

### Why Lawyers Are Complicit in an Unjust System

*Aarif Abraham*, makes the case for a radical defence of the justice system, fully funded and free at the point of delivery to those who need it. Let me begin with the radical conclusion. Lawyers are morally, professionally and practically complicit in the perpetuation of injustice in England and Wales. You will likely find significant popular sentiment that wholeheartedly agrees with any criticism of lawyers. Here, however, is the major premise. It is because they represent the marginalised, dispossessed, and disenfranchised for relatively low pay or for no pay at all. Come again? In 2012, the Lib-Dem-Conservative Coalition Government removed all legal aid (save for some exceptional cases) from welfare benefit, employment, debt, housing, education, non-asylum immigration, inquests, and actions against public authorities cases among others. That was compounded by the closure of over half of the not-for-profit legal advice services in England and Wales from 94 centres in 2013 to 47 in 2019, due to cuts in government funding. Furthermore, since 2010, 295 courts have been closed making physical access to courts difficult for many people; a rapid extension of a process began by the Labour government in 1997.

Despite the drastic dismantling of these key pillars of our justice system, lawyers continue to represent clients in many of these areas, either at a reduced rate or for no money at all. During the 2019 election campaign, only two major parties suggested any reform of the devastating cuts of the past decade in their manifestos: Labour promised an extensive set of pledges including full restoration of legal aid whilst the Lib Dems have committed a return of £500 million 'to restore legal aid'. (Plaid Cymru, incidentally, have also promised to 'reverse legal aid cuts'). The idea of paying lawyers a decent fee, commensurate with their efforts, is likely to garner little public sympathy. The 'fat cat' and the lawyer are often synonymous. Yet, beyond the cliched characterisation of the lawyer, there is a whole class of lawyers doing public interest work (civil and criminal) that daily defends individuals' rights for well-below the market-rate and sometimes for absolutely no money at all. The moral hazard of this is plain: why would the government be willing to pay fairly when there are lawyers that will do it for free or for very little?

If as an individual you have no income, then in areas where legal aid has been removed there would be no lawyer available unless they are willing to work for free. If you are on an average income or low income (circa £12,475) then means testing would result in you unlikely having access to a decent lawyer, paid for by the state, in your time of serious need (despite paying a myriad of taxes). If you do have a lawyer, and are either in one of the two categories above, it is probably because that lawyer likely feels that you and your rights are worth upholding regardless of your money, your power or your status.

The popular depiction of lawyers, by contrast, is unmistakable; sharp suited, silver tongued, slicked-back hair (whilst you have it). They slip effortlessly, with little preparation, into a wood-panelled courtroom; leather tome in-hand to fight the good fight. They are aloof, of course, to consideration of pay, dismissive of their clients' concerns and paradoxically ambiguous as to ethics or morals. If you happen to be a corporate/commercial solicitor or barrister in the City of London some of that may ring true; a partner can command £800 to £1,000 per hour for their time; even a trainee solicitor can be justifiably charge £300 to £450 per hour. In gen-

eral, high-street practices averaging around £150 to £200 per hour (per lawyer) are a mark of commercial viability. If you are at the perceived top of the pyramid you may even be able to dabble in government efforts to increase pro bono work; representing the least well-off for no money; sometimes in an area of law you know little to nothing about. The demand and supply financial incentives for most privately paying work is obvious. A pays B for a service which has a measurable financial payoff for A, if successful. That is unlike most publicly funded work where the ultimate beneficiary cannot pay. What if you are incapacitated and unable to work, for instance, and your welfare/disability benefits have been wrongly withdrawn? A third party must pay on their behalf for an outcome that tends to benefit society at large.

Benefits to society of public funded work are plain and costs saved even plainer. For instance, the acquittal of an innocent defendant which prevents long-term incarceration; the prevention of someone becoming homeless; stopping someone wrongfully being sectioned under mental health law; children prevented from being taken into social care as a consequence of the latter. Any economist will tell you that externalities of goods/services or the provision of public goods can be costed. If you cost up the public benefit accrued for publicly funded legal work then the debt that society owes may shock us all. The problem is who pays?

The government has 'saved' some £950m a year reduction in funding for legal aid since April 2013. The objective evidence that demonstrates this 'saving' to, in fact, be a cost is absolutely unequivocal. The cuts to the justice system are having systemic/long-terms effects – societal effects that would appear very much intended but costs which are not: Lawyers are unable and/or unwilling to build a practice in criminal law or civil liberties work which means there is a dearth of new/talented practitioners – for instance, fees paid to criminal duty solicitors, have not increased since the 1990s;

Diversity in the professions and those with caring responsibilities have been disproportionately impacted by the cuts leading to some leaving the profession and many reluctant to join; Lack of funding for early legal advice means matters are more likely to come to court, harms are unlikely to be remedied sooner, and individuals are more likely to be unrepresented; There has been an explosion of litigants in person – the 'Support Through Court' has had to close four major centres this year despite its support to ordinary people who need representation increasing to 75,000 (from 10,000 six years ago) due to lack of funding. Law Society research indicates that the average cost of a day in court is £2,692 – it is likely to be greater where there is no representation. Courts also do not grant leniency to litigants in person when complying with court rules and procedures, as confirmed by the Supreme Court in *Barton v Wright Hassall LLP*, recently; Solicitors and barristers who decide to do publicly funded work are unable in reality (despite professional obligations) to devote the time and attention to a case that they could if they were properly remunerated and not forced to take on a higher case volume to be 'profitable'. The Law Society and Bar Council, have suggested reforms to give people meaningful access to the justice system; both have made a number of suggestions for the new government.

More radical action, however, is likely required and short of the prohibition of 'bringing the profession into disrepute' (though the government appears to have achieved that single-handedly) barristers and solicitors are not short of creative options: papers and submissions for court can be discreetly marked on their face as part unpaid (#PartlyUnremunerated #FullyUnremunerated); a simple register (on Twitter or another platform) can keep a log of solicitors/barristers' unremunerated work with a yearly IOU or bad-debt sheet sent to the Government for each hour that went unremunerated or under-remunerated against a reasonable, hourly benchmark-fee (#FairFeeJustice #PayforJustice); lawyers can resist engage-

ment, on a reasoned, transparent and articulated basis, with any further 'modernisation' reforms (such as online courts or flexible court opening hours) until the most serious/pressing modernisation occurs, namely – respect for basic access to justice, fair pay for fair work, and government adherence to international norms respecting the right to an effective remedy and fair trial; mobilising, galvanising and organising to show the collective commitment by the entire legal profession to fairly remunerate publicly funded work – dozens of politicians signed up for #TakeYourMPToWork, a campaign that sees MPs visit law centres, courts and firms to learn about the justice system at the coalface – but return of briefs and sustained industrial action cannot be ruled out where a client's urgent and immediate interests are adequately protected. Deferring action because of small government concessions is not sustainable – coordinated action today will ensure concerted and consistent responses tomorrow.

Lawyers at a macro level can be criticised for helping perpetuate an unfair and unjust system yet why they do so is plainly obvious. Without representation, a lay individual, in dire need, is simply unable to represent their own best interests in a complicated/specialised court system with complex and intricate laws, rules, and procedures. Publicly funded, or more accurately, public interest lawyers do what they do because it makes a massive difference in an individual case – it should not but it does in our unequal, unfair and unjust society. It behoves us to think what would happen if they stopped.

I am reminded of an old Eastern proverb that *'the law is a fortress on a hill that armies cannot take nor floods wash away.'* It is undeniable that we ourselves are the masters of our own fate; no external agency (the EU, Council of Europe, UN, or anyone else) can deprive us of our commitment to ourselves whether they relate to rights or obligations. We alone are responsible for when the rule of law breaks down but just the same, the law will not be justice until we make it so.

### **Rabid Rodents or Corrupt Cops?**

*Frank Beyer, Crime Traveller:* In April 2018 stories appeared in the Argentine press about half a ton of marijuana missing at a judicial storage facility in Campana, a town to the north of the capital city of Buenos Aires. The police comisario who had taken charge of this evidence warehouse in April 2017 reported the problem. Perhaps having been tipped off that an inspection was imminent, he and his colleagues decided it was necessary to account for the absent narcotics. The reason they gave for the irregularity was bizarre. Those involved, three comisarios (a rank approximately equivalent to superintendent) and five police officers, even when interviewed separately, unanimously claimed the missing marijuana had been eaten by rats. (Mice were the culprits in some reports.) Unsurprisingly, the 'eaten by rats' defence didn't hold up in front of the judge.

The investigation: Zoological experts were called on to provide information. They said rats wouldn't have mistaken the marijuana for food and they would have died if they did eat it, highly potent cannabis is toxic to rats. Also, it would've taken a plague of thousands to eat five hundred kilos. Residents of the area reckoned there weren't many rats or mice around because of all the stray cats. Rats usually send one animal out as a scout and if that rat dies after eating a new source of food the others don't eat it. Furthermore, although rats are often seen around marijuana plantations, they only use the stalks of plants to sharpen their teeth and nails. The National Gendarmes raided the storage space to get to the bottom of things. Sniffer dogs found no trace of rodents, dead or alive, and it was confirmed that the Marijuana hadn't rotted. To further complicate matters, after the raid the amount missing was raised to over eight hundred kilograms.

Looking for precedents, there was a case in Wichita, Kansas, in 2013 where mice ate and nested in marijuana in an evidence building. Clerks had to clear the pests out and repackage the remain-

ing marijuana as the plastic wrapping had been gnawed through. The amount eaten in Wichita was nowhere near half a ton. Rats and mice are given THC, the active ingredient in marijuana, in lab experiments. However, rather than getting them to eat the drug, lab workers put a controlled dose of THC straight into the rodents' veins. Still, a hotshot defence lawyer and a cooperative toxicologist as expert witness could have used the Wichita case and the lab experiments to create doubt as to whether the marijuana would have poisoned the rats in Argentina.

Another rat story in 2018, this time from Guwahati, India, might have helped in establishing that the rat is a hugely destructive animal. A single dead rat was found in an ATM that had been out of order for some days. Over 1.2 million rupees (nearly 18,000 USD) worth of notes had been shredded for nesting or eaten by this rodent. Rather ironically, rat poison can sometimes be an ingredient in cheap narcotics. In April 2018 a story broke in the United States that a number of people had died from using synthetic marijuana laced with rat poison, which causes death in a highly unpleasant way – internal hemorrhaging. Rat poison, hopefully in amounts not lethal to humans, is also used in producing paco – a drug smoked in Argentina that's a combination of cocaine paste, benzoic acid, methanol and kerosene. The highly addictive paco destroys your prefrontal cortex and teeth.

The judge in the Argentine case said it was a given that the missing drugs had re-entered the commercial market. The marijuana had been in the judicial storage facility for somewhere between two and five years – depending on which report you go with. Normally a large capture of drugs like this would be incinerated in a special oven that doesn't expel smoke harmful for the environment (or get people high). After being weighed, photographed and sampled the narcotics are no longer needed – although, some experts claim they are better held onto as evidence until the case is fully closed. Only comisario Emilio Portero who made the denouncement about the missing narcotics was processed by judge Adrián González Charvay. Portero didn't receive jail time as there was no proof he sold the Marijuana, he is now out of a job though. The other officers involved received demerits but no other punishment.

### **Found Guilty of the Same Murder Twice**

Prolific jewel thief Michael Weir, 52, battered veteran Leonard Harris, 78, and mother-of-three Rose Seferian, 83, during two burglaries five weeks apart in 1998, the Old Bailey was told. Retired cabbie Mr Harris's widow Gertrude, who also suffered head injuries, died a few years later in a care home. During the attacks, Weir stole a signet ring and gold watch from Mr Harris and ripped diamond rings from Ms Seferian's fingers, jurors heard. Connections between the two deaths were not made at the time, after police failed to match Weir's palm print to one recovered from the Harris home in 1998. After Weir, of Hackney, north-east London, was found guilty of the murders, Mrs Justice McGowan told jurors they had made legal history. Prosecutor Tom Little QC said it was believed to be the first double jeopardy case to involve a defendant being found guilty of the same murder twice. It was also the first time a second murder charge had been added to a double jeopardy case, brought in light of new and compelling evidence following a change in the law in 2005.

Weir had been convicted in 1999 of the murder of Mr Harris, as well as burglary and attacking Mrs Harris on the basis of DNA erroneously kept on the police database. The original trial judge ruled it was admissible but that decision was overturned by the Court of Appeal in 2000 and Weir's conviction was quashed. The Crown Prosecution Service then missed a deadline to appeal to the House of Lords by a day, Mr Little said. But the Lords later found that, in a similar case to Weir's, the original decision to admit the DNA was correct.

Weir's fresh trial was told how he broke into Mr Harris's flat in East Finchley, north London, leaving him with serious head injuries on January 28 1998. He died in hospital five months later. Weir literally thought he had got away with murder but he now faces a considerable custodial sentence where he will have significant time to reflect on his utterly callous actions towards two completely innocent victims. An 18-carat gold Zenith watch that Mr Harris had taken from a German soldier during the Second World War and his gold ring were missing. Three days after the attack, police found a palm print on the bedroom door but missed the match to the defendant at the time, because a comparative print was not the best quality, the court heard. DNA testing not available in 1998 produced more evidence that Weir was at the crime scene.

On March 5 1998, Ms Seferian was attacked in the three-bedroom flat in Kensington, west London. She died in hospital a month later. A palm print was recovered from inside the flat on a window frame where Weir broke in but it was not matched to the defendant until 2017, the court heard. By 2018, the new DNA evidence in the Harris murder had been obtained and the palm prints from both scenes had been matched to the defendant, jurors heard. Giving evidence, labourer Weir admitted he had a long history of stealing to get money for drugs but denied murder.

### **Where Chaos Reigns: Inside the San Pedro Sula Prison**

The inmates, trapped in their collective misery, battle for control over every inch of their tight quarters. Farm animals and guard dogs roam free and feed off scraps, which can include a human heart. Every day is visitors' day, and the economy bustles with everything from chicken stands to men who can build customized jail cells. Here you can find a party stocked with champagne and live music. But you can also find an inmate hacked to pieces. Those who guard these quarters are also those who get rich selling air-conditioned rooms, and those who pay the consequences if they get too greedy. That's how inmates live, on their own virtual island free from government interference, in the San Pedro Sula prison.

The lawyer still remembers how he felt when he arrived. The year was 2012, and he was entering a new world. There were new rules and new roles. Time passes differently on the inside, he found out quickly, and banalities, while trivial on the outside, are treasures that one has to pay for and defend at any cost on the inside. He was in a tough position. The prison is divided by the type of inmate you are and the group with which you are affiliated. The most numerous prisoners — and therefore the most powerful group — are called "paisas." Paisa is a generic name in Central America for inmates who have no affiliation to a larger, organized criminal group: car thieves, petty drug dealers, and murderers are all paisas. The paisas are the largest bloc, but they are far from being unified. Their power disputes have led to treasonous acts and conspiracies, coup d'états and wars.

Inside this new world, the lawyer also found infamous predators. The Mara Salvatrucha 13 (MS13) and the Barrio 18, which according to government authorities and the US Treasury Department are two of the largest and most dangerous gangs in the world, were housed on opposite sides of the jail because of their perennial blood-feud. There were also inmates with mental problems and a group of female prisoners, each of whom have their own section. There were ex-police officers as well; ironically, they were housed next to the MS13. And there were those who had prestige or contacts in high places. They had a separate cell bloc and each prisoner had their own cell, which they refer to as "private rooms."

The lawyer had been a prosecutor in the Attorney General's Office. In jail, everything to do with the government is the enemy, so he sought refuge. Luckily, he had contacts and something more

important: money. One of his contacts, who was arrested in the same police raid that had snared him and faced similar charges, invited him to live in his "private room." They shared the space, and lived in the bloc with the other privileged prisoners. They were, quite simply, the prison's bourgeoisie. It only took a few days for the lawyer to understand how the system worked. "The prison administrator told me there were no private rooms. But if I wanted, he would sell me a small piece of the cell bloc, so that I could build my own private space," he explained to InSight Crime.

So the lawyer negotiated a fee with the prison administrator to build a room. The inmates like to say the cost depends on "how big the frog is," a local expression referring to the amount of money you look like you have. Payments can reach as high as 200,000 lempiras (roughly \$9,000). The lawyer paid 55,000 lempiras (approximately \$2,400). The money was registered in a budget item called "non-governmental expenses." The administrator said this money went towards prison expenses, but nobody believed him. The lawyer also had to pay for labor and materials. In total, the room cost him 200,000 lempiras, but it came with its perks. He lived in one of the poorest prisons in the world, but he had access to luxuries that even inmates from first-world countries would envy: a television, a microwave and a PlayStation, to name a few. The cell not only provided comfort, but security as well, which the lawyer had quickly come to appreciate.

It was just a few days after his arrival that he had heard the first gun shot. When it started, he was confused. Then he heard another, and he began to grasp what was happening. A full fledged gunfight soon broke out. The lawyer said it sounded like a thunderstorm. The riot that followed lasted several hours, which for the San Pedro Sula prison was short. The fight itself was a product of the regular in-fighting among the paisas. One paisa group from Cell Bloc 25 was apparently trying to rebel against the then leader of the jail, José Raúl Díaz, alias "Chepe Lora." The shower of bullets were from Lora's men, who were putting down the insurgency. The battle left five dead. Prison authorities later asked the boss' permission to take the bodies away, and everything went back to normal. It was then that the lawyer understood that he didn't really understand anything about his new world.

The 'Pesetas' Era: San Pedro Sula prison wasn't always under the paisas' control. At the end of the 2000s, it was an even more difficult place to understand and to control. Without clear leaders or dominant groups, any shift in power disrupted the entire institution. And a misstep could be taken as an affront. Only one thing was clear: gang members and paisas could not be in the same cell bloc. Mixing them was like preparing a bloodbath. Prison authorities dealt with this problem by putting the paisas in the largest area of the jail, which could hold up to 1,200 inmates. For a long time, each inmate was responsible for protecting himself. He would have to get his own machete or pistol, or pay someone to get it for him. But there was a crack in the system, a fissure that no prison official saw: the Honduran gangs are not well organized, and their leaders do not have the same authority over the rank-and-file members as they do in neighboring countries such as El Salvador. There are numerous internal conflicts, and many members desert the gangs altogether. These deserters are known in gang argot as "pesetas," and they are separated into a separate bloc, away from their former counterparts. "If you are a peseta, they can't put you where your [former] gang is [because] they would chop you up immediately, and they can't put in the other gang's area because the same thing would happen. The prison isn't large enough to create another compound, so [the pesetas] have to live with the paisa population," explained a former peseta prisoner to InSight Crime.

But the pesetas carry the gang in their soul, and they do not stop leading the gang life just because they have abandoned their particular gang. So it was natural that within the prison, pesetas from various gangs united to form their own group. It was a powerful group, proba-

bly the most organized of any of those within the paisa sector. This power increased when they started requesting money from visitors. These requests soon became demands. Once they became aware of their power, they sought more, and soon they began to govern the entire paisa sector at the point of their blades and the ends of their guns. The prison represents danger, but it also represents opportunity — legal and illegal — from drug sales to contract killings to prostitution. There is even a motel for couples. The pesetas took control of these businesses (and they were careful to provide prison authorities with their share of the profits). Soon, they were also taxing petty drug dealers, alcohol smugglers, and the prisoners who rented out telephones. One day they would extort an inmate, the next day they would rob someone's food. To a degree, the abuse was painful but acceptable for the inmates; it was still within the realm of how far a prison gang can push its limits in Central America without provoking revolt. But the pesetas went further. In fact, they committed what many consider the gravest sin of them all when they started targeting visitors. "It got to the point where the pesetas raped some of the girls that were visiting," the same peseta ex-prisoner told InSight Crime. Tempers rose, but "no one did anything because [the pesetas] were well organized and controlled the weapons." Everything changed in April 2008. The San Pedro Sula prison houses crude men, criminals and those whose reputation precedes them. One of them was Roberto Arturo Contreras, alias "Chele Volqueta," a bank robber who had escaped prison several times. He had earned his nickname during his most recent escape when he went full speed in a "volqueta," or dump truck, and slammed it against the prison's southern wall, creating an enormous hole, all the while firing at prison guards. Several months later, he was captured and sent back to the same prison, where inmates greeted him with a cheer fit for a rock star.

This criminal, like all criminals, had enemies. These enemies could not touch him within the prison, since he had weapons and men. So his enemies paid those who could get to him. At noon on April 26, 2008, while Chele Volqueta was eating stewed chicken in a small prison restaurant, the leader of the pesetas, Jhonny Antonio Jiménez, alias "The Immortal," shot and killed him. Some say that the Chele Volqueta choked on his own blood on the floor of Randy's dining hall, while others claim he choked in the ambulance en route to the hospital. Still others swear that it was a clean kill without much blood. Details always get lost or garbled when recounted by inmates. One thing was clear, though: Immortal had killed San Pedro Sula's acclaimed bank robber and escape artist in Randy's dining hall.

A dark cloud fell over the inmates. If they could kill a man of such prestige and power, they could kill anyone. Someone had to act. Three of the oldest and most recognized inmates met with each other; something had to happen or else everyone would be at the mercy of the pesetas. In stepped a 40-year-old man named Francisco Brevé, a thief with a reputation approaching that of Volqueta. Brevé gathered his men and their weapons, and they responded. One of the attackers, who was 18-years old at the time, said that it wasn't difficult to put an end to "the plague," as he referred to the pesetas. Brevé's men were concentrated in a tight formation with pistols, machetes and grenades, while the pesetas, confident in their power, were scattered across the compound, far from their arsenal.

The massacre was quick. It lasted barely an hour, and left eight dead. But there were a lot of pesetas, and Brevé's men couldn't kill all of them. Those who survived were sent to Támara, the prison in Tegucigalpa, where many of them were killed by the friends and admirers of Volqueta. On that day the pesetas' blood ran through the San Pedro Sula prison like an irrigation system, giving birth to a new group of "strong men" headed by Francisco Brevé, who from that moment on would be known as Don Brevé.

Competing for the Throne: Don Brevé changed many things in the prison. In a rush to protect himself from potential rivals, he outlawed weapons, from shivs to firearms. Up until then, hiring a hit man was a typical way to discipline a member of your own group or to take revenge on an enemy, like Immortal did to Chele Volqueta. But this new rule made hired killing more difficult within the prison. Don Brevé also forged a closer relationship with Hugo Hernández, the administrator of the prison. In return, prison authorities legitimized his leadership, giving him the title of "inmate general coordinator." From that point on, the coordinator has been the intermediary between the administration and the inmates. Complaints, special requests and suggestions are all channeled through him. And the administration communicates its directives to the inmates via the coordinator. This system provides some control. But it is up to the coordinator to impart these orders. And if the coordinator cannot keep the peace, he is of no use to either the administration or the prisoners.

The coordinator also has to keep business flowing. The entire prison economy passes through the hands of the coordinator and the administrator. They hand out the licenses to businesses that operate in the prison corridors — the restaurants, workshops, and small stores. (The main corridor where these businesses operate is called, in a bit of dark jailhouse irony, the "Zone of Death.") They also give permission for the construction of new rooms and the installation of cable television and other amenities. They provide rooms when visitors come or when prostitutes service clients. Everything has a quota that must be paid. This quota goes from the business operator to the coordinator to the administrator and, the inmates say, to the warden. To cover up the constant movement of money, they use rubrics like the aforementioned "non-governmental expenses." Together, Don Brevé and the prison administrator Hernández worked out ways that allowed the prison population a measure of peace, or at least for those who lived in the paisa sector. Don Brevé confronted more than one inmate during his time as king of the San Pedro Sula prison. He always won. To cite just one example, Manuel Araújo was a man who had watched everything unfold from the shadows. Perhaps encouraged by the changes, he decided to defy the new king's orders. He openly carried a weapon, and he armed to the teeth a group of men who had worked with him in the past. Eventually, he and his men took control of part of the paisa compound. But Araújo's rebellion did not last long. He was ambushed on the steps of a motel on a day that no one visited him. They shot him from above and from below. Don Brevé's personal chef and five of Araújo's gunmen were killed during the brawl. In total, the shootout left nine dead and three injured.

### **Douglas Cause Biggest Legal Case in Scottish History**

A radio show is set to look at a remarkable episode in Scottish legal history. In the 18th century the Douglas Cause was the biggest legal case in Scottish history. The latest episode of Denise Mina's Case Histories on BBC Radio Scotland explores the case. The court papers amounted to thousands of pages. The judges' arguments ran into hours, days and weeks, the public gallery hanging on their every word. The great and the good from Adam Smith, David Hume and James Boswell took sides. There were riots in the streets of Edinburgh and a duel between barristers in Hyde Park. £100,000 was bet on the outcome. An inheritance dispute between the two most wealthy aristocratic families in Scotland, the case rested on whether Lady Jane Douglas had indeed given birth to twin boys in Paris in 1748 at the age of 50, providing a direct heir to her brother the Duke, or had she instead bought babies from a Parisian glass blower and rope dancer in a despicable plot to retain the estate and outwit the rival Hamiltons. We'll never know for sure, and Denise discovers that even today with DNA testing, we still might be none the wiser.

### **Medway Youth Jail Still Subjecting Children to Pain-Inflicting Techniques**

*Jamie Grierson, Guardian:* Children at a scandal-hit jail set to close in three months are still being subjected to pain-inflicting techniques during physical restraints, despite repeated warnings against using what inspectors have called “unacceptable” practice. Medway secure training centre for 12- to 18-year-olds has been dogged by allegations of mistreatment of the young inmates by staff for years. The latest inspection by Ofsted, conducted in October, found the experience of children at the centre near Rochester, Kent, was inadequate due to serious concerns over the way staff managed serious and significant incidents.

Use of force had increased significantly and pain-inflicting techniques continued to be used on children, the inspection found. Ofsted called for staff to “immediately cease using pain-inducing techniques on children during physical restraints”. In a centre that at the time of inspection was holding 29 children, there were 359 incidents involving force recorded in the previous six months, with 115 incidents in September alone. Three-quarters of incidents in September, about 85, related to two children alone. The increase in the use of force led to a deterioration in governance and oversight of the practice, inspectors found, with a backlog of 150 use of force incidents dating back three months that had not been quality assured.

Campbell Robb, the chief executive of Nacro, which provides education programmes in Medway praised in the report, said he was proud of the work the staff did, adding: “But the truth is we are operating in a broken system. Despite the best efforts of staff working in the regime, there are serious failures across the system from significant increases in the use of force to a failure to safeguard children at risk from harm. This is simply unacceptable. “So many of the children in the system have for too long been overlooked and written off. Often impacted by violence, trauma and abuse earlier in their lives, children arrive at settings such as Medway in need of care, support and guidance. But we are only one part of the system and things have to change. The new government must commit to fundamental reform to give all children caught in the youth justice system the best chance at a second chance. Our justice system has for too long been under-resourced and overlooked. It is time for change.” Medway STC is publicly-run but was previously operated by the private company G4S, which was stripped of its contract in 2016 shortly after an undercover Panorama documentary alleged that staff at the centre were abusing inmates. A Guardian exposé also revealed a history of abuse allegations at the centre.

Frances Crook, chief executive of the Howard League for Penal Reform, said: “We all want children in trouble with the law to grow up to be law-abiding citizens. This damning report tells us Medway is risking the exact opposite. “The Howard League took legal action in an attempt to stop Medway being built. We argued that it would become a place of abuse, and it has. Thousands of children have suffered the consequences. “It is time that it was closed and we start investing in approaches that will actually work to help children grow out of crime.” After the centre closes in March, the site is to be turned into the country’s first secure school – an education-focused alternative to youth jails – that will be run by an academy trust that specialises in schools in deprived areas.

A Ministry of Justice spokesperson said: “Medway holds some of the most challenging young people in the country and our staff work tirelessly to keep them safe – but, given safety is our priority, this is a disappointing report and we need to do more. “We have acted quickly to introduce a new rapid review process for every use of restraint and the independent review we commissioned into the use of pain-inducing techniques will be published in the new year, alongside the actions we will take as a result. “Medway will close in the spring so the site can be transformed into the first ever secure school, representing a major step towards our commitment to putting education at the heart of youth custody.”

### **Fall in Rape Convictions 'Due to Justice System at Breaking Point'**

Owen Bowcott and Caelainn Barr, Guardian: The steep decline in rape convictions in England and Wales is partially due to a lack of resources which has left the criminal justice system “close to breaking point”, a damning inspectorate report has found. The 195-page study by HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate (HMCPISI) also criticised prosecutors for making intrusive, unnecessary demands for complainants’ mobile phones and medical records. It was commissioned as part of an emergency, ‘End-to-End’ rape review overseen by the National Criminal Justice Board (CJB), which brings together the Ministry of Justice, Home Office, law enforcement agencies and senior members of the judiciary.

The review followed alarm over the rapid rise of rape allegations coinciding with a dramatic fall in cases being taken to trial. “If 58,657 allegations of rape were made in the year ending March 2019 but only 1,925 successful prosecutions for the offence followed,” the inspectorate commented, “something must be wrong.” The detailed study did not identify a single cause but pointed to a complex of problems. Its clearest conclusion - that police and prosecutors have been deprived of funding - emerged as Boris Johnson’s new administration pledges to recruit more police officers.

“Police and CPS have seen significant reductions in their resources,” the report stated. “[The criminal justice system] has been under-resourced so that it is close to breaking point. In the case of the police, it may have gone beyond that, and ... the number of rape allegations lost in the investigative process is damning.” Requests for forensic examination of phones, for example, are taking up to 11 months to complete. The report also found that lawyers in the CPS’s Rape and Serious Sexual Offences units were overstretched. Almost 40% of participating CPS lawyers said their caseload was “heavy and unmanageable”. There was also criticism of prosecutors pushing for disclosure of sensitive personal data not “proportionate” to the investigation. In 39% of relevant cases, prosecutors sent out requests that were not “proportionate” involving obtaining “information from the complainant’s digital devices, and making requests for third-party material (such as education, medical or social services records) that were not necessary ... Some prosecutors are still asking for a full download of a complainant’s or suspect’s phone.”

The inspectorate cleared the CPS of accusations by women’s and victims’ campaign groups that prosecutors are becoming “risk averse” and pursuing only cases with stronger evidence. Prosecutors observed the Code for Crown Prosecutors, the report said. In a 2016 inquiry, HMCPISI found the test was applied incorrectly in 10.1% of rape cases. In the latest batch of cases examined by experienced inspectors that rate fell to 2%. “Rather than the CPS being risk averse, these decisions are often finely balanced, with many difficult matters to weigh up in the evidence.” The report also dismissed claims that a change in ‘levels of ambition’ for prosecutors had led to more difficult cases being dropped by the CPS. HM chief inspector Kevin McGinty said: “Since 2016 there has been a substantial increase in rape allegations, while the number of rape prosecutions has fallen significantly – which indicates there is a serious problem. “The CPS has been accused of only choosing easy cases to prosecute, but we found no evidence of that in our report.” The director of public prosecutions Max Hill QC said: “I am reassured that HMCPISI has found no evidence that the CPS has become risk averse when deciding whether to charge these cases.”

Responding to the report, Sarah Green, director for End Violence Against Women, a coalition of women’s groups, said: “The report ... recognises that the statistics ... alone raise huge questions about justice being done, but it insists there is quality CPS decision making. At the same time the report refers to its own survey of CPS managers saying their units are not well staffed.” Harriet Wistrich, director of the Centre for Women’s Justice, criticised a “lack of

independence” in the review. “We are inundated with examples of compelling cases of rape prosecutions being dropped by the CPS or by the police who say there is no point in referring consent cases to the CPS anymore,” she said. Dame Vera Baird QC, the victims’ commissioner for England and Wales, said: “It is obviously a cause for concern that in 40% of cases material that is intensely private and may include irrelevant but personal details is being demanded.” Claire Waxman, London’s independent victim’s commissioner, said: “The report shows there is a worrying lack of understanding around the disclosure of digital evidence, with too many disproportionate requests for personal data.

A government spokesperson said: “These findings are deeply concerning. Victims deserve to know they will be supported and the prime minister has been clear that more has to be done to bring perpetrators of violent and sexual crimes to justice. “To put this right, we are conducting a full review of the criminal justice system’s response, recruiting 20,000 more police, giving £85m to the Crown Prosecution Service, creating extra prison places and making sure violent and sexual offenders spend longer behind bars.” The National Police Chiefs’ council lead for adult sexual offences and rape, deputy chief constable Sarah Crew, said: “The shortage of detectives, the large increase in digital evidence and tackling disclosure challenges have all impacted on the number of cases referred to the CPS and the time taken to investigate and prepare these. The recruitment of 20,000 officers over the next three years will help us to ease the pressure on investigators and improve outcomes for victims.”

#### **US: Man Allowed Bail After Being Tried Six Times for the Same Murder**

Guardian: A Mississippi man who has been tried six times in the same murder case will be allowed to post bail and leave custody for the first time in 22 years. During a hearing on Monday 16th December 2019, a judge granted a bond request made by attorneys for 49-year-old Curtis Flowers. Bond was set at \$250,000. In July 1996, four people were shot dead in a furniture store in the north Mississippi town of Winona. Two trials involving Flowers ended in a mistrial. He was convicted four times. All four convictions were overturned. In the sixth trial, in 2010, Flowers was sentenced to death. Earlier this year the US supreme court overturned that conviction, finding prosecutors had shown an unconstitutional pattern of excluding African American jurors. The district attorney, Doug Evans, has not said if he intends to try Flowers again. If prosecutors do not respond, Loper said, “the state will reap the whirlwind”.

Flowers’s attorney, Rob McDuff, has argued that Mississippi law requires bail after two capital murder mistrials. “This case is unprecedented in the history of the American legal system,” McDuff said during the hearing which led to Flowers’s bail. Attorneys are expected to argue at another hearing that the judge should dismiss the charges all together. Even though Flowers’s last conviction was overturned, the original murder indictment is still active. The four people killed on 16 July 1996 were store owner Bertha Tardy, 59, and three employees: 45-year-old Carmen Rigby, 42-year-old Robert Golden and 16-year-old Derrick “Bobo” Stewart.

A daughter of Tardy was among spectators in the courtroom on Monday. She sat across the aisle and one row back from Flowers’ daughter Crystal Ghoston. Flowers appeared wearing a dark suit, white shirt and black-and-white striped tie. Ghoston, 26, said she had seen her father only once since he was imprisoned, about 10 years ago, and that even then she could only talk to him through a reinforced window. She said they wrote letters to each other and talked on the phone every few weeks, and that he wanted to meet her two-year-old daughter, who calls him “Paw-Paw”. “We’re so much alike,” Ghoston said. “We laugh all the time on

the phone.” Supporters of Flowers hugged after court was dismissed. Flowers was moved off death row at the Mississippi state penitentiary at Parchman and taken to a regional jail in Louisville. On Monday, the circuit judge Joseph Loper said Flowers would have to wear an electronic monitor while out of custody. It was “troubling”, he said, that prosecutors had not responded to the defense motion to drop the charges against Flowers.

#### **High Court Backs Civil Claim Against 1982 IRA Bomber**

*Law Gazette:* A woman whose father was killed in a 1982 terrorist attack is entitled to recover damages from an IRA member whose criminal trial collapsed five years ago, the High Court ruled today. In *Young v Downey*, Mrs Justice Yip concluded that the defendant, John Downey, was part of a joint enterprise, participating in the common design to commit the tortious conduct which led to the death of Lance Corporal Jeffrey Young and three other members of the Household Cavalry on 20 July 1982.

‘There can be no doubt that the intentional, unlawful killing of a person amounts to tortious conduct giving rise to a claim for damages,’ the judgment states. Downey, who is in custody in Northern Ireland where he faces charges arising from a 1972 bombing, refused to engage with the court and did not respond to a proposal that he participate by video-link. ‘In my experience, the attendance of parties and witnesses by video-link works well within civil proceedings and is a perfectly acceptable alternative to attendance in person,’ Yip J noted.

Sarah-Jane Young, who was four at the time of the bombing, seeks damages under the Fatal Accidents Act 1976 for her own psychiatric harm and consequential loss, as well as aggravated and exemplary damages on behalf of all the victims. The action commenced after the collapse of a murder trial when it emerged that Downey had mistakenly been issued with a guarantee against prosecution. The judgment notes that the claim is governed by the Limitation Act 1980, which normally sets a limit of three years from the date of injury or death. However the judge agreed that the claim could proceed on the basis that the claimant’s ‘date of knowledge’ was the 2014 court ruling and that since then she has acted promptly. ‘The reasons for the delay are, in my judgment, wholly excusable and very relevant to the exercise of my discretion,’ Yip J ruled. On the civil standard of proof she found that fingerprint evidence showed that Downey had driven the Morris Marina used in the attack on the morning of the bombing and had been convicted of IRA membership. ‘As such, the claimant has established that the defendant is responsible as a joint tortfeasor for the unlawful killing of her father and she is therefore entitled to recover damages from him.’ The extent of those damages will be determined later.

#### **70% Drop in Number of Children Arrested Since 2010**

*Aqsa Hussain, Justice Gap:* The number of children arrested in England and Wales has reduced by more than 70% in the last eight years, according to research published by the Howard League for Penal Reform. In 2010 almost 250,000 children aged 17 years and under were arrested across England and Wales; each year the number has declined year on year to just over 70,000 arrests in 2018. The report also revealed that during the same period, the number of children in prison was also reduced by 63%. Arrests of primary school-age children (10 and 11 years old) in 2018 also showed a significant reduction of 38% compared to 2017 – a total of 383 arrests. ‘Tens of thousands of children can look forward to a brighter future without their lives being blighted by police contact and a criminal record,’ said Frances Crook, chief executive of the Howard League. ‘Police forces up and down the country have diverted resources to

tackling serious crime instead of arresting naughty children. This will make communities safer, and the Howard League is proud to have played its part. Building on this success and reducing the number of arrests still further would allow even more children to thrive.'

The Howard League launched a campaign in 2010 with the aim of tackling the high rates of child arrests teaming up with police forces across England and Wales in investigating measures to allow children to avoid entering the criminal justice system in the first place. According to the charity, 'each contact a child has with the criminal justice system drags them deeper into it'. The Metropolitan Police force alone reduced the number of arrests of children made by 22% between 2017 and 2018, from 17,672 to 13,791 arrests in the year. This was an overall reduction of 70% on 2010. The report shows that other forces across the country also recorded notable reductions between 2017 and 2018: Gwent (38%), Bedfordshire (28%), Cumbria (27%), North Wales (24%), Kent (23 per cent), Cleveland (19%), West Mercia (19%) and Durham (18%).

### **Challenge To Damages Award Made To Wrongly Accused Of Daniel Morgan Axe Murder**

Males LJ has granted permission to appeal against the Order of Cheema -Grubb J dated 31 July 2019, who awarded Jonathan Rees a total of £155,000 in damages for malicious prosecution and misfeasance in public office following his misconceived and wrongful prosecution for the notorious and unsolved murder of Daniel Morgan on 10 March 1987. The appeal will consider the relationship between damages in immigration detention cases and those typically awarded against the backdrop of police misconduct and misconducted criminal proceedings. Rees and his co-accused Glenn Vian spent 682 days in prison, a significant period of which was in Category A, followed by a year with stringent bail conditions. Rees and his co-accused had sued the Metropolitan Police, but in a highly controversial judgment Mitting J. found that whilst the senior investigating officer had perverted the course of justice by concocting evidence against the men, that, (legally) deprived them of damages, as properly analysed it was a case of noble cause corruption. What mattered, when he fabricated the evidence of an eye witness was whether he believed the men were guilty, which he did. (The judgment can be found here) The Court of Appeal overturned the judgement and sent the case back for an assessment of damages. (The judgment can be found here) The £155,000 award comprised £60,000 for loss of liberty, £27,000 for distress arising from the prosecution, £18,000 for aggravated damages and £50,000 for exemplary damages (one third share of the overall exemplary damages award of £150,000).

### **Domestic Violence Orders at Record High**

*Law Society Gazette*: Legal aid changes to make it easier for domestic abuse victims to access legal aid may have contributed to a record number of people seeking help, according to latest official family justice statistics. Ministry of Justice figures for July to September show that 7,876 applications were made for a domestic violence remedy order, up 23% on the same period last year and the highest quarterly figure since 2009 when statistics were first published. There were 8,839 domestic violence orders, up 18% from last year and also a record high. The bulk of applications and orders were for non-molestation. Occupation applications and orders were also up.

The government said the increases may be linked to legislative changes introduced in January 2018. Harsh evidence tests to qualify for legal aid were removed after campaign group Rights of Women, with the support of the Law Society, successfully fought rules introduced in April 2013 that required victims to provide a prescribed form of evidence to apply for family law legal aid. The bulletin states: 'These changes have made it easier for victims, or those at risk, of domestic abuse to obtain and provide the evidence required to access

legal aid, and in doing so, this may have impacted on the number of domestic violence applications and orders,' the bullet states. Family lawyers will be hoping to see the Domestic Abuse Bill, which has fallen twice this autumn, return in the Queen's speech on Thursday. The Conservative Party pledged in its election manifesto that it would pass the bill as well as pilot integrated domestic abuse courts that address criminal and family matters in parallel.

### **HMP Littlehey – Safe Respectful Some Excellent Outcomes but Weak On Rehabilitation**

HMP Littlehey, holding more than 1,200 men convicted of sexual offences, was found to be safe and respectful, according to a recent inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, with reasonably good work to provide purposeful activity. However, inspectors were concerned that rehabilitation and release planning was not sufficiently good, the same assessment as in 2015 when the training prison near Huntingdon in Cambridgeshire was previously inspected. Littlehey is one of a small number of prisons in England and Wales to hold only those convicted of sexual offences. At the time of the inspection, which took place in July and August 2019, 44 per cent of prisoners were serving lengthy sentences of between four and 10 years, with over a third serving more than 10 years. Around 150 prisoners were serving indeterminate sentences, including life. Nearly half were over the age of 50 and of all those held, some 78% were assessed as presenting a high or very high risk of harm. Littlehey "continued to be an overwhelmingly safe prison. New prisoners were received well into the prison and helped to settle. The prison was calm and prisoners reported to us that they felt safe. Very little violence was recorded and a culture that incentivised good behaviour helped greatly." The use of illicit drugs remained low. The majority of prisoners reported that they felt respected by staff and the interactions inspectors observed were relaxed, although not always particularly proactive. They were improving, however, following the successful introduction of the keyworker scheme.

The internal and external areas of the prison were clean and well-maintained, although some overcrowding and ongoing problems with heating systems were significant issues. The report noted: "Over the previous two years, there had been chronic problems with the heating and boiler system, which had had a negative impact on prisoners' living conditions." Time out of cell for most prisoners in full-time activity was good, although inspectors found a surprisingly high 17% locked in cell during the working day. Mr Clarke added: "There was sufficient activity for all, but allocation arrangements were inflexible and unresponsive." Ofsted inspectors, however, judged the overall effectiveness of education, skills and work to be good. The area where outcomes were weakest was in rehabilitation and release planning. The promotion of family ties needed improvement. About half of prisoners did not have an up-to-date offender assessment system (OASys) assessment, many having arrived without such an assessment. This was concerning given the high level of risk the population presented. Contact between offender supervisors and prisoners was inconsistent and often reactive, with very little one-to-one sentence planning work taking place."

Public protection arrangements were not sufficiently robust and, Mr Clarke added, "the prison had only recently introduced resettlement initiatives capable of supporting sufficiently the approximately 30 men discharged each month." Overall, however, Mr Clarke said: "Despite some criticisms, this report reflects some very good findings and some excellent outcomes for prisoners at Littlehey. The prison had a clearly defined function and held a substantial number of elevated risk men in safe and respectful conditions. Prisoners benefited from a very good daily regime and we saw examples of good practice. Going forward, the prison's main priorities are to assess and reduce the risks of the prisoners it holds, and to prepare those being released for successful resettlement into the community."

### **HMP Guys Marsh - Ongoing Weaknesses Daily Life/Equality/Diversity/Purposeful Activity**

HMP Guys Marsh, a men's training prison in Dorset, was found to have become safer, through action to tackle violence and drugs, since its last inspection at the beginning of 2019. However, progress in other areas was disappointing. In January 2019, inspectors described a prison that had started to make progress after successive poor inspections. Rehabilitation and release planning had improved substantially and most areas relating to respect had seen reasonable outcomes for prisoners. At that time, though, inspectors were concerned about insufficiently good provision of purposeful activity and high levels of violence, driven by drug use and debt. Use of force by staff was also high.

An independent review of progress (IRP) against key recommendations and themes from the full inspection took place in October 2019. Peter Clarke, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, said: "Our findings were disappointing." There had been sufficient progress against only four of the 13 recommendations and themes, and against a further two there had been no meaningful progress. Processes and procedures were often not robust enough to provide assurance that tangible progress could be expected or sustained. For example, while there had been a welcome reduction in use of force, governance remained inconsistent and it was not clear that lessons were being learned from quality assurance procedures. While some recommendations needed more resources to be achieved, others had not been achieved as a result of insufficient management focus. The positive findings of the IRP centred on safety, an area of prison life where outcomes had shown "impressive progress." There had been a reduction of nearly 40% in violence.

The number of positive drug tests had also dropped markedly. The report noted "a good focus on educating prisoners on the dangers of using illicit drugs. This included the introduction of a six-week locally developed gym course ('Tackling drugs through sport'), which focused on issues such as healthy lifestyles and the effects of drugs on the body, while providing all participants with a weekly health test. Several other useful initiatives had been developed [...] such as overdose awareness events, drug forums and roadshows." Another positive finding was that work to support family ties had also been strengthened.

Other areas were less positive. Weak management of applications remained a considerable source of frustration to prisoners. The management of equality had been largely neglected. Similarly, Mr Clarke said, "the amount of time out of cell remained poor, with nearly a third of prisoners locked up during the working day and no evidence of realistic plans to improve the situation. Attendance at activities was poor and purposeful activity showed little perceptible improvement." However, poor management of learning and skills evident since the inspection had recently been addressed. Overall, Mr Clarke said, "Notwithstanding the commendable progress in safety, managers had much work to do to ensure that the positive changes were sustained and that ongoing weaknesses in the areas of daily life, equality and diversity and purposeful activity were addressed. The recent concerning history of Guys Marsh demonstrates that Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service will also need to assure itself that any improvement that is made is sustainable and maintained."

### **HMP Onley – Drugs, Education and Training Remain Concerns**

HMP Onley, a training prison in Warwickshire holding 740 men, 80% of them from London, had made "very mixed" progress since a troubling inspection a year before, a new report says. Inspectors visiting the prison near Rugby for an independent review of progress (IRP) in November 2019 found there had been robust action to tackle violence, including predatory behaviour towards new arrivals. However, there had been no meaningful progress against illicit drugs. Peter Clarke, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, recalled that at the full inspection in November 2018, inspectors were concerned about safety, assessing it as poor, the lowest assessment, for the second consecutive inspection. Respect,

purposeful activity and rehabilitation and release planning – the three other 'healthy prison tests' – were all not sufficiently good in 2018. At that time, inspectors found chronic staff shortages and inexperience, and that staff lacked the confidence and skills to challenge poor prisoner behaviour. Prisoners had too little time unlocked. At the IRP, a year later, Mr Clarke said: "in the area of safety, our area of greatest concern, the prison had made mostly good or reasonable progress. Prisoners were now better supported and informed during their early days at the prison and were better protected from predatory behaviour. The prison was managing its intelligence more effectively and had a much better understanding of the gang affiliations of prisoners to manage them more safely. [...] The prison had worked extremely hard to address violence." Levels of violence had reduced substantially.

Disappointingly, however, Mr Clarke added, there had been no meaningful progress in tackling drug availability. A quarter of prisoners were testing positive for drugs, more than at the inspection. Relationships between staff and prisoners had not improved overall. Increased staffing levels meant that staff supervision was often better, but about 60% of officers had less than 12 months' experience and did not have the skills and confidence to challenge poor behaviour or even respond to very basic requests from prisoners. Action to improve the external and communal areas of the prison had been minimal. Communal areas were still grubby, rats were still prevalent and showers were in a very poor state. With the arrival of new staff, a new fuller daily regime had been introduced, allowing for greater time unlocked, but this regime remained beset by cancellations and was not reliably delivered. "This was compounded by a lack of education, work and training places and poor attendance, leaving more than a third of prisoners locked up during the working day, which is particularly unacceptable in a training prison. At this IRP we found that progress was very mixed. It was clear the prison had focused on safety as a main concern and its success in reducing levels of violence should be commended. However, the lack of attention to tackling drugs was inexplicable. The lack of progress in improving education, work and skills outcomes for prisoners, given that Onley is a training prison, is a concern. There are other considerable challenges ahead. The prison has been running with staff shortages for many years. The impact this has had on staff and prisoners has been immense, and while there have been some improvements, staff shortages continue to blight progress. If Onley is to progress further, it needs support to recruit and retain its new staff, and ensure they are skilled and confident in their role."

### **Legal Aid Not Available For Victim's Family In 1974 Guildford Pub Bombings Inquest**

One of the victims of the bombings was Ann Hamilton. Her sister, Cassandra Hamilton, has had her legal aid application refused and will be unable to have legal representation at the inquest. The Government has stated that the coroner could question witnesses on behalf of relatives. It is important to note that the inquest does not have the scope to explore who was responsible for the bomb, the composition of the explosive device or any claims that the police lied during the trial of the "Guildford Four."

Serving Prisoners Supported by MOJUK: Giovanni Di Stefano, Naweed Ali, Khobaib Hussain, Mohibur Rahman, Tahir Aziz, Roger Khan, Wang Yam, Andrew Malkinson, Michael Ross, Mark Alexander, Anis Sardar, Jamie Green, Dan Payne, Zoran Dresic, Scott Birtwistle, Jon Beere, Chedwyn Evans, Darren Waterhouse, David Norris, Brendan McConville, John Paul Wooton, John Keelan, Mohammed Niaz Khan, Abid Ashiq Hussain, Sharaz Yaqub, David Ferguson, Anthony Parsons, James Cullinene, Stephen Marsh, Graham Coutts, Royston Moore, Duane King, Leon Chapman, Tony Marshall, Anthony Jackson, David Kent, Norman Grant, Ricardo Morrison, Alex Silva, Terry Smith, Hyrone Hart, Warren Slaney, Melvyn 'Adie' McLellan, Lyndon Coles, Robert Bradley, Thomas G. Bourke, David E. Ferguson, Lee Mockble, George Coleman, Neil Hurley, Jaslyn Ricardo Smith, James Dowsett, Kevan & Miran Thakrar, Jordan Towers, Patrick Docherty, Brendan Dixon, Paul Bush, Alex Black, Nicholas Rose, Kevin Nunn, Peter Carine, Paul Higginson, Robert Knapp, Thomas Petch, Vincent and Sean Bradish, John Allen, Jeremy Bamber, Kevin Lane, Michael Brown, Robert William Kenealy, Glyn Razzell, Willie Gage, Kate Keaveney, Michael Stone, Michael Attwooll, John Roden, Nick Tucker, Karl Watson, Terry Allen, Richard Southern, Peter Hannigan.