- I think that we may have done that. I think
7 we may have had -- you know, there definitely wasn't
8 a party at my house, though, that night. There may have
9 been -- a couple of my flatmates were perhaps still up,
10 or something like that. As I say, we had a large living
11 room. So we may have had, you know, a can or so of
12 beer, or something, or he may have had a can of beer,
13 I'm not sure. Then at some point we went up to my room.

14 Q. And how did that happen, him coming up to your room?
15 Did you invite him to come upstairs? Can you remember
16 how it came about?

17 A. I can't really remember how it came about, but I think
18 it was something that I think we both knew that we
19 wanted to happen.

20 Q. Right, thank you.

21 And was that the start of a sexual relationship
22 between you and "Vince Miller", that evening?

23 A. Yes, it was, yeah.

24 Q. Did he stay the night that night, can you remember?

25 A. He did, yeah. He stayed, and my flatmates would have

- 1 seen him in the morning, yeah.
- 2 Q. Following that sexual encounter with "Vince Miller", did
3 your relationship with him change? Previously you'd
4 said you regarded him as a friend, that he was a very
5 good friend of your friend.
- 6 A. Yeah.
- 7 Q. But you've now, after a party, had a sexual encounter
8 with him. How did your relationship change thereafter?
- 9 A. I was very keen on him. You know, I thought he was
10 lovely. I thought he was a really attractive guy.
11 I was very keen to, you know, for it to continue. And,
12 you know, I was never looking for a one night stand or
13 casual sex with anyone. I was basically, you know, very
14 keen, and thought there was a possibility for, you know,
15 a genuine relationship to develop.
- 16 Q. And did you still see him at SWP events?
- 17 A. Yeah.
- 18 Q. And did you socialise with him also?
- 19 A. Yeah.
- 20 Q. And was there any diminution in your contact -- your
21 social contact with him, or did it continue the same as
22 before?
- 23 A. I think it continued the same as before. Increased
24 actually.
- 25 Q. It increased.

- 1 A. Yeah.
- 2 Q. Thank you very much.
- 3 And just describe to me how it increased and why it
4 increased, please.
- 5 A. Well, I think, you know, say, for example, at meetings
6 and stuff like that, he would come over after
7 the meeting and sit at the table with me and stuff like
8 that, you know, more than he had done before. So, yeah,
9 so ...
- 10 Q. So you had more contact with him following meetings than
11 you might have done before. So previously you might
12 have socialised in a group, now there was more direct
13 contact between you?
- 14 A. Yeah.
- 15 Q. Is that right?
- 16 A. I think so.
- 17 Q. And you had described previously that he would come back
18 to your house for drinks after meetings finished, or
19 that sort of thing. Did that continue?
- 20 A. Yeah.
- 21 Q. After that first -- that initial encounter, did
22 the relationship continue to be a sexual one?
- 23 A. It -- yes, it did. It did, yeah. Over a period of,
24 I think, it was up to a couple of months, yeah.
- 25 Q. Right.

1 Did you discover anything about "Vince Miller's"
2 past, about his background, his history, anything of
3 that nature?

4 A. Yeah, I did.

5 Q. What did he tell you?

6 A. Well, he had told me, and I know he had told other
7 people, he told my best friend as well, that he'd been
8 in a committed long-term relationship and it had kind of
9 gone toxic in some way, and he'd been absolutely
10 devastated and heartbroken. And he'd left -- you know,
11 he'd broken up with this long-term partner; he'd left --
12 I don't know whether he said he was living with her, or,
13 you know, whatever. But, you know, he has a story of he
14 left everything behind, he left his record collection,
15 all the rest of it, because he was so absolutely
16 devastated because, you know, he thought that, you know,
17 this was a long-term relationship, that they would
18 become life partners, that they'd maybe get married, and
19 stuff like that. And because of that, he was very, very
20 wary of getting involved too deeply with anyone else,
21 because he was afraid that he would be hurt again.

22 And I think as well, at that point, you know, he'd
23 also told me that he'd had some kind of difficult
24 childhood. So I can't remember the exact details of
25 that, but something along the lines of he may have been

1 adopted or something, and found it very difficult to
2 trust people and to open up to people, because of, you
3 know, his experience. He'd always had to rely on
4 himself.

5 Q. What effect did it have on you, his account of his
6 childhood and then an unhappy breakup with a person he
7 had thought was going to be a life partner?

8 A. Well, it made me feel really protective of him. It made
9 me feel that he was, you know, a vulnerable guy who, you
10 know, felt very deeply, was very sensitive. And in
11 terms of his -- you know, his breakup with -- with his
12 long-term partner, it felt as though -- although there's
13 no evidence that she was abusive, that it kind of
14 mirrored my own heartbreak, you know, my own situation.
15 And, yeah, I just -- I felt for him. You know, I felt
16 quite motherly towards him, I guess, in a sense.

17 Q. These conversations that you had with him, where
18 did they take place, can you remember?

19 A. Some of them took place in bed. And, yeah, mostly
20 around him, you know, being afraid of being hurt,
21 I think, you know, happened in bed.

22 Q. The relationship lasted, you think, about -- did you say
23 about two months?

24 A. Yeah, up to a couple of months, I think, yeah. I was
25 doing irregular shiftwork, so, yeah, I wasn't always

- 1 kind of around in the evenings, and stuff like that.
- 2 So -- so, you know, in my memory, it's about that length
- 3 of time.
- 4 Q. And during that time, did you go to his flat at all, can
- 5 you remember?
- 6 A. I didn't. I did actually -- I found out where he lived,
- 7 because obviously we had contact details. And on
- 8 a couple of occasions when I kind of was nearby his --
- 9 because it wasn't that far from the bus garage where
- 10 I worked, I think I went up there a couple of times on
- 11 the off chance that he might be in. Knocked on
- 12 the door, and nobody ever answered. So, yeah, just
- 13 because I thought I'd really like to see him. But he
- 14 wasn't -- nobody was there.
- 15 Q. Does it follow then that the sexual aspect of your
- 16 relationship really took place at your --
- 17 A. Oh yes. Yeah.
- 18 Q. I don't want to ask any detail about this, but how
- 19 frequently do you think he spent time at your -- he came
- 20 to your house for the purposes of your
- 21 sexual relationship? How often do you think? Can you
- 22 think about how many times a week that might have
- 23 happened, or was it less than that?
- 24 A. Maybe once a week.
- 25 Q. Once a week.

- 1 A. Yeah.
- 2 Q. Okay -- (overspeaking) --
- 3 A. (inaudible) -- not every week, but yeah, over a period
4 of time.
- 5 Q. Over a period of time. And you think about a few months
6 period of time?
- 7 A. Yeah.
- 8 Q. You said he spent the whole night with you on that first
9 occasion that you had sex with one another. On other
10 occasions, did he spend the night at your flat?
- 11 A. No. What -- what happened is that we went to bed, we
12 had sex, and that at some point in the early hours he
13 would suddenly say he had -- he had to go home. And
14 would -- you know, and give the explanation that he had
15 to, as he said, "I have to wake up in my own bed,
16 because that's where I feel safe," and, you know,
17 "I can't handle getting too close," type of thing.
- 18 Q. And did you accept that as an explanation?
- 19 A. I did. I did accept it as an explanation, and hoped
20 that that would change, but did kind of accept it as an
21 explanation at the beginning. And saw it as some,
22 you know, kind of evidence of how -- you know, how
23 vulnerable he was.
- 24 Q. You -- at the beginning of this episode, you considered
25 "Vince Miller" to be a friend. During the course of

1 the two months -- this two months, did you develop any
2 stronger feelings for him, do you think?

3 A. Yeah, I did. I liked him very much. Yeah, I was very
4 fond of him.

5 Q. Did you make that clear to him? Would he have been
6 aware of that?

7 A. I'm sure he was. I'm sure he was aware of that, yeah.
8 Yeah.

9 Q. And how about him? Did you get the impression he had
10 developed stronger feelings for you?

11 A. I think in the beginning he seemed very keen on me. He
12 became increasingly distant. And -- yeah, and I began
13 to kind of, you know, become disappointed that it didn't
14 seem to be going the way I wanted it to go. And, yeah,
15 I kind of became a bit upset about it.

16 Q. At which point during this two months do you think he
17 began to withdraw, do you think?

18 A. I can't really remember that, no. Possibly after a few
19 occasions. After a few occasions, yeah.

20 Q. Okay, thank you.

21 Did you consider that you were a couple, or had it
22 not reached that level?

23 A. I don't think it had really reached that. I was hoping
24 that we would become a couple. And, you know, I was --
25 I wasn't entertaining going out with anyone else, or

1 anything like that. He was -- he was the kind of
2 the focus of my affections, as it were.

3 Q. And was it public knowledge that there was at least
4 something going on between the two of you? Did members
5 of the branch know that?

6 A. Well, my flatmates knew, because obviously, you know, we
7 were all pretty close friends, and everybody knew
8 everything that was going on in everybody else's life.
9 If somebody had stayed over, if somebody had
10 a girlfriend, boyfriend, everybody knew about it. And,
11 you know, my best friend, she knew; and her brother
12 knew, because they were very close as well. So, amongst
13 a small group of people, it was known, yeah.

14 Q. And would you have been happy for a wider group of
15 people to have known about it, or was there any
16 restriction on -- (overspeaking) -- knowing.

17 A. There wouldn't have been any restriction on me knowing
18 about it -- about me telling anyone, but I don't think
19 it would necessarily have arisen at that stage.

20 Q. Right.

21 A. Really, yeah. In fact, I was just going to say,
22 you know, talking about whether people knew about it, is
23 that I have a very strong recollection of my -- one of
24 my flatmates, who I'll just call "P", saying to me one
25 morning after "Vince" had stayed over, that they knew

1 that he'd stayed over. When I came down on my own in
2 the morning to make some tea, my flatmate said to me,
3 "Is Vince still in bed?" And I said, "No, he's gone."
4 And he looked a bit puzzled and said, "Well, when did he
5 go?" And I said, you know, "He went 3 o'clock,
6 4 o'clock, something like that." And my friend said to
7 me at the time, "Well, that's a bit bad mannered; it's
8 only polite to stay the whole night." And I think he
9 was feeling, you know, this friend, my flatmate, we were
10 close friends, he was quite protective of me, and he
11 felt that I was in danger of being used.

12 Q. The relationship lasted about two months. Can you help
13 us, please, with how it came to an end?

14 A. The last time I saw him we were at a meeting at my
15 friend J's house, and there was a whole group of us in
16 her living room, sitting round on the floor on chairs,
17 on the sofa, and all the rest of it. And "Vince" was on
18 the other side of the room sitting next to another
19 woman, who I'll call "C", who -- I don't know if
20 I should say this, but I believe that she is the other
21 woman that he had a sexual relationship in the SWP with.
22 And she -- they were kind of chatting away, and she was
23 being very flirty with him, and I kind of sensed from
24 her body language and everything that possibly something
25 was going on, but then I thought maybe I'm just being

1 paranoid because my first husband had -- had -- as I'd
2 found out, had been quite promiscuous. And --

3 Q. Just pause a moment. At this -- during the course -- at
4 this stage, how long before that, do you think, had you
5 last seen "Vince"? Had he been round to your flat and
6 you'd had sex --

7 A. I think maybe I hadn't seen him for a week or so.

8 Q. Right. So there had been a break in the contact between
9 you --

10 A. I think so. I think so. But, you know, as I say, I was
11 doing shiftwork, so my hours were all over the place.

12 And, yeah, so going back to that last time I saw
13 him, and he basically didn't kind of acknowledge me
14 much; he kind of kept glancing over at me, but didn't
15 really acknowledge me during the evening, and I felt a
16 little bit kind of miffed, a bit upset that he wasn't
17 acknowledging me.

18 And at the end of the meeting, he got up and went
19 out, and I thought, "Right, I need to go and speak to
20 him," kind of thing, followed him out into the street,
21 and, you know, basically, you know, said, you know,
22 "You've been ignoring me all night," and, you know, "Why
23 have you been ignoring me?" And he responded by saying
24 to me, "Look, I just don't know what you want from me.
25 I've told you that I -- you know, I can't get involved

1 too much. I'm -- I'm just -- I'm not ready to get
2 involved, and I'm just" -- you know, along those lines.
3 You know, "I don't want to get hurt again." And he then
4 told me that he was thinking of going to America
5 to "find himself" in some way, and because he liked West
6 Coast Californian music. And then I can just remember
7 him sort of hugging me really, and the two of us
8 standing there hugging for a long time in the street
9 until we both went our separate ways.

10 Q. And that brought an end to your relationship. Did you
11 see him again?

12 A. I think that was the last time I saw him. I can't
13 remember another occasion after that, but I think I
14 did -- that was the last time I saw him. I don't think
15 it was the last time other SWP members saw him. But,
16 yeah, I think it -- I'm sure it was the last time I saw
17 him.

18 Q. You will be aware that "Vince Miller", in his witness
19 statement, has said that this was a very brief
20 encounter -- I think he calls it a one night stand --
21 and effectively there were no hard feelings on either
22 side, and you remained on good terms thereafter.

23 You have described something quite different --
24 a relationship that lasted several weeks, and then
25 a break and then no more contact. Can you help us

1 with -- he says you remained on good terms after your
2 sexual encounter. Was there ever any chance to remain
3 on good terms? Did you see him? After the end of the
4 relationship, how much contact did you have with him?

5 A. Well, we remained -- we remained on good terms after
6 the first night and slept together, you know. And then,
7 when he -- after that meeting, I don't think that --
8 that I saw him -- him again. But obviously, you know,
9 we now know that his deployment ended round about that
10 time and I -- I basically kind of feel as though what
11 he's trying to say is that he was drunk on that first
12 occasion so therefore couldn't be held responsible for
13 what he did, and to kind of minimise what happened
14 after, because you can't keep on using the excuse of
15 being drunk, can you. You know, if you've done
16 something and you think, "I shouldn't have done that,
17 I was drunk", you don't then get drunk again and again
18 and again, do you. You know, so, I think that he's
19 using alcohol as an excuse, and -- but it did go on for
20 longer than he said.

21 Q. Do you think that alcohol played any part in the initial
22 encounter between you and "Vince Miller"?

23 A. Not really, no. He didn't seem drunk to me. You know,
24 he may have been drinking. I wasn't -- I certainly
25 wasn't drunk. You know, I may have had a bottle of beer

1 and he may have had a bottle of beer, but he wasn't
2 drunk.

3 Q. And how about on any subsequent sexual encounter that
4 you had, can you remember?

5 A. Yeah. No, not drunk.

6 Q. Thank you very much.

7 A. I -- sorry, I was just -- I was just --

8 Q. Carry on.

9 A. I don't -- don't know if you're going to ask me this,
10 but after he'd said that he -- after he'd said he was
11 thinking about going to America, I think it may have
12 been -- I don't know -- I don't know how many weeks
13 after, but my best friend "J" also came to work on
14 the buses; she'd been working on the buses for a period.
15 And I don't know if you were going to ask me about
16 the diary entry at all. Were you going to ask me about
17 that?

18 Q. Yes.

19 You have been able to provide some sort of date, is
20 this right --

21 A. Yeah --

22 Q. -- for this relationship by reference to a note --

23 A. Yeah.

24 Q. -- provided by your friend.

25 Perhaps we can just have that up on the screen,

1 please. It's {UCPI/34310}, please.

2 Dated 9 January. Which year do you think that would
3 be?

4 A. That's in 1980.

5 Q. 1980.

6 A. Yeah.

7 Q. "Further tales of Vince -- M's ex-lover. Apparently his
8 flees into the night after an evening of uninhibited
9 lust were originally construed to be a 'psychological
10 hang-up'! Further investigation may reveal him to be an
11 over-sexed vampire, his dash from the bed, an attempt to
12 return to his coffin before sunrise. Is Vince in
13 America ... or Transylvania? Is he under contract to
14 Hammer Films Inc? Until further news of his
15 whereabouts, keep your jugulars covered."

16 Was "Vince Miller" still part of the Walthamstow
17 branch of the SWP at this stage, or Leyton branch?

18 A. No, this -- this -- this diary entry was written by my
19 bus driver friend, "K", who I worked with and had worked
20 with by that stage for probably about three years. We
21 were very, very close friends and we -- he was a very,
22 very funny, very -- very clever guy who felt he was kind
23 of wasting his life working as a bus driver, and to
24 amuse ourselves, we -- because it's very boring working
25 on the buses, but there's lots of kind of funny

1 incidents that happen, you know, lots of -- there's lots
2 of banter in the -- in the canteen, there's a huge kind
3 of -- you know, kind of cultural -- sort of rich
4 cultural life, and we started keeping a diary about
5 various different things. You know, we used to write
6 poems and limericks and stuff and share them with each
7 other, and this was his diary.

8 And this actually came about when, as I said, my
9 friend "J" had started working on the buses, and we saw
10 her once in the canteen, I think it was the day before
11 this, and I hadn't seen her for a while, because our
12 shift work was -- we were on different shifts, and she
13 said to me, "Have you heard about Vince"? And,
14 you know, I was expecting to -- her to say that he'd
15 gone to America. And I said, "No, well, what"? And she
16 said, "Apparently he's gone to America". And I said,
17 "Well, I knew that", you know, "I knew that he was
18 talking about going".

19 And apparently what had happened is that another
20 member of our branch who we'll call "A" went to
21 "Vince Miller's" address because he'd just suddenly
22 disappeared and wanted to know if everything was okay,
23 we hadn't seen him for a while, you know, was there
24 a problem, whatever. Turned up to his address on
25 Forest Road, and "Vince" wasn't there but two other

1 people answered the door who "A" (inaudible) were
2 "Vince Miller's" flatmates, and he said they looked very
3 shifty and, you know, kind of a bit weird, as he
4 described them, "shifty and a bit weird", and they said,
5 "Who are you; why do you want to know where he is, where
6 he's gone"? And he just said, "Well, we're friends of
7 his", and they said he'd gone to America.

8 Sorry, are you okay?

9 Q. I'm fine, sorry. I just had to (inaudible) myself.

10 Thank you, carry on.

11 A. So -- so subsequent to that conversation with "J", my
12 friend, the driver, then -- who, you know, was -- took
13 an interest in my love life, let's put it that way.
14 You know, he was always hoping that I'd find, you know,
15 some -- some nice guy --

16 Q. I'm just going to pause a minute.

17 A. Okay, sorry.

18 (Pause)

19 Q. Apologies. Most undignified. I'm awfully sorry.

20 A. Are you okay?

21 Q. Yes, I'm fine. Thank you very much.

22 Please continue. Thank you.

23 A. Yeah, so, that entry came from my driver who -- I'd
24 talked to him about "Vince", I'd talked to him about my
25 previous marriage. We were very close friends. He was

1 quite protective of me. In fact, he'd -- he'd actually
2 been handpicked by the garage manager as -- as a kind
3 of, you know, lovely responsible guy that, you know,
4 would -- would be suitable to -- to work with me, and,
5 you know, we'd become very close friends, and he wrote
6 this diary entry.

7 Q. "Vince Miller" was evidently still a topic of
8 conversation on 9 January 1980.

9 A. Yeah.

10 Q. What impact did the ending of your relationship with
11 "Vince Miller" have on you at the time, can you
12 remember? How did you feel about it?

13 A. Yeah, well, I think, you know, I felt upset, I felt
14 disappointed. I think it impacted my self-esteem,
15 because I think I was feeling fairly fragile. Prior to
16 that, I'd -- I'd -- you know, my self-esteem and my
17 self-confidence had taken a massive hit, you know, with
18 the break up of my marriage, and I think, you know,
19 I was kind of thinking, "God, have I made another
20 mistake"? You know, I've got involved -- got involved
21 with somebody that is -- yeah, it's -- it's not --
22 it's -- you know, who -- who obviously doesn't want to
23 be involved with me. That -- that's how I felt.
24 You know, I did feel, you know, a sense of rejection.
25 But, you know, I think because of my prior, you know,

1 marriage and everything, I thought to myself I need to
2 be very careful next time.

3 Q. You say in your witness statement that had it not been
4 for the discovery that the man with whom you had
5 a relationship as a young woman was an
6 undercover officer, it would have been of very little
7 consequence; is that right?

8 A. That's right, yeah. It happened over 40-odd years ago,
9 and my life has panned out really well, and, you know,
10 I've had a happy life.

11 Q. I want to ask you now then about the impact that
12 learning that information has had on you. And in your
13 witness statement you draw a distinction between what
14 the impact of learning that information would have been
15 at the time and how you feel about it now, and I'm going
16 to take it in stages, if I can.

17 First of all dealing with what would have been
18 the impact had you learnt this at the time, and again,
19 you describe two separate strands. The first,
20 the impact of discovering that an undercover officer had
21 infiltrated your political meetings and your political
22 movement and deceived your political group. What would
23 have been the impact of that at the time, please?

24 A. I think it would have been devastating. You know,
25 I think I was a fairly naive young person and I think

1 although, you know, people entertained kind of
2 the possibility of infiltration and kind of expected,
3 you know, perhaps, that there would be spies, I don't
4 think I really kind of grasped how serious that would
5 be. I think I would have been -- yeah, I would have
6 been absolutely shocked and distraught to -- to discover
7 that, on a political level.

8 I think on a personal level, I would -- that would
9 have -- yeah, I would have felt that to be such
10 a betrayal. You know, I felt that I'd made myself very
11 vulnerable to him and I trusted him, and to me, it would
12 have been an absolute betrayal. You know, I -- I know
13 that I would have regarded, as I do regard it now, as
14 rape.

15 Q. How do you feel about it now? What's the impact on now
16 learning that information all these years later? Can
17 you help us with that?

18 A. Well, I think -- I found it really difficult, you know,
19 when I discovered that he was an undercover officer,
20 because, you know, I rarely thought of him over
21 the years because, you know, my life has -- as you say,
22 it was a short thing, in terms of the rest of my life
23 it's fairly insignificant and my life has turned out
24 very well. But I had fond memories of him and, you
25 know, kind of occasionally -- very occasionally, may

1 have thought, "God, I wonder what happened to 'Vince',
2 hope -- hope he found someone, hope he had a happy
3 life". And then to discover that I didn't know him at
4 all and that he was -- he was -- you know, he was
5 a fiction, you know, that's -- that's been quite
6 difficult to actually get my head round. You know, that
7 whole idea that he doesn't actually exist, it was all an
8 act, he was wearing a mask, it's just really chilling
9 and sinister.

10 I just don't know how -- you know, I look at these
11 undercover officers and I just cannot understand
12 the psychology of these people. You know, the depth of
13 deception and the manipulation and deceit. I just find
14 it disgusting really. I just don't know how people can
15 behave like that towards one another.

16 Q. "Madeleine", I've come to the end of the questions that
17 I want to ask you about this.

18 Is there anything that you want to say that you want
19 the Chair to take into consideration?

20 A. Well, I think -- first of all, I'd like to thank
21 the Chair for extending the restriction order to my
22 husband. It would have helped had it happened earlier,
23 you know, because it is -- you know, getting -- getting
24 all this information and knowing that the state holds
25 information on you is -- is -- is actually quite -- is

1 actually quite scary, and it's quite isolating, you
2 know, if you feel that you can't share it with
3 the people that are closest to you. So I'd like to
4 thank you for that. Wish it had happened earlier. But,
5 you know, I'd like you to consider the other women,
6 you know, who haven't seen their -- you know, what
7 the state holds on them, and I'd like you to extend
8 that. You know, prioritise giving those women those
9 disclosures. Not just the ones that are married but,
10 you know, the -- everybody needs support, you know,
11 everyone needs emotional support. So that's one thing
12 I'd like to say.

13 I want to know what's been redacted about me from
14 1970. I find that really, really sinister. You know,
15 I'd like to know whether -- you know, because of,
16 you know, these files on me, whether my son has a file,
17 whether my husband has a file. You know, I'd really
18 like to be able to understand how any of this has
19 impacted not just my life but other people's lives,
20 you know, that are close to me.

21 And I'd just like to say that, you know, one of
22 the aspects of this -- you know, this whole Inquiry is
23 that, you know, we've seen the evidence of
24 the undercover officers, we've heard about their
25 actions, we've read their reports and the whole picture

1 that's emerging is pretty dire. You know, it does make
2 you kind of -- you know, as I said, it makes you wonder
3 about the psychology of these people, because, you know,
4 we've seen now multiple examples of
5 miscarriages of justice, you know, we've seen evidence
6 of police racism, misogyny, sexism, we've heard jokes
7 and banter about women, which is absolutely disgusting,
8 you know, regarding us as "angry" -- whatever it
9 was "angry women that can be ignored".

10 And it's the violence, you know, that we're hearing
11 about. You know, undercover officers feeling it's
12 justified to punch, you know, innocent members of
13 the public in the face to protect their cover. We've
14 heard about two deaths, you know, Blair Peach and
15 Gately, at the hands of the police. And, you know, I'm
16 just finding it all pretty appalling, you know,
17 the whole thing. And, you know, I'd like the Chair to
18 bear in mind, reading the reports, hearing the testimony
19 for the undercover officers -- you know, lots of
20 the reports seem to be, as I've said, embroidered or
21 fabrications, or seem to be trying to justify their
22 deployment, because as far as I'm concerned it was
23 unjustified, you know, the whole of the -- the whole
24 operation, the infiltration of the left was unjustified.
25 If they wanted to stop public disorder, if they wanted

1 to stop violence, they were looking in the wrong place.

2 And I think that's all I really want to say.

3 MS HUMMERSTONE: Thank you very much.

4 I've got no further questions now, but we have
5 a procedure where we have to wait and see if other
6 people have any questions. But if I hand that back to
7 the Chairman, who will set a timetable for that.

8 A. Thank you.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

10 May I ask Ms Kaufmann if she has any re-examination.

11 MS KAUFMANN: Sir, I wonder whether it would be possible to
12 follow the same process as we did last time, which was
13 to see whether or not there are any other questions from
14 anybody else and --

15 THE CHAIRMAN: I follow that, but what I'm trying to do is
16 to get some estimate of timing.

17 MS KAUFMANN: Oh, I'm so sorry. So, as matters stand now,
18 no, nothing has arisen so far.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

20 Then "Madeleine", I'm very much in your hands,
21 provided that my team can sort things out. Would you
22 rather that we had a quarter of an hour break now for
23 any further questions that anyone may wish to be asked
24 of you to be canvassed, for you then to do that at
25 the end of quarter of an hour, or would you rather break

1 Witnesses of events that occurred as long ago as those
2 of which you are speaking are thin on the ground, and
3 especially those, like you, who have been willing and
4 able to tell us about deeply personal experiences, I'm
5 very, very grateful to you.

6 I know that you will be listening to and looking at
7 the evidence of HN354 tomorrow.

8 A. Yes.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Although we normally have a quarter of an
10 hour at the end for formulating questions, I don't want
11 to put you in a position where you feel rushed. If you
12 need more time tomorrow to formulate questions which can
13 be asked by Mr Barr, Counsel to the Inquiry, of HN354,
14 then you may have it.

15 A. Okay, thank you very much. Thank you. Thanks.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

17 A. Thank you.

18 MR FERNANDES: Thank you, everyone. The hearings have now
19 finished for the day. We shall resume at 10.00 am
20 tomorrow.

21 (1.46 pm)

22 (The hearing adjourned until 10.00 am on Tuesday,

23 11 May 2021)

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