

Inquests

into the deaths of

- (1) PAUL CRAIG**
- (2) WILLIAM FORSYTH**
- (3) ANN HAMILTON**
- (4) JOHN HUNTER**
- (5) CAROLINE SLATER**

Notes of Evidence at the Inquests on

- (1) PAUL CRAIG
(2) WILLIAM FORSYTH
(3) ANN HAMILTON
(4) JOHN HUNTER
(5) CAROLINE SLATER

At Surrey Coroner's Court, Woking

on the 20th June 2022

Before

SENIOR CORONER Mr Richard TRAVERS

Mr Oliver SANDERS QC

appeared on behalf of

the inquests

Ms Fiona BARTON QC

appeared on behalf of

Surrey Police

Mr James BERRY

appeared on behalf of

the Metropolitan Police Service

Mr Edward PLEETH

appeared on behalf of

the Ministry of Defence

Transcript of the Inquest

Date: 20th June 2022

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CORONER: This is the first day of final hearing in the inquests touching the deaths of Mr Paul CRAIG, Guardsman William FORSYTH, Private Ann HAMILTON, Guardsman John HUNTER and Private Caroline SLATER.

I am Richard TRAVERS and I am the Senior Coroner here in Surrey.

We will begin, first of all, please, with the usual introductions. Mr SANDERS, good morning.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir, good morning. My name is Oliver SANDERS QC. I am lead counsel to the inquests, and I am here with Mr Matthew FLINN and Ms Alice KUZMENKO.

CORONER: Thank you very much. Good morning, Ms BARTON.

MS BARTON QC: Good morning, sir. I am Fiona BARTON Queen's Counsel. I represent Surrey Police, together with my learned junior, Robert COHEN, who sits behind me.

CORONER: Thank you. Good morning, Mr BERRY.

MR BERRY: Good morning, sir. My name is James BERRY, I am counsel instructed by the Metropolitan Police Service.

CORONER: Thank you. Good morning, Mr PLEETH.

MR PLEETH: Good morning, sir, Edward PLEETH, and I am counsel instructed by the Ministry of Defence.

CORONER: Thank you very much. This morning we will start in a minute or two with some evidence, and I think we are going to start the day, are we not, with some pen portraits, and so will come to those in a moment. Then counsel will have a running order of witnesses that has been prepared, which I think takes us to about Day 15, does it?

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, sir, possibly 16 at the moment, yes.

CORONER: Day 16. But before we come to the evidence, what I intend to do is I intend just to say a few words by way of introduction to the inquests.

On the 5th of October 1974, nearly 48 years ago, terrorism came to Surrey. It was a Saturday night, and as people met and socialised with their families and their friends in Guildford town centre, two explosive devices tore through two public houses, the Horse and Groom Public House on North Street and the Seven Stars Public House on Swan Lane. Dozens were injured and five people died. Those who died are those whose deaths are now the subject of these inquests. They were Mr Paul CRAIG, a civilian, 22 years old, who was out celebrating his birthday jointly with friends. Private Ann HAMILTON, 19 years old, a recent recruit to the Women's Royal Army Corps, WRAC, based at Queen Elizabeth Barracks. Private Caroline SLATER, 18 years old, another WRAC, a recruit from Queen Elizabeth Barracks. Guardsman William FORSYTH, also 18 years old, a recent recruit to the Scots Guards based at the training barracks at Pirbright, and his friend Guardsman John HUNTER, also a recent recruit to the Scots Guards, just 17 years old. It is a particularly poignant and tragic feature of the horrific events of that night that those who died were so young.

Inquests into their deaths were originally opened on the 7th of October 1974 and adjourned immediately in order to give

primacy to the Surrey Police homicide investigation, which was and indeed still would be normal procedure. On the 22nd of October the following year, 1975, that investigation culminated in the convictions of four alleged bombers, popularly known as the Guildford Four. One of my predecessors and the then Coroner of Surrey, Lieutenant Colonel MURDOCH MCEWAN, subsequently concluded that the murder trial and convictions had made inquests unnecessary, and he decided not to resume. Instead, he certified the results of the criminal proceedings to the Registrar of Deaths under section 20 of the Coroners (Amendment) Act, 1926.

I was invited to resume these inquests by way of a letter dated the 31st of October 2017, sent on behalf of Ms Ann MCKERNAN, the sister of Mr Gerard CONLON, one of the Guildford Four, and Ms Yvonne TAGG, a member of the Armed Forces who had been injured in the explosion in the Horse and Groom.

Following the conclusion of litigation in relation to the Birmingham Pub Bombing Inquests, I convened a hearing to consider the application for resumption that I had received. Sadly, Ms MCKERNAN had died before that application was considered. However, following her death the application was

advanced on behalf of Ms TAGG, but also on behalf of Ms Cassandra HAMILTON, Ann HAMILTON's sister. Having read and listened to the various legal submissions put forward at that hearing, I took the decision to resume the inquest and delivered a ruling to that effect in open court on the 31st of January 2019. My reasons for doing so are set out in detail in that ruling, which is now publically available on a webpage dedicated to these inquests on the Surrey Coroners' website.

In summary, although after so much time there are obvious obstacles in resuming these inquests, I was particularly persuaded by the fact that despite there having been many legal processes and inquiries over the year in relation to the bombings, these processes and inquiries have focussed on the issues of criminal responsibility to the bombings. As a result, there has never been a process which included at its heart the stories of the victims, specifically those who lost their lives. There has, accordingly, been a longstanding and important gap in Surrey's official historical record, which these requests came to fill.

(inaudible) of that, it is important that I reiterate something which I made clear in my ruling in resumption, which I have maintained throughout the investigative process leading up to these hearings.

First, these inquests will not investigate the identities of those who carried out the attack or consider any evidence pointing towards or away from any individual perpetrators. The provisions of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, in particular section 5, and (inaudible) schedule 1, prohibit any such investigation. Secondly, these inquests will not examine any questions relating to the conduct of the original police investigation or prosecution. Those matters have been exhaustively considered by the (inaudible) by Sir John May's inquiry, which published its detailed third and final report on the 30th of June 1994.

Instead, I shall remain firmly focussed on the statutory questions which I am required to answer by the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, namely who the deceased were, when, where and how they came by their deaths.

A more detailed recitation of the issues to be examined (inaudible) these inquests is set out in written submissions from counsel for the inquests dated the 23rd of December 2021, which I accepted at a Pre-Inquest Review hearing on the 14th of January 2022, having heard submissions on behalf of the individual persons. Those written submissions are also published (inaudible) on the webpage of these inquests.

In summary, as well as investigating the medical cause of death of each of those who died, these inquests will consider background information about each of them. The political and historical context of the attacks, in particular the Northern Ireland troubles, which may give some insight as to the motivation and aims underpinning them. The preparedness for an attack of this kind, particularly for the army personnel at local barracks, including advice, training, alert levels and warnings. The site of the attack, including the nature and the layout of the Horse and Groom Public House. The events within the Horse and Groom on the evening of the 5th of October 1974, in particular the actions of those who died and the particular location, nature and timing of the blast. The nature of explosive device itself and events following the blast, including any attempts to rescue or to treat any of those who died, and when and where each of them died.

As I said in my ruling on resumption, those who died, their families and the public, are entitled to have these matters formally explored in open court in proceedings which are untainted by allegations of impropriety and misconduct. Thanks to the diligent work of my counsel team over many, many months, with extensive and invaluable assistance from Surrey Police, from the Ministry

of Defence and the Metropolitan Police, I believe there is much that can be learnt on these issues.

In a special fortieth anniversary publication from the *Surrey Advertiser*, the Guildford Pub Bombings were described as a defining moment in the history of Surrey. Few would disagree. It is, therefore, right that so far as it can this class fills the gap in this county's historical record and respects the memories of those who died by now exploring and then telling their stories.

Thank you very much. Mr SANDERS, unless there are any issues arising, or anybody has any submissions to make, I think we can just start straight with the evidence, I think.

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, sir, so we are going to move to the five pen portraits for each of the deceased, and we are also going, technology permitting, to put a photo of each of the deceased on the screen.

CORONER: As far as the pen portraits are concerned, I think the majority are to be read, is that right?

MR SANDERS QC: They are all to be read, but Patricia GARRARD, who is Paul CRAIG's sister, is going to read hers out herself, but not be questioned.

CORONER: Shall we start then with ...?

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, if I could call Mrs GARRARD.

CORONER: And do we have a page, please, for the statement?

MR SANDERS QC: Yes we do, so the URN is D5141 and the page is 11-29.

MRS PATRICIA GARRARD (sworn):

CORONER: Thank you very much, do sit down, please.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. Mrs NIN is going to put the photo up, and I think it is
A61.

CORONER: Mrs GARRARD, first of all, thank you very much for coming
along and reading this statement.

MRS GARRARD: (inaudible)

CORONER: My condolences of the court (?) to you, but it is very nice that you
(inaudible) and it is nice to have somebody (inaudible).

MRS GARRARD: (inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: What I will do is I will just ask you to confirm that the statement that
you have got in front of you that is signed 16th of June 2022 ...

MRS GARRARD: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... that that is your statement ...

MRS GARRARD: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... and the contents are true and correct?

MRS GARRARD: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And what I will do is I will just let you read it in your own time.

MRS GARRARD: Okay.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you.

MRS GARRARD: Shall I start? “I made this statement concerning the life of Paul John CRAIG, who was male that died on 5 October 1974. Paul was born on the 6th of October 1952 in our family home at 99 Grantham Green, Borehamwood, Hertfordshire. Paul grew up with three older sisters, Christine, Joyce and myself. He was the only son of my mother, Alice, and was her absolute joy and treasure. Our father, William, was over 50 years old when Paul was born and was over the moon to have a son. Our father died from cancer in November 1972 aged over 80, a year before Paul died. Paul also had a stepbrother, Eddie, through our father’s previous marriage. Paul was the youngest sibling and was an absolute clown and he kept us all laughing whenever we were together. Like most younger siblings, he tried to copy everything we older girls did. My sisters and I were learning to Rock and Roll which was very trendy in those days. He would try to copy us and often fell over on his young legs. His Cha Cha Cha was hilarious and it certainly made us all laugh. Up until the age of 16, Paul attended school at Saffron Green Primary School and Hillside Secondary Modern School in Borehamwood. As one of his older sisters, it was my job to walk to walk him and other young boys from the street to primary school on the way to senior school. Paul was an

average child at school. I do not recall him being naughty or not wanting to go to school. He enjoyed sports, as most boys do.

“Paul left school to take up a four year apprenticeship as a plasterer at Associated British Productions Limited later known as EMI Studios, which he completed in October ’72 and qualified as a scenic plasterer.

My parents were very proud of him when he took up his apprenticeship. It was seen in those days as a job for life. Paul’s work gave him a great deal of pleasure and excitement. He made the plaster special effects items like fake walls, vases, bowels, bathrooms etc for films, including the famous Murder on the Orient Express. His plaster pieces would be used when items needed to be smashed on the screen. Paul’s employers at EMI Studios found Paul to be industrious, well-liked, and courteous. Paul had many close friends, many of whom worked in the studios. His best friend was probably Ray Staples, who also worked as a plasterer in the studios. Paul intended to remain working in the studios forever. He found the lifestyle of a film crew to be very interesting and exciting, so it was a joy to him to go to work. His main hobbies related to sport. He did love finishing and often went out fishing for the day with his pals. He liked football and cricket but only played locally. Later in life he thoroughly enjoyed a game of darts and was in a local team. Paul was also a

member of the Buffs, the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, the RAOB, a charitable organisation. He had received his first jewel, a badge of promotion in October '74', and sat an oral examination for his second degree which made him eligible for a Primo. Paul was also a Treasurer of the Boreham Wood Branch of the Order, and Honorary Member of the Armed Forces Charity, the British Legion, and he also donated blood.

“It was at the RAOB that he met and he later became friends with Robbie Burns, Robert Burns. Paul in fact drove Robbie and his wife, Eileen, to Guildford on the 5th of October as their own car had broken down. They were going to Guildford to celebrate the birthday of their daughter, Caron Ann BURNS, who joined the WRAC a few weeks earlier. Paul was a friend of their daughter but not in a relationship with her. They also celebrated Paul's birthday, which would have been the next day, the 6th of October. Instead, on the 6th of October my late husband, Mr John GARRARD, and Mr Thomas STAPLES, both brothers-in-law to Paul, identified Paul's body. This is set out in a police statement at S332 and S325. Paul had a great sense of fun and was the life and soul of the family and his friends. He would go to the pub and enjoy a drink, and he went out with girls, though he did not have a girlfriend. He was a very good brother to me and often

took me and my young children out in his car to the zoo, the beach, etcetera. He owned a white Ford Cortina Estate motor car. At the time of his death, Paul was earning an average weekly wage of £52.31. He was living with our mum in a new modern flat in 8 Bristol House, Borehamwood.

“We three sisters were married, and with children, so Paul was Mum’s main support, socially and financially. After his death she could not bear to go back into the home that she shared with Paul, so the local authority showed great compassion by offering her a senior citizen bungalow, where she remained until she literally wasted away and died. To this day I say that the Guildford bombing killed her. She may not have been in the pub that night, but she certainly died from the effects of the bombing. Losing Paul was and still is a loss to us all. He was well loved in Borehamwood, hundreds lined the streets along his funeral route to pay their respects. He was such a joy, and our pride and joy. Hopefully we spoilt him rotten. I still think of him and I smile to myself remembering the good times. God bless him and may he rest in peace.”

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CORONER: **Thank you very much, Mrs GARRARD, that was very touching and thoughtful. Thank you.**

MRS GARRARD: Thank you.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. Sir, I gave you the wrong date. That was signed on the 12th of April 2022.

CORONER: **Okay, thank you.**

(The witness withdrew)

MR SANDERS QC: Sir, the next pen portrait, it is going to be read out by Mr FLINN and Ms KUZMENKO. It is for William FORSYTH, and if I could just give Mrs NIN the number for the photos. So there is in fact two photos, and I am just going to show one and then a second. The first is in the main CaseLines bundle at D2005, page 4-567.

MS NIN: (inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, D2005. Are you in the main bundle, Heather?

MS NIN: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Yeah, so 4-457, if you go to the page-find.

MS NIN: (inaudible)

CORONER: **Yes, and so I think if we stick with the CaseLines page numbers, that is probably the easiest solution.**

MR SANDERS QC: So there is Mr FORSYTH in the middle, and the reason for showing two photos, and I am going to show another one now, is obviously that the new recruits to the army had their hair cut short, and there is a possible issue there in relation to identifiability of service personnel,

and so on. And so the second photo, please, is in the other, the sensitive photos bundle, and it is A75.

CORONER: (inaudible) can see there is a difference in nature ...

MR SANDERS QC: Yes.

CORONER: ... (inaudible) identification.

MR FLINN: All right, so thank you very much. I am going to read out a pen portrait that was prepared by the brother of Guardsman William FORSYTH, Thomas FORSYTH.

CORONER: Thank you. Could you just, Heather, there is no need to put it up on the screen, but could you just (inaudible) CaseLines reference, please?

MR FLINN: The page reference on CaseLines is 11-233.

CORONER: Thank you.

MR FLINN: "I make this statement concerning the life of William McKelvie FORSYTH, a male who died on the 5th of October 1974. This statement was written with help from my sister, Marion RENNIE. Billy, as he was always known as, was born in Barrhead, Renfrewshire, on the 6th of August 1956. He was the youngest of three and he was named after our maternal grandfather, William MCKELVIE. He was born to our loving and hardworking parents Frank and Betty.

“Shortly after Billy was born, the family moved to a new tenement block in 18 Kerr Street, Barrhead, where Billy lived before joining the army. We were just a normal family living in Barrhead. Billy was a typical wee brother. We all had our family arguments and he seemed to get away with murder, but we loved him. Billy started school at the old Cross Arthurlie Primary School, and when that closed he then went to the newly built Springhill Primary School. He played for the school football team and he was a popular wee boy. He always seemed to have loads of pals. He then went on to Barrhead High Secondary School, and again he was quite popular with his classmates.

“I think he left high school in 1972 and went to work as a store boy, but I cannot remember where. What I do remember is that one morning whilst going to work he was knocked down by a car and spent a couple of weeks in hospital. His body was badly bruised, but he made a full recovery. He then went to work at Armitage Shanks, a local firm in Barrhead, where he worked close by to our mother, who also worked there. He was laid off from there in 1974 for his timekeeping. Later that summer he came home and announced that he and his pal from across the road, John HUNTER, had enlisted for the Scots Guards. Billy and John were pals who went to the same school

and lived in the same street. They had a fairly big circle of pals from school and work with whom they would socialise quite regularly. As far as his ambitions were, I do not think he had set himself any targets or goals. He was not held back by any of that but just wanted to get on with his life and deal with whatever was in front of him. In his application to the army he said that he had joined for a sense of adventure and travel, to learn a trade and to earn a good pay while at it. He still played football at this age and also enjoyed snooker.

“A few days before he left for the army, Marion gave birth to her first son, Stephen, in Cardiff, Wales. Our parents were thrilled at being grandparents and Billy and I were over the moon at being an uncle. Less than five weeks later he was dead. He never got to meet or know any of his three nephews. Our parents and Marion and I were dumbstruck, devastated, as were our friends, Billy’s friends, neighbours, and our aunts, uncles and cousins. After Billy left to join the army, I never spoke to him again. He phoned my mother a couple of times and said things were going well with the training and he was looking forward to his first weekend pass. I understand that Billy was said to have settled down quickly to life in the army and that there were no reasons why he should not have completed a full career in the army, but for his tragic death. In a joint funeral with John held by the

Arthurlie and Bourock Churches, over 600 people came to pay their final respects.

“Our parents were never the same again. Our father, who had an opinion on almost everything, retreated into a kind of shell and rarely spoke of Billy’s death again. Our mother became more and more cynical as she got older. Our father was only 50 and our mother 48 when Billy died. A lot younger than we are today. Both our parents passed away in 2006, within 11 weeks of each other. They both went to their graves with heavy, heavy hearts. Marion and I still have cherished memories of Billy’s short life. We will never forget our younger brother.”

Sir, that is signed by Mr Thomas FORSYTH and it is dated the 7th of June 2022.

CORONER: **Thank you very much.**

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir, the next statement is for Private Ann HAMILTON, and the photo is at A66 of the sensitive photos bundle.

MS KUZMENKO: Sir, we have two statements for this. I am going to start with the witness statement of Heather NIN. For your reference it is CaseLines page 10-36.

“This is a pen portrait of Private Ann Rae Higgins Marie HAMILTON, a female who died on the 5th of October 1974, that has

been prepared by the court based on documents and materials disclosed to interested persons for these inquests. I exhibit at HN/01 the document compiled by Detective Sergeant DONALDSON and Detective Constable KING of the Continuity Squad, as part of the original investigation carried out by Surrey Police into the bombings at the Horse and Groom Public House and the Seven Stars Public House on the 5th of October 1974.

“At page 1 it states that Ann was the second child of Thomas and Maria, and had three siblings, her elder sister Marie, younger brother Frank, and younger sister Cassandra. Up until her enlistment, save for a few months, Ann lived in the family home in Cheshire. The document explains that at school Ann was well liked and got on well with her classmates. Already at this stage she showed an interest in joining the Women’s Royal Army Corps. Also, the document states that on leaving school Ann studied Health, Hygiene and Catering, and attained a Royal Hygiene and Health certificate. She was considered to be a good, alert student, not afraid to put her point of view across, and showed leadership potential. Across pages 1 and 2 the document explains that after college Ann held several jobs. These included working as a breakfast cook, waitress, shop assistant and then assistant manageress at a bakery. Her employers considered her to be a good

worker, well liked and happy-go-lucky. However, they noted that her heart was set on the army.

“At HN/02, I exhibit a cutting from the newspaper *Crewe Chronicle*. This is dated 10th of October 1974 and features an article entitled ‘Victim a Crewe girl’. This article states that Ann’s father, Thomas HAMILTON, said that she had her heart set on a career in the army since she was a youngster and he even tried to talk her out of it as she was leaving school, but she was just so keen. The article adds that prior to joining the army Ann continued to be involved in club activities at the Crewe Alexandria football supporters club and travelled to many of their away games too. According to page 2 of the antecedents document I exhibited at HN/01, as well as being an involved member of the club Ann also attended ballroom dancing lessons with friends, attended local discos and cinemas.

“At HN/03, I exhibit a page from the personnel selection and employment allocation record for Ann HAMILTON, which was contained in her army personnel record for the WRAC. This page shows that Ann signed this questionnaire on the 7th of August 1974, which includes information about her interests and enlistment aspirations. According to the exhibited page from this record, part of Ann’s reasons for wishing to join the army was to meet people and to

travel. Her main choice of trade within the army was catering and she still interests in walking, needlework and crochet, voluntary welfare work and ballroom dancing. On entering the army she said that she was interested in trying team sports and first aid training. Page 2 of the document I exhibited at HN/01 notes that in her short time within the WRAC, Ann was found to be fairly mature, responsible, hardworking, determined and with the potential to become a non-commissioned officer. Further, at the second column of the article I exhibited at HN/02, it is noted that Ann wrote to her parents that she was enjoying her first few weeks, particularly the square-bashing, a form of military drill on a barracks square.

“On the 6th of February 2022, Ms Cassandra HAMILTON, sister of Ann HAMILTON, sent a letter by email to me for the attention of Mr Richard TRAVERS. In this letter Ms HAMILTON shared the following pen portrait information: “Ann was our sister, a daughter, a friend. She was a young serving soldier off-duty in a public house well-known to all as being used by members of the British Army. She was killed during an act of official ‘slash’ PIRA bombing, an incendiary campaign that started in 1973.”

That is then signed by Heather NIN on the 30th of May 2022.

We were then provided a further pen portrait of Ann HAMILTON by Cassandra HAMILTON: “I make this statement concerning the life of Private Ann Rae Higgins Marie HAMILTON, who was a female that died on the 5th of October 1974. I have seen and do not dispute the contents of the statement S2912 provided by the Coroner’s Officer of HM Coroners’ Court, Heather NIN, dated 30th of May 2022. I was only two years old when Ann was killed. I remember her telling me stories, but a lot of what I know of her is what I have been told over the years. Ann was my big sister. She, along with my older brother, Frank, and older sister, Marie, was the one who looked after me while my mum and dad were busy running a wine store. She would babysit me, feed me, tuck me into bed and read me a story. Then we would say our prayers together. My bedtime always ended with, “I love you, Sugar.” That was Ann’s pet name for me. In the letters that she sent while she was in the WRAC, they have kisses on the end for ‘Sugar’. My big sister, Ann, was a beautiful, bubbly girl who loved her football, Crewe Alexandria. She went to many a dance at the football club too. You could always tell when Ann was in at home as you could hear the music playing halfway up the street. She would be dancing around the house and singing loudly. That vision is my sister to a tea. Happy, smiling, and loving life. Do not get me wrong, she

could be boisterous. If she had to be in by 10pm, you would not see her until nearer to 11pm, but that was her. Now, looking back, I am glad she was like that. She enjoyed her very short life and gave us, as a family, plenty of memories and stories to tell our children. Both my mum and dad were from Northern Ireland. My dad came to England for work and to get my mum and older sister, Marie, away from the Troubles. After Ann was killed, my dad died 18 months later of a broken heart. He said he had moved over here to keep his family safe and could not do it.”

That is then signed by Cassandra HAMILTON on the 16th of June 2022. It does not yet have a page number on CaseLines, but it is referenced D5245.

CORONER: And that will be updated to CaseLines?

MS KUZMENKO: Yes, sir.

CORONER: Thank you.

MR SANDERS QC: Sir, the next pen portrait is for Guardsman John HUNTER, and we have seen a photo of him before joining the army already, and then the photo of him afterwards is at A79.

MS KUZMENKO: Sir, this is a pen portrait of John HUNTER provided by his sister, Diane REID. This is at page 11-40, for your reference.

CORONER: Four-zero?

MS KUZMENKO: Yes. “John Crawford HUNTER was born in the family home in Barrhead, East Renfrewshire, on the 1st of April 1957, the only son of Bill and Betty, the middle brother of Diane and Maureen. He was murdered on the 5th of October 1974 when he was only 17. This statement of loss and grief written by his sisters is therefore more about the aspects of John’s life that he and his family were denied, than it is about his achievements and experiences, since those were so cruelly cut short.

“John was tall and strong and handsome. He had blond hair and blue eyes. He had an adventurous spirit, so he had a lot of fun in his short life, and we are glad he made the most of the time he was given. He was thoughtful of others and had a kind heart. At school John was a quiet boy who enjoyed outdoor activities and sports, particularly football. He became the captain of the school’s football team. He was inseparable from Billy FORSYTH, who lived in the same street as our family. This continued throughout their attendance at the Boys’ Brigade. He and Billy also went swimming at the Dolphins Swimming Club, and also on Sunday mornings with Maureen, accompanied by Gordon REID, who was older and became Diane’s husband. John had many friends, including girlfriends, and enjoyed his social life and parties.

“After school, John tried his hand at carpet-fitting and working in the local Shanks factory. However, in August 1974 John, along with Billy, decided to enlist in the Scots Guards. He was known to have settled down quickly to life in the army and it was considered that there were no reasons why he should not have completed a full career.

His referees found him to be a polite and quiet but very reliable and respectable person. In a matter of weeks he had been killed on a night out in Guildford, in the Horse and Groom pub. Our parents had thought he was relatively safe and would not be at risk unless posted to Northern Ireland, so there was bewilderment and shock at the awful news.

“The family never recovered from the loss of John and all that his life could have brought them. Bill and Betty enjoyed years of agony imagining John suffering. He is buried besides Billy in our local cemetery, and our father, Bill, visited his grave many mornings before going to work, in addition to frequent visits by our family. A further distress over the years was attention from the media. Bill and Betty were quiet people who did not wish to air their sadness and opinions publically. At times they were treated with a lack of sensitivity or respect. Often they were solicited for what would be no more than a footnote or reference to a case thought to be related, and the intrusion

would wound. Not that the circumstances could ever be forgotten, but they might have been having relatively good day.

“As you have heard, John’s life was brief. He was prevented from falling in love, getting married, having children and grandchildren, having a career, travelling and all the things that make for a happy and fulfilling life. Others robbed him of his opportunities. How their actions contributed anything to a political cause is bewildering to us as his sisters, and indeed as human beings. It was and remains such a waste.”

That portrait is signed by Diane REID on the 29th of April 2022.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir. The final statement is for, portrait is for Private Caroline SLATER, and the photo is A70, seven-zero.

MS KUZMENKO: Thank you. This statement is provided by way of a witness statement by your officer, Heather NIN. The page reference is 10-48. “This is a pen portrait of Private Caroline Jean SLATER, a female who died on the 5th of October 1974, that has been prepared by the class based on documents and materials disclosed to interested persons for these inquests. I exhibit at HN/01 a document compiled by Detective Inspector HARVEY and Detective Constable STANDON as part of the original investigation carried out by Surrey Police into the bombings of the Horse and Groom Public House and the Seven Stars

Public House on the 5th of October 1974. On page 1 it states that Caroline came from a quiet, honest and working class family and attended school at Cannock. She then attended Hightown Secondary Modern School in Hednesford, where she was said to be a popular pupil with a keen interest in all sporting activities available. Further, page 1 states that Caroline lived with her parents. On page 2, the document sets out that Caroline's parents were Victor and Delaphine, and that Caroline had four siblings, older sisters Julie and Catherine, younger sister Wendy and younger brother Jimmy.

“Page 1 of the document notes that after school Caroline held several jobs. She was firstly employed as a shop assistant at a boutique for three years, where her employer considered Caroline to be rather shy when she joined, but she nevertheless had a pleasant personality. She mixed in a tight social circle with her fellow colleagues, but did not have a regular boyfriend. Caroline then worked as a machinist at a clothing manufacturer until she was dismissed due to her having applied to the WRAC.

“At HN/02, I exhibit three pages from Caroline's army personnel record. The first and second pages are an exploration of Caroline's skills, interests and ambitions. Outside of work, Caroline made time to go dancing with a friend once or twice a week. Her other interests

included walking, swimming, reading, cookery and needlework and crochet. She enjoyed camping with school and was keen to do more of this with the army. Caroline's ambition was to have a worthwhile career in the WRAC, and she was interested in enlisting with the WRAC because of its opportunities to learn a useful trade and to travel. She was encouraged by her sister and brother-in-law, and her parents supported her application to enlist. She was keen to hold employment as a military policewoman, or on the switchboard within the army. On the final page of HN/02, it is noted that in the days leading up to her death, Caroline was interviewed about employment opportunities and was offered a job as a stewardess. Caroline appeared to be considering taking her discharge as a result.

"I exhibit at HN/03, an article entitled 'The girl who had a dream, the sergeant who wept', which was printed in the *Cannock Advertiser*, dated 10th of October 1974. It states that Caroline was signed up to the WRAC by army sergeant, Jack CHURMS, and that she joined with her friend, Ms Jane STANTON. At HN/04, I exhibit a press cutting from the *Evening Sentinel*, dated 7th of October 1974, entitled 'Crewe mourns girl killed in terror blast, massive hunt for girls'. At the end of the article it is stated that on the day of her death Caroline was out shopping for clothes for her sister's baby and was due home

the following week for her first period of leave since she had started at the WRAC. Further, according to the article at HN/03, Caroline had recently got a boyfriend called Robert, who was in the Guards.”

That is then signed by Heather on the 14th of June 2022.

CORONER: **Thank you very much.**

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir, those are the pen portraits for each of the deceased. I am going to move now just to admit one finding of Sir John May’s inquiry, and it admitted under Rule 24 of the Inquest Rules.

CORONER: **Yes.**

MR SANDERS QC: This proposal was the subject of submissions at the Pre-Inquest Review hearing in January of this year, and so it has already been announced that we are going to do this. Rule 24 provides, I will just read it out so that we can go through the correct procedures. Rule 24: “A coroner may admit findings of an inquiry, including any inquiry under the Inquiries Act, 2005, if the coroner considers them relevant to the purposes of the inquest. Before admitting such inquiry findings as evidence, the coroner must announce publically that,” and I think you have already done this, “A, the findings of the inquiry may be admitted as evidence, B, the title of the inquiry, the date of the publication and a brief account of the findings, and C, that any interested persons are entitled to see a copy of the inquiry findings if

he or she so wishes.” And the inquiry was Sir John May’s inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the convictions arising out of the bomb attacks in Guildford and Woolwich in 1974, and it is the final report dated the 30th of June 1994, which is referenced HC449. And the only finding that we are admitting under Rule 24 is at paragraph 14.1 of the report, and it is at page 7-238 of CaseLines. And it is simply this, sir: “The Guildford Bombings were the first in a new wave of Provisional IRA attacks in England,” and just to set the scene for Professor HENNESSEY’s evidence, we are admitting that as a finding under Rule 24.

CORONER: Thank you. (inaudible) been raised already, there were no objection raised then and I take it there are not now, so I do admit it.

MR SANDERS QC: I am grateful, sir. So, sir, with your permission, if I could call Professor Thomas HENNESSEY.

CORONER: Yes, please do. What page are we on (inaudible)?

MR SANDERS QC: His report is 11-237.

PROFESSOR THOMAS HENNESSEY (sworn):

CORONER: Thank you, do sit down. (inaudible) in a second (?), (inaudible) copy on the screen, and if it can be put on the screen, maybe it would be helpful to have it on the screen.

MR SANDERS QC: Potentially, sir. He also has a copy with him, because the copy that is on CaseLines is the unsigned version. He has now signed and dated it.

CORONER: I see, all right.

MR SANDERS QC: So he has a hardcopy there.

CORONER: I (inaudible) think we should have (inaudible). Look, Professor, you have got a copy in front of you, so you choose whichever is easiest. Can I just ask you for your full name, please?

PROF HENNESSEY: Thomas HENNESSEY.

CORONER: Thank you very much. And, Professor, can you just come forward a little bit, because that mike can pick up your voice so we can all hear you nice and clearly. But just please keep your voice up as well as you can.

PROF HENNESSEY: I will, yes.

CORONER: And I will pass you over now to Mr SANDERS, who is going to ask you some questions.

PROF HENNESSEY: Thank you.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir. Professor HENNESSEY, if I could start, please, with your occupation, for the moment.

PROF HENNESSEY: Professor of Modern British and Irish History at Canterbury Christchurch University.

MR SANDERS QC: And you have prepared the report that you have got in front of you and has been put on the screen, and that is dated the 16th of June 2022, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And just going to the end of that report, you have signed the experts' declaration, which says, "I confirm I have made clear which facts and matters referred to in this report are within my own knowledge and which are not. Those that are within my knowledge I confirm to be true. The opinions I have expressed represent my true and complete professional opinions on the matters to which they refer. I understand that proceedings of contempt of court may be brought against anyone who makes or caused to be made a false statement in a document verified by a statement of truth without an honest belief in its truth." Correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. You prepared the report in response to instructions that you were sent that were dated the 12th of October 2021?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: You are here to give evidence as the court-instructed independent expert, so if I could just start with your independence. Could you

please just confirm that you have no connection with anyone who was involved with or effected by the Guildford Pub Bombings?

PROF HENNESSEY:(inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And in terms of your expertise, could you outline, please, first your qualifications?

PROF HENNESSEY:I have an undergraduate degree in Sociology from the University of Surrey, a Master of Arts from Queen's University, Belfast, in Irish History, Politics and Sociology, and a PhD in Modern History from Queen's University as well.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And we have a copy of your CV that is at 7-1242 of CaseLines. You don't need to read out every post you have held, but if you could just briefly outline your, first your academic carrier, the posts you have held.

PROF HENNESSEY:Postdoctoral posts in Queen's University and various research posts in Northern Ireland, and different teaching post, but mainly part time, and then finally I got, in 1998, (inaudible) post at Canterbury Christchurch, and I have been there ever since. And I was promoted to Professor of History in, I think, 2013.

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MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. There also you have detailed in your CV some non-academic roles that you have held. If you could just, particularly the

role that you had in relation to the Northern Ireland peace process and the Good Friday Agreement, if you could just outline that?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, I was an advisor to David TRIMBLE, who was the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, and I advised on some of the institutions that might be acceptable to the Ulster Unionist Party in achieving the Good Friday Agreement. I also was a speech writer for David TRIMBLE, and thereafter I was also a commissioner on what was called the Flags, Identity, Culture and Tradition Commission, which many people in Northern Ireland now, I think they would say cultural wars replaced the actual war between the parties and (inaudible) in Northern Ireland, and it was trying to find solutions for that.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And if I could just ask you, you fulfilled a very similar role to the one you are fulfilling today in relation to the Birmingham Pub Bombing Inquest, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: That's correct.

MR SANDERS QC: And you gave evidence about similar matters at the hearings there?

PROF HENNESSEY: I did.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. I am going to ask you about three topics, or under three headings, just to let you know where I am going. The first is the origin of the Northern Ireland Troubles.

PROF HENNESSEY: Okay.

MR SANDERS QC: The second is the origin, methods and aims of the Provisional IRA campaign in England in 1973 to 1975. And then the third and final topic is the Provisional IRAs' approach to targets, targeting, advanced warnings of attacks, and also claims of responsibility for attacks. So starting with the origin of the Troubles, you detail in your report the current makeup and status of first Northern Ireland and second the Republic of Ireland. Could you just outline what you have said about that?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, the, Northern Ireland was established in 1920-21 and it partitioned the island of Ireland into two political entities. And it was essentially that what is now, what you might call Southern Ireland now, Republic of Ireland, was effectively the Catholic state of (inaudible) Catholics in the (inaudible) in Ireland, and there was (inaudible) a Protestant state in the north of Ireland, which is (inaudible) is now constituted as Northern Ireland, and it was made up of different parties in Northern Ireland, such as it was ruled since 1921 by one part, which was the Ulster Unionist Party, which was effectively a Protestant dominated party. And the opposition to that was, historically, the Nationalist Party, which wanted to see a united Ireland. But when we get to the present Troubles it's divided, the Ulster Unionist Party was the dominant party still, until direct rules

was imposed in Northern Ireland, as the abolition of Northern Ireland having its own parliament within the United Kingdom, that was prorogued, or suspended in 1972 'cause of the level of violence in Northern Ireland. And opposing that there was, within Unionism, the growth of another party led by the Reverend Ian PAISLEY, which was called the Democratic Unionist Party, which was seen as essentially a more traditional Unionist party, and by tradition I mean that it was committed to a majoritarian (inaudible) Protestants were the dominant community in Northern Ireland and they would be in government in Northern Ireland permanently and have their own parliament and so forth. And there was, essentially, the Nationalist parties, were a divided group (?), with the Social Democratic, Social Democratic and Labour Party led by John HUME, which, eventually led by John HUME, which was a party that wanted a united Ireland but by peaceful means. And there was the, another party which was a Nationalist, but a Republican party, in that it wanted a united Ireland that would be (inaudible) united (inaudible) but it was (inaudible) political wing of the IRA, and that was Sein Féin, which means 'Ourselves' or 'We ourselves' in English. And it was the poor relation, it was, of, in terms of politics, of both wings of the party, of the Republican movement. It was geared towards, essentially the

dominant form in Republican was the violent way, the armed struggle to achieve the British to withdraw from Northern Ireland and all parts of Ireland by force of arms.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And so in terms of the terminology, there is a division between Unionists and Nationalists, which is effectively a division between Protestants and Catholics?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And then could you just explain in relation to the paramilitary side of both of those factions, the terms Loyalist and, and then Republican?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah. On the Unionist side there grew up a series of paramilitary groups which were deemed Loyalist, and that includes organisations such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force, which used violence against Catholics in particular to maintain the state in the United Kingdom. And on the Republican side there was the IRA, which divided into two parts, which was the, called the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA, and that is the division that began in 1969-1970, where (inaudible) there was one IRA and it split into two IRAs as a result of how they responded to the violence that erupted in 1969 between Catholics and Protestants.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. You have provided in your report an account of the history going back to the seventeenth century, to the 1600s. I do not want to spend much if any time prior to the twentieth century ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: ... but could you just, by way of background, confirm at what point, so there were two kingdoms, Ireland and England, which shared the same king or queen, at what point did that start being the case that you had the two kingdoms with effectively the same monarch?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well that's the English colonisation that began in the twelfth century, when the first English colonists to Ireland, and thereafter it was, you had a growth of English colonisation, and eventually you had, there was enough English colonisation to have a political entity called England and Ireland, which had the English king and also the Irish king and the head of state. And eventually it led to a demand amongst Catholics, in basic terms, who felt marginalised by the what was termed the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland, and religion came into it when you had further colonisation from England and Scotland in the late-seventeenth century. What was different about that colonisation was that it introduced religion into the whole process. Prior to that there had been English Catholics and Irish Catholics, and there was still political division in Ireland as a result of that, but there was

essentially, it was essentially that the seventeenth century brought a new dimension into it, which was England and Scotland were Protestant kingdoms, and in Ireland the religious division became pretty divisive amongst the population, and particularly as it became (inaudible) and Catholics were excluded from political and legal and religious participation in the state.

MR SANDERS QC: And that more Protestant colonisation was concentrated in the north?

PROF HENNESSEY: In the northeast corner, which became the province of Ulster. That is where it was strongest in Ireland.

MR SANDERS QC: And that is what you refer to as the plantation?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And then in the 1800 we have the Act or the Acts of Union, which is the creation of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland, and then soon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And so from that point on there is a single political, constitutional entity of the UK.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And then during the nineteenth century the Irish Question figures large in UK politics. Could you just outline what the Irish Question was?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well the Irish Question, is the nearest one can judge it or understand it, is that, the division over Brexit here became, in Britain, in the UK

became as toxic as the debate over Home Rule for Ireland. And initially it was that, it was a question of could Ireland have its own form of self-governance, and that was whether it should remain in the United Kingdom, and that was (inaudible), rather like Scotland getting devolution now, it was in the United Kingdom. But Protestants reacted, or Unionists reacted in Ireland, fearing that if you gave self-government to Ireland it would be a Catholic dominated parliament in Dublin, and ultimately you couldn't trust Catholics (inaudible) towards the United Kingdom, breaking up what was then the British Empire at its heart.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And you say in your report that Sein Féin is founded in 1905, and you mention that effectively, throughout the twentieth century, Sein Féin was subservient to its military wing, the IRA. Was the IRA founded in 1905 as well?

PROF HENNESSEY:No. The IRA, what you had in 1916, a rebellion against British rule in Ireland, the Easter Rising, and a new Sein Féin emerged as a result of that which was dedicated to forming a Republic and separation from the British Empire for Ireland, and the old question of whether Ireland should have home rule within the British Empire, so the United Kingdom, was not what was on the table from Sein Féin at that point. And there was a group of militants within Ireland that, the Irish

Volunteer movement, which (inaudible) was a quasi-military organisation designed to achieve independence from the UK. And that, in 1919, became the IRA, the Irish Republican Army, dedicated to overthrowing British rule by force of arms.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And so during World War One, the Easter Rising takes place in 1916, but is effectively unsuccessful. After World War One there is a general election in 1918 in which Sein Féin wins the majority of the Irish seats.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: But they don't take up those seats, they form the first Dáil, if you could just explain about that?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, they declared independence from Britain on the 21st of January 1919 and set up a new parliament, Dáil Éireann, which is as a recognition of the people of Ireland itself, the government of Ireland, and self-determination of the Irish people.

MR SANDERS QC: And that then led on to, quote-unquote, the Irish War of Independence, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: That's correct.

MR SANDERS QC: And so what, that was, or what was that?

PROF HENNESSEY: 1919 to 1921.

MR SANDERS QC: And then how was that settled, or resolved in the short term in 1920?

PROF HENNESSEY:In 1921 there was a truce, and the British Government and the IRA (inaudible) Sein Féin in Ireland, and there was negotiations between the two in Downing Street under David LLOYD GEORGE, the Prime Minister, which eventually led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921. Ireland was partitioned, the British Government in 1920 had partitioned Ireland in two parts, establishing in 1921 a government, a parliament existing in the territory of Northern Ireland, so which pre-existed the partition of Ireland, before the treaty in 1921.

MR SANDERS QC: And the partition and the separation of Northern and Southern Ireland, Northern Ireland wasn't, that wasn't the whole of the province of Ulster?

PROF HENNESSEY:No. The province of Ulster was traditionally nine counties, but six counties constituted the province of, the statelet of the new Northern Ireland, because it gave what (inaudible) as an artificial Protestant majority in those six counties. So it was nine, the nine counties of Ulster (inaudible) 50-50 Protestant-Catholic population. But it was designed to, partition was designed as a problem to, as a solution to a problem that the British Government was faced with, which was that the prospect of civil war in Ireland if they didn't have a solution such as partition.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. And you say in your report, you development Northern Ireland as inherently unstable. Could you just explain that?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah. It was inherently unstable because a third of the population of the six counties was Protestant and therefore Unionist (?), but the fact that it has a third of the population made it inherently unsafe because of, that essentially, that third of the population looked to (inaudible) union with Ireland. (?)

MR SANDERS QC: So going back to, from partition and from the treaty onwards, you have already said that the UUP effectively governed Northern Ireland from 1921 to 1972, and so that was effectively Home Rule, correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And then in the south, that was initially, was known as the Irish Free State, which was part of the Commonwealth, and that was governed, presumably, by Sein Féin?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes, so the remnant of the old Sein Féin split into two parts, and Cumann na nGaedheal was the part that agreed the treaty, supported the treaty with Britain and having the Irish Free State established, and the old members of Sein Féin (inaudible) wanted to establish a Republic, which the treaty had not established, it established what was known as the British, an Irish Dominion in the Commonwealth, such as South Africa and Australia, New Zealand, Canada, etcetera, and

with the king as the head of state, the King of Great Britain as the Irish head of state and Irish king as well. So they were purists, those opposing the treaty, and they wanted to establish a republic, and there was civil war between the two parts, former friends and (inaudible) friends, and that level of bitterness divided the parties until relatively recently, in the 2000s, the parties that were formed in the Republic of Ireland were formed out of the split over the civil war.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, and you, you mentioned that the second Dáil as 1920, and the third Dáil as 1922, I think. Could you just explain, because we have come on to an important matter in IRA history, could you explain the difference between the second and the third Dáil?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah. The first Dáil was formed out of the all-Ireland election of 1918, which was also the last all-British General Election of the British Isles. And the second Dáil was formed as a result of the elections around the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, passed by Westminster, that separated Ireland, partitioned Ireland into two parts. And the third Dáil was the elections for the formation of a new government, a new parliament, following the treaty between the British and the Irish.

MR SANDERS QC: And the war of the friends, the civil war, that ended in defeat for the IRA.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And at what point in time does that end, does the war end?

PROF HENNESSEY: It ends in 1923.

MR SANDERS QC: And then could you explain what you say about 1938 and seven members of the second Dáil transferring its authority to the IRA Army Council?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes, it, seven members in 1938, so the surviving members of the second Dáil, not the third Dáil, which is regarded as an illegitimate entity, and election. So the surviving members of the second Dáil transferred authority all on the government, as they see it, of the Irish Republic, which is deemed to still exist (inaudible) of the IRA, to the IRA ruling body, and the Army Council made the decisions, everyday decisions about war (inaudible) execute (inaudible) war.

MR SANDERS QC: And so from 1938 onwards the IRA considers itself as the legitimate government of an all-Ireland republic?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: And it rejects both the UK government's role in Ireland and also the Republic of Ireland, well at that point the Irish Free State and then from 1948 the Republic of Ireland's role as well?

PROF HENNESSEY: It rejects it, yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Yes. We have got, in your report you set out, and I think it might be helpful just to go to this, it is at 11-244, page 8 of your report. Can we make the window bigger so that it occupies the whole of the ...?

MS NIN: No, that's it.

MR SANDERS QC: That's it?

MS NIN: Unfortunately, that's it.

MR SANDERS QC: Right.

CORONER: Can we scroll it to the right?

MS NIN: (inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: If you could just go down. There. Yeah, and then at the bottom there, it is the constitution of the IRA as set out in 1952 'was as follows', if we could just look at that. So objective one, "To guard the honour and uphold the sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Ireland," as it sees it. Two, "To establish and uphold a lawful government in sole and absolute control of the Republic." Three, "To secure and defend civil and religious liberty and equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens." Four, "To promote the revival of the Irish language as the everyday language of the people, and promote the development of the best mental and physical characteristics of our race." And then go down, please. "The means by which Óglaigh na hÉireann ..."

PROF HENNESSEY: Óglaigh na hÉireann.

MR SANDERS QC: "... hÉireann shall endeavour to achieve its objects are, one, force of arms, two, organising, training and equipping the manhood of Ireland as an efficient military force, and three, assisting as direct by the army authority all organisations working for the same objects." And then just in the footnote at the bottom, at one, you have put there that that's, that was actually taken from a 1975 publication, and that was effectively, those were the objects of the IRA and the Provisional IRA in the early-Seventies. After the Republic of Ireland is declared in 1948, you mention that there has already been an unsuccessful IRA bombing campaign in England in 1939, and then there is another in the late-Fifties, early-Sixties, but that is not a particularly intense campaign, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Can you the explain what happens within the IRA in the post-war years in relation, it moves to the left, in a more kind of Marxist direction, and develops what you refer to as the National Liberation Front Policy. What was that?

PROF HENNESSEY: The National Liberation Front Policy was, it arose out of a realisation in the IRA leadership that simple violence wouldn't work, and that Protestants and Catholics were working class (inaudible) the north of Ireland were dividing on sectarian lines. So the leadership came up

with the solution of getting leftwing intellectuals involved in the IRA and trying to produce a policy, ultimately slowly developing a united working class. So, for example, housing issues, etcetera, would be, elements of that was bringing working class Protestants and Catholics together.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. We come now to just before the beginning of the Troubles, which you say are really, effectively, from 1968 until 1998. One of the key kind of moments in the lead up to the Troubles is the establishment of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the beginning of protests in Northern Ireland. Was the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, NICRA, was that a Catholic organisation?

PROF HENNESSEY: Not initially, but it soon became a Catholic organisation.

MR SANDERS QC: And what were their, what were the grievances that it was, that it was protesting about?

PROF HENNESSEY: It was, for example, the discrimination in employment, that Protestants were more likely to be employed, rather than Catholics, and housing policy was pretty prominent, that there was no (inaudible) points system (?), that it was, Councils would decide who would, should be housed in certain areas. And the Special Powers Act, which was a draconian system of legislation which effectively let the Minister of Home Affairs in the Northern Ireland Parliament,

Government, equivalent to the Home Secretary in the UK Government, (inaudible) suspended civil liberties and (inaudible) with trial.

MR SANDERS QC: So NICRA isn't primarily pursuing a united Ireland, or that sort of political objective, it is more issues within Northern Ireland, related to discrimination?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes. There is some debate about whether people who were Catholics and therefore Nationalists, are effectively, effectively can be classed as Non-Nationalists, but that's what, there was certainly a (inaudible) NICRA which is about forming a Northern Ireland state rather than ending partition.

MR SANDERS QC: And there was an issue, I think as well, about the franchise, or electoral rights, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, sorry, so its slogan at the time was 'One man, one vote', and there was a franchise that (inaudible) in local elections, at a local level, and that's why Councils were a particular target, that they were predominantly Unionist Councils in Northern Ireland, allocated housing on (inaudible) basis.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you.

PROF HENNESSEY: (inaudible) Catholics didn't get a house (inaudible) that it was politicised.

MR SANDERS QC: So the beginning of the Troubles, could you explain how the NICRA protests escalate or spiral into the Troubles beginning?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well, the, essentially I think that the issue, at one level, is possession of power. That was the (inaudible) not was called a swinging pendulum, as in Great Britain, between Labour and Conservative. You only had one party (inaudible). And when the civil rights movement went onto the streets and protested at alleged discrimination, or real discrimination in Northern Ireland, it was, a lot of the marches took place in area (inaudible) Protestant neighbourhoods, and that immediately produced a sectarian response from the Protestants.

MR SANDERS QC: And so you have demonstrations and then counter-demonstrations.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And that's at the point at which Ian PAISLEY becomes involved, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: That's correct.

MR SANDERS QC: So he is leading counter-demonstrators?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then, effectively, one has Catholic against Protestant violent confrontations?

PROF HENNESSEY: (inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: Yeah.

CORONER: Mr SANDERS, shall we have (inaudible), I would normally have a short mid-morning break, would that be convenient (inaudible)?

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, certainly, sir.

CORONER: (inaudible) Thank you very much. Yes, we are going to have a short break, have 15 minutes. Can we please be back ready to start again, if we say five to?

CLERK: Court please rise.

(A short adjournment)

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you, sir. Professor HENNESSEY, we were just at the brink of the Troubles starting in 1968. So there are violent confrontations between the Nationalist and Unionist communities, and the RUC, the Royal Ulster Constabulary has to intervene to keep the peace, and this escalates and there is the creation of no-go areas, where the RUC aren't allowed. Could you just explain, then, what happens in terms of, you mention the start of the Troubles, or the date that is often attributed as the start of the Troubles, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association march in Derry, Londonderry, on the 5th of October 1968?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, the civil rights march on the 5th of October 1968 is seen as the beginning of the Troubles because it is effectively (inaudible) police

overact, it seems, to disperse the crowd in an incident on that date, and from that communal violence 'broke out' (?) in Derry, and you had the formation of no-go areas and police weren't welcome from that date onwards.

MR SANDERS QC: And is that, that is obviously the date of the Guildford Pub Bombings, is that generally seen as a significant date, a significant anniversary in Northern Ireland?

PROF HENNESSEY: It is, but not specifically to Guildford, so I don't know whether there is that connection (inaudible).

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. So from then onwards the Troubles start and escalate. Could you, but the beginning of that is 1969, and you mention a particular event on the 12th of August '69, with the Apprentice Boys of Derry, if you could just outline what happened there?

PROF HENNESSEY: It was, Derry is a Catholic city and the Apprentice Boys of Derry were, traditionally marched in Derry, a Protestant organisation that commemorated the 12 apprentice boys shutting the gates of the city in 1688 to, '89 to the march of the, of the Catholic King James II towards the city, and that was part of the dispute between the, who should, who should succeed to the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland at that time. So they march every year to commemorate this event, and in 1969 it was, it was heightened sectarian tension, as we know,

and as a result of that there was a large influx of Protestants into the city, and the Catholics protested against the march, and communal violence exploded as a result of that, and the police intervened and the police were seen, they were a predominantly Protestant police force, they were seen as defending the Protestant marchers. And from that demonstrations occurred in Belfast which stretched the RUC and its part-time support, which was the Special Constabulary, (inaudible) Specials, and the Labour Government at the time, Harold WILSON's Labour Government took the decision that the only way to prevent violence was to deploy the army to keep the two sides apart.

MR SANDERS QC: And so that is 1969 that the British Army is deployed to Northern Ireland?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And this becomes contentious within the IRA, because there is a feeling in the Catholic community that the IRA has failed and that the British troops have been required to fill the gap?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah. So the British Army is seen as defending the Catholics from a sectarian onslaught, and not the IRA, and the graffiti apparently(?) appears in Belfast such as 'IRA, I Run Away', because the IRA saw themselves as the traditional defenders of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland.

MR SANDERS QC: And then this leads to a split within the IRA in December 1969?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah. There is, partly it's to do with the, the failure to defend Catholic areas in 1969, and there was also the fact that there was (inaudible) but the leadership of the IRA wanted to participate with certain elections, and it had been traditional(?) that the IRA, the Republican representatives did not participate in (inaudible) partitioners(?) and parliaments (?). So that's why the split occurred (inaudible) what became (inaudible) leadership became the Official IRA and the breakaway group became the Provisional IRA. Provisional was selected because the Provisional Army Council was set up, but the name stuck.

MR SANDERS QC: And so the Provisional IRA is formed December '69, and then I think there is a corresponding split within Sein Féin ...

PROF HENNESSEY: January.

MR SANDERS QC: ... January 1970?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: So you have Official Sein Féin and Provisional Sein Féin as well?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then it's 1970 that's the beginning of paramilitary violence in Northern Ireland?

PROF HENNESSEY: The first evidence of (inaudible) of paramilitary violence was in 1970, with the IRA involved in what they regarded as economic targets. They begin bombing commercial premises, and predominantly Protestant premises, and that was seen as part of the economic war, as a stage towards full scale war.

MR SANDERS QC: And is that, when you say that is the IRA, is that the Official or the Provisional, or both?

PROF HENNESSEY: It's unclear which organisation, or both organisations, were actually involved in it, but it's probably (inaudible) the Provisionals.

MR SANDERS QC: And then 1972 is the worst year in the Troubles in terms of you mention 500 deaths as a result of paramilitary violence, and then that culminates in the re-imposition of direct rule from Westminster. But could you just outline how Bloody Sunday and then Bloody Friday feature in the history of '72?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, the, yeah, Belfast, the two dominant cities in Northern Ireland are Derry 'stroke' Londonderry, they can't agree on the name which tells you something about the sectarian nature of Northern Ireland, and Belfast. And Belfast is predominantly brought under control, that is the army operations in Belfast produce a certain level of violence, what was called (inaudible) an acceptable level of violence. But Derry is, in particular, out of control. The army cannot, in Catholic

areas, appear without full scale rioting in those areas, in the Bogside and the Creggan. An operation is decided on by the army high command to restore order by mass arrests in a scoop, what is called a scoop operation, and the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment is selected for the task. They have not been in Derry before, and as a result of that when they were deployed things appeared to get out of hand it resulted in Parachute Regiment killing 30 innocent civilians (inaudible) person sides, shot by another armed unit on the same day. And all the evidence, including the Saville Inquiry (inaudible) Bloody Sunday (inaudible) the people that were shot dead innocent (?). And in July 1972 the IRA continues, it has continued its bombing campaign throughout the entire period and it results in the, a series of explosions throughout Belfast, aimed at the economic disruption and the inability of, demonstrating the inability of the security forces to respond. And as a result of that they are overwhelmed and 11 people are killed by the IRA bombs.

MR SANDERS QC: And in 1972 the Official IRA, in May 1972, declares, effectively, a permanent ceasefire?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: How does that come about?

PROF HENNESSEY: After Bloody Sunday, it is regarded that all British soldiers, whether on duty or off duty, are targets wherever they are found. And a 19 year old British soldier, William BEST, is on leave. He is from Derry, he's a Catholic. He is on leave in Derry and is abducted by the Official IRA, tried and executed. As a result of that it leads to a level of outrage amongst a number of Catholic women (?), forces the debate and a decision (?) that has been going on in the Official IRA, that actually violence is producing increasingly a sectarian outcome, which is not what they wanted, when they envisaged the policy of a united Catholic and Protestant working class, and they (inaudible) but a number of volunteers, Official IRA volunteers disagreed with that, and that ultimately leads to the formation of another splinter Republican (inaudible).

CORONER: I was going to ask you, the policy whereby the intention was to unite the working class, away from the arguments of the Troubles, effectively concentrating on other things, but when did that start?
Who was the initiator, or who were the initiators of that?

PROF HENNESSEY: That starts in the, after the failure of (inaudible) campaign (inaudible) to 1972, it is clear that the response is that, along sectarian lines, and Cathal, Cathal GOULDING (?) is the Chief of Staff of the, all the IRA

at that point, influenced by a number of intellections (inaudible) into the movement, and it creates the debate (?).

MR SANDERS QC: And at this time I think that paramilitary is still confined to Northern Ireland, but there is one prior to its ceasefire, one Official IRA attack at Aldershot, which is effectively a revenge attack on the Parachute Regiment Headquarters ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: ... following Bloody Sunday, that is February 1972. Does that feature in its thinking in terms of the declaration, subsequent declaration of the ceasefire, because that involves the murder of a number of innocent civilians as well?

PROF HENNESSEY: I don't think it does. I think it's, the feeling about sectarianism and the rise of sectarianism is in Northern Ireland, but (inaudible) the Official IRA believe that the Paras have committed murder in Londonderry, Derry, Londonderry, and it is purely a revenge attack against that regiment.

MR SANDERS QC: Well in terms of attacks in England, was that a one off for the Official IRA?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

CORONER: I am so sorry, that was in February '72?

MR SANDERS QC: So Bloody Sunday is January '72 ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes, (inaudible).

MR SANDERS QC: ... Aldershot is February.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: That is the first topic I wanted to ask you about in terms of the historical background, and so we come on now to the Provisional IRA bombing campaign in England ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... in 1973 to '75. That violence, that campaign, you say, has a strategic political objective?

PROF HENNESSEY: Mmm hmm.

MR SANDERS QC: Could you help us with a description of that objection.

PROF HENNESSEY: Well it was a long held belief that the only way to make the British to negotiate with Irish Republicans or Irish Nationalists, is to resort to violence or armed struggles, as they call it. And the ultimate aim of the Republican movement (inaudible) the Provisional IRA, is to (inaudible) the British to withdraw from Ireland, and what they want, ultimately, is what, what they want initially is a declaration that they, that Britain intends to withdraw from Ireland. And that is what the violence is geared towards. At that stage I think the violence, or the thinking for the violence (inaudible) Britain's involvement in Northern Ireland, is quite simplistic and they are looking for a relative

simplistic outcome, and they believe that violence will (inaudible).

They looked at Aden, which Britain withdrew from in 1967, as an example of where violence works and British ended their formal colonialism in Aden.

MR SANDERS QC: And you say that the, that the Provisional IRA first considers, contemplates a bombing court in England in June 1972 ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... and it's, you describe it is quite an ambitious plan, albeit that it's not implemented at that stage?

PROF HENNESSEY: That's correct, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then ...

PROF HENNESSEY: From the sources that we have ...

MR SANDERS QC: Yes.

PROF HENNESSEY: ... that's all we can say.

MR SANDERS QC: And there, but there, it should be regarded as reliable and credible sources, I think that ...?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: Yeah. Then early in 1973 the Provisional IRA Army Council authorises bombing in England?

PROF HENNESSEY: Mmm hmm.

MR SANDERS QC: And a team of 11 terrorists are sent to England to carry that out, and you refer to Dolours PRICE saying that the intension was to deliver a short, sharp shock?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And so the idea was that there would be explosions in England and the British Government would throw up its hands and say, “We’re going to withdraw”?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And so the first attack, the first Provisional IRA attack on, on the mainland, in England, is the 8th of March ’73, and can you describe, tell us about what that involved and what happened?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well, it’s bomb which is (inaudible) the, at the Old Bailey, and it is, it’s just an active service unit set up to bomb England, and prestigious targets such as the Old Bailey and there, and thereabouts, and then to eventually retreat. But there’s, 200 people are injured in the explosion. As a result one person dies of a heart attack subsequently. And they, the active service unit, which is what they call the teams that are engaged in the terrorist outrages, are arrested on route to Ireland to retreat.

MR SANDERS QC: And they are eventually convicted and ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Convicted.

MR SANDERS QC: ... jailed. That, the 8th of March 1973, you mentioned that was the day of the, of a Northern Ireland border poll ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... of a referendum about whether Northern Ireland should stay ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Should stay in (inaudible).

MR SANDERS QC: And does that, does that tell us about, anything about the possible choice of dates being significant, or significant dates as a timing of an attack?

PROF HENNESSEY: It may be, but I couldn't comment on that.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. So at this point we are about 18 months before the Guildford Pub Bombing, and at page 14 of your report, I do not think you need to turn it up, but you talk about the Home Secretary, Robert CARR, producing an assessment of the IRA's capabilities for the Prime Minister, Edward HEATH. What was his, what were his conclusions, his advice for the Prime Minister?

PROF HENNESSEY: (inaudible)

MR SANDERS QC: So you just need to go further, further down there, in the aftermath of the bombing.

PROF HENNESSEY: It just says that CARR, it says (inaudible) Her Majesty's Government, the IRA were still a force to be reckoned with in Northern Irish affairs, and they should, as a result of that, be taken into account in any sort of

(inaudible). (inaudible) to the government (?) (inaudible) British Army from Northern Ireland, and achieved maximum publicity. But I'll just say that a number of bombs, relatively minor bombs in Northern Ireland were timed to go off so they make the evening news and create serious, constant attention (inaudible) Northern Ireland.

MR SANDERS QC: So the aims are disruption and publicity?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: In order to create political pressure ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Absolutely.

MR SANDERS QC: ... in Westminster? And at that point, before attacks are given, there are warnings, because there is a concern within the IRA about avoiding accusations of indiscriminate violence?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: You quote from CARR's report, where he says that the Provisional IRA, "Lacks a capacity or will to carry out a substantial large scale campaign of sabotage or terror in Britain," and you say that early in 1973 that was an accurate assessment?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And following the March '73 attack there is a lull, obviously that, that active service unit has been captured and imprisoned. And then a new

wave of attacks starts in August 1973, and that effectively runs until January '75, and the Guildford Pub Bombing is part of that overall ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: ... picture, and you describe it as a period of sustained terrorist activity across England as a whole?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And say that between March '73 and March '74 there are 130 incidents of Provisional IRA violent activity in England. In '73 they are responsible for 86 explosions in England, which leave one person dead and over 300 others injured. And in the first ten months of '74 there were 99 further acts of violence in England, leaving 17 people dead and 145 injured.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: So there's significant activity on multiple occasions.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: You have provided a chronology of the attacks that there were in London and the South East during that campaign. It is right, isn't it, that there were obviously incidents in the West Midlands ...

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PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... and the North West, and army bases in Germany as well?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: So it is a picture of significant activity. Was the IRA active anywhere else in England, or is it those main areas and Germany?

PROF HENNESSEY: Those main areas.

MR SANDERS QC: Right. I don't want to take you through each and every incident, but the overall picture, is it fair to say this, that the overall picture is one where the campaign starts with smaller devices, particularly in department stores, and letter bombs, and devices sent in the post, and then escalates and progresses from there, and so it then starts to move to railway stations and to other targets?

PROF HENNESSEY: That's correct, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then at first there are, to begin with there are no injuries, and then there are some injuries, and then more deaths come later?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: I just want to ask you about, you mentioned an incident at Pirbright in Surrey, which is, this is page 18 of your report, on the 17th of September 1973. So Pirbright is obviously an army camp and it is the camp where two of the victims of the Guildford Pub Bombing were stationed, and there is an attack there amongst tents. The article you refer to in *The Times* states that the attack appears to have been a one pound stick of gelignite.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: So effectively a stick of dynamite, either concealed or thrown in amongst the tents. That is an early attack against a military target.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Does that, can we conclude anything in terms of that being a relatively soft target, or, and there are tents that are outside the main camp, so effectively in a field near the camp, but would that be considered an opportunistic or a soft target?

PROF HENNESSEY: It would have been an opportunistic target, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: The knowledge that there would, that there were tents outside the camp, or that there was an opportunity to strike there, does that suggest a degree of sophistication in terms of intelligence gathering and reconnaissance of the IRA?

PROF HENNESSEY: I wouldn't say, I wouldn't say that it's evidence of sophistication, a sophisticated level of intelligence gathering. But it becomes more sophisticated as time goes on. I think it's evidence of, they are just exploring, and they are eventually (inaudible) Guildford attacks, and they feel more confident, and they establish (inaudible) at this stage, no.

MR SANDERS QC: Okay, that is helpful, thank you. The next significant attack against a military target, this is outside of London and the South East, that you mention is the 4th of February 1974, this is page 21 of your report,

which is the M62 coach bomb. Can you tell us what that attack was and what the consequences of that were?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well it was, it was a coach travelling on the M62 to Manchester and it was an attack on military families. The prime target was the soldiers, and it was to kill the soldiers. And, effectively, those people that were killed in it, which included I think two women and two children aged five and two, was collateral damage, as the IRA would have seen it. They would have warned, they warned, Dáithí Ó Conail (?), who was the Chief of Staff of the IRA, claimed that it was, that families had been, people associated with the soldiers, etcetera, had been warned previously by the IRA that (inaudible) military targets, that that is the primary aim, military targets, but if they don't listen to that warning they would suffer the consequences.

MR SANDERS QC: And so there were 12 deaths, I think.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: Nine soldiers, one army wife and two children, and 38 were injured.

So that, that was the first kind of significant attack within the 73 to 75 campaign, in terms of loss of life and injuries?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then, picking up your chronology, there is a lull in February, March 1974. And then we have the bombs getting seemingly bigger.

So the M62 coach bomb is 25 pounds. Then in May '74 there is a 50 pound bomb in Kennington, and then later in May a 100 pound bomb at Heathrow Terminal 1. And so does that fit with what you were saying about increased sophistication and becoming more, more effective?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, absolutely, yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And then moving through '74 there is the first death in London and the South East is a woman killed and 37 injured at the Tower of London?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then there is a lull in September 1974 until the new wave begins that starts with the Guildford Pub Bombing?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then that wave of attacks is more intense, so there are time-bombs, throw-bombs, shootings, and much more by way of deaths and injuries?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And so it includes the Birmingham Pub Bombings, the Woolwich Pub Bombing, Guildford, and so on. So that's the overall nature of the campaign. Looking at the more specific issues that we are concerned with in the inquests, so first, targeting, secondly the claims of

responsibility by the IRA, and then whether and when they gave pre-attack warnings, if I could just take you to page 27 of your report, and I just want, I just want to read out two passages that are here, because they summarise your views. So the first is, “The PIRA aim appears to have been to cause alarm, damage to property and injury, while accepting the possibility of deaths. The London and South East ASUs appear to have had little discipline imposed upon them in their choice of targets, or given adequate warning of bombings.” So occasionally there are warnings, is that correct?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, that’s correct.

MR SANDERS QC: But often there aren’t?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And there are no examples of warnings given prior to attacks on military targets?

PROF HENNESSEY: No.

MR SANDERS QC: And so does that, what you describe there about little discipline and a wide range of targets, does that, is that consistent with, does that reflect, effectively, wanting to be as unpredictable as possible?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes, I would say so, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And that then maximises the ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Publicity.

MR SANDERS QC: ... publicity and the alarm, and so on?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And then, just a further quote here, "Targets and objectives involved commercial targets, for example incendiary devices in numerous shops and small IEDs in cinemas or postal boxes. Military targets, for example the letter bomb to Brigadier MGP O'CLOCK (sic) of the Irish Guards, or the Duke of York's military barracks in King's Road, Chelsea. Political targets, for example letter bombs to Conservative MPs. And judicial targets, for example the letter bomb sent to the home of an Old Bailey judge. The aim seems to have been to keep the authorities guessing at where the next attack would be."

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: And again, that is consistent with wanting to be unpredictable and to maximise alarm?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: You talk at a couple of points in the report, I don't need you to go to them about varying intensity in the campaign in England and about lulls and about its evolution and escalation, would it be fair to say that there were waves and there were peaks and troughs, but the general trend was of increased intensity and escalation?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And what were the reasons for that?

PROF HENNESSEY: It may have been that, such as a new active service unit doing (inaudible) might want to call a tour in hostile territory, and it may have been (inaudible) from the people, 'cause it's a full time job, you know, a terrorist in an organisation. And (inaudible) probably naturally what affects a terrorist unit (?).

MR SANDERS QC: And could one factor be that the lower level attacks were not having the desired effect?

PROF HENNESSEY: They weren't having, there weren't having any effect at all, but the idea behind them was Billy McKee, who was the, the head of the Belfast Brigade at one stage in the early-Seventies, (inaudible) a bomb in London is worth a thousand in Belfast. But I think it was in fact because (inaudible) it underestimated the effect of the, it overestimated the effect of the bombs in London.

MR SANDERS QC: Could there also be a sense in which the IRA was just getting better at its ...?

PROF HENNESSEY: It was getting better, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: In terms of claims of responsibility, at the beginning of this campaign, so August 1973, the Provisional IRA did claim responsibility for the first of its attacks, and there was then a change of approach and it stopped saying, "This was us."

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: What was the, what was the thinking there?

PROF HENNESSEY: The thinking seems to be that it brought pressure on units, active service units, there operating in England, but I don't see the logic of it, but people knew that it was essentially, that it was a terrorist organisation, that it was the Provisional IRA behind these outrages.

MR SANDERS QC: There were occasionally IRA statements issued to the media or in the course of media interviews, explaining attacks or justifying attacks, particularly when civilians were killed.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: So you give examples of the M62 coach bombing and the Birmingham Pub Bombings.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: What would it, what would have motivated the IRA to make public statements?

PROF HENNESSEY: I think the outrage amongst the public that a number of (inaudible) M62 it was the fact that two children had died, and (inaudible) killed and 21 civilians (inaudible) in Birmingham. So they felt they had to justify, or say (inaudible) target civilians. And I think it was, silence was just unavoidable (?).

MR SANDERS QC: So there was no official claim of responsibility for the Guildford Pub Bombing, but there doesn't seem to be any doubt that it was part of this campaign?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And you mention in your report that some members of the IRA, I don't want you to name anyone, later made what would seem as apparently credible claims of involvement in the Guildford and, and Woolwich attacks?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: So just in terms of warnings, so ringing up a newspaper or the police saying that there is a bomb as such-a-such a place, they were occasional ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... but the norm, and they were only given in relation to civilian targets?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Not in relation to military targets, and of course, I quote-unquote, an army pub would be seen as a military target?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: And you mention in your report that this was consistent with the fact that the IRA saw itself as the legitimate government of the whole of

the island of Ireland and saw itself as being at war with the British state?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MR SANDERS QC: So, from its perspective, these were, these were lawful acts of war?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: The intensity increases. Is there also a sense in which the sophistication of the devices used improves and they become more dangerous?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes. Just, for example, in the 200 bombs, the 100 pound bomb, the 50 pound bombs, so the size of the explosive devices increases, yes.

MR SANDERS QC: And the, there is some reason for thinking that the means of concealing devices was quite effective, because the second Guildford pub that was bombed, the Seven Stars, had been evacuated and searched, and in fact everyone was going back inside 'cause they hadn't found anything when the bomb went off. So there is evidence of it being well concealed within the pub. What do we know about the sophistication of the IRA's intelligence and reconnaissance and planning of attacks?

PROF HENNESSEY: (inaudible) it's quite broad, I mean if you look at the M62 coach bombing, they would have found out that there was going to be troops moving, soldiers moving towards, to Manchester. But there's a limit

to what they can do, I mean, and find out. I mean, the families were clearly going to be on, on this, and, and from, and so there's a limit to what they can do.

MR SANDERS QC: So they obviously have sources of intelligence, but then they are not equipped ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: ... in the same way as MI5 is, in terms of its intelligence gathering?

PROF HENNESSEY: True.

MR SANDERS QC: In order to know which pub is an army pub, presumably you need to have visited those pubs and seen who the clientele are?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Does that suggest that there would be reconnaissance of that nature?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MR SANDERS QC: Focussing on the Guildford Pub Bombings in particular, and that the features of them, I just wonder if you can comment, and you can tell me if you can't comment. Were any of these features matters that would make the Guildford pubs attractive targets? So firstly the fact that they were surrounded by camps, training camps, so that they, so that the service personnel in them were new recruits, lots of teenagers, lots of young people? Did that make them attractive targets to the IRA?

PROF HENNESSEY:I think it probably did.

MR SANDERS QC: And is there a sense in which pubs are a good, are a soft target because the people in them have obviously been drinking and are socialising and off their guard?

PROF HENNESSEY:There had been previous attacks in pubs, which weren't military, necessarily, which weren't military, yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: But it's the same thinking ...

PROF HENNESSEY:Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: ... that you have people with their guard down and are vulnerable?

PROF HENNESSEY:Yes. They are looking, the IRA are looking for chances, sort of an opportune attack, and it's when the army is at its, or the military are at its weakest and unsuspecting.

MR SANDERS QC: One feature of the Guildford Pub Bombing, it's obviously the fact that female service personnel were killed. There weren't many women in the armed forces, particularly in the Seventies, and all of them were members of the Women's Royal Army Corps, so were members of the WRAC, and the WRAC Headquarters camp was at Queen Elizabeth Barracks outside Guildford, and so Guildford was, if you were going to attack an army pub, that would be one of the few places where you would be highly likely to have female service personnel. Was there

any kind of sense in which that was attractive to the IRA to kill women and girls?

PROF HENNESSEY: I couldn't really say.

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. Obviously Northern Ireland society, and we have touched on this already, attaches importance to particular dates and anniversaries, and so on, so the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, the 12th of August. I take it from what you have said that you are unable to comment on whether the fact that this was, that the 5th of October was the sixth anniversary of the start of the Troubles was significant or not, we just don't know?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MR SANDERS QC: One final question I have for you is just in terms of PIRA and its activities, how did it fund its bombing campaigns and its terrorist activities?

PROF HENNESSEY: Well there was, a lot of money came in from the United States. That's as far as I can say.

MR SANDERS QC: I think later there are, later than this there were connections between Libya and the IRA?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, (inaudible) that is the truth.

MR SANDERS QC: Was the IRA supported by any hostile states?

PROF HENNESSEY: There are rumours of Libyan involvement quite early on, but
(inaudible).

MR SANDERS QC: Thank you. Thank you very much, Professor. Those were the questions I had for you. If you just wait there, there may be other questions either from the learned Coroner or from the other interested persons.

CORONER: **Mr SANDERS, what I would like to be clear about in my mind is in relation to bombings involving army targets. I mean, you have obviously got a long list here (inaudible), but how many specific army targets have there been prior to (inaudible)?**

PROF HENNESSEY: I can't, I think there was, at Chelsea there was, I can't remember which regiment it was, but there had been several attacks on military targets, including individuals associated with the military, and clubs that might be dealing with the military. But there's a loose (inaudible) there's a loose definition of a military target.

CORONER: **So when we are military targets that includes, obviously, places where the military might gather ...**

PROF HENNESSEY: Absolutely, yes.

CORONER: ... (inaudible)?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah, yes, it would be. There were a number of attacks on police as well, which suggest that, broadly speaking, establishment, in inverted

commas, were, brought everybody into their, I think they are evolving as time goes on, and searching (inaudible) intelligence comes from, and why Guildford is targeted, that it becomes (inaudible) where an unsuspecting attack occurs, which is in the pub bombings associated with military personnel away from London. So it's an evolving campaign.

CORONER: And although we have got this coincidence of date, the 5th of October, and when one goes through your list in fact there are so many dates here ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

CORONER: ... but there certainly is not a pattern I think is what you are probably saying?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

CORONER: There is no pattern to suggest that actually there are key dates and on those key dates it is likely that this was going to happen, but then there are so many dates that perhaps it was inevitable at some point that there was going to be a coincidence in date?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes. But the commemorations is massive in Northern Ireland for both sides so ...

CORONER: You mean (inaudible) ...

PROF HENNESSEY: (inaudible) ...

CORONER: ... there are marches and so on ...

PROF HENNESSEY: ... they remember (inaudible) without a trial (?), 9th of August, and Bloody Sunday, 30th of January, it's always commemorated.

CORONER: Ms BARTON (inaudible).

MS BARTON QC: Can I just pick up on, appearing for Surrey Police, just a couple of questions, if I may. You picked out a date, the 9th of August, for instance, as an important date in Northern Ireland, but if we go through the list of your identification of the bombing campaign on the mainland ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yeah.

MS BARTON QC: ... for instance there wasn't a bomb on the 9th of August in 1974.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MS BARTON QC: So the dates would appear to be random, wouldn't they?

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes. It depends ... yes, they would do, yeah.

MS BARTON QC: Yes. So dates that are important for Northern Ireland don't necessarily mean that they are a focus date for any given active service unit?

PROF HENNESSEY: In England, yes.

MS BARTON QC: In England.

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MS BARTON QC: Yes, exactly. And if we look, as well, at the issue of military targets, if we go through your 130 incidents, the vast majority of those are in fact commercial ...

PROF HENNESSEY: Yes.

MS BARTON QC: ... or political targets?

PROF HENNESSEY: Correct.

MS BARTON QC: Yes, thank you.

CORONER: **Mr BERRY.**

MR BERRY: No, thank you, sir.

CORONER: **Mr PLEETH.**

MR PLEETH: No, thank you, sir.

CORONER: **Mr SANDERS, anything else?**

MR SANDERS QC: No, thank you, sir.

CORONER: **Professor, thank you very much. That concludes your evidence. Thank you, very interesting evidence, very helpful. So you are free to stay or to go. Thanks very much.**

PROF HENNESSEY: Thank you.

(The witness withdrew)

CORONER: **Mr SANDERS, I think with that it concludes the evidence that we have listed (inaudible)?**

MR SANDERS QC: Yes, that is the evidence for today, and we are picking up again tomorrow. As we understand it, the witnesses that we have are going to be able to attend whether or not the train strikes go ahead.

CORONER: Yes. So, fingers crossed, we are not going to be disrupted by a strike, if there is one.

MR SANDERS QC: Correct.

CORONER: There will be, just so everybody knows, there will be short days and there will be longer says, and my intention is that we should take them as it comes, as it is listed per day, and if it is a short day, it is a short day. There is plenty of work to do outside, and so (inaudible). Good, all right. So that concludes the first day. We will sit again, please, tomorrow at ten o'clock, please.

CLERK: Court please rise.

(The court adjourned)