

NI Group Limited  
R. Caseby  
Fifth Statement  
Exhibit RC11  
18 July 2012

**IN THE MATTER OF THE LEVESON INQUIRY INTO THE CULTURE, PRACTICES AND  
ETHICS OF THE PRESS**

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**EXHIBIT RC11**

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This is the exhibit marked "RC11" referred to in the fifth witness statement of Richard Caseby dated the 18<sup>th</sup> day of July 2012.

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Date 25 March 2012

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# Tory treasurer charges £250,000 to meet PM

Cameron's fundraiser forced to resign

## INSIGHT

A CO-TREASURER of the Conservative party was forced to resign early today after being filmed selling secret meetings with the prime minister in return for donations of £250,000 a year and boasting: "It will be awesome for your business."

Peter Cruddas, the multi-millionaire Tory fundraiser, offered a lobbyist and her two overseas clients direct access to David Cameron if they joined a "premier league" of donors who give six-figure sums.

The offer was made even though he knew the money would come from a fund in Liechtenstein that was not eligible to make donations under election law.

Options discussed included creating a British subsidiary or using UK employees as conduits for the donation.

Cruddas resigned within hours of this newspaper publishing details of its investigation.

The overseas clients he met were, in fact, undercover reporters posing as wealth fund executives who had made clear they wished to develop contacts with the prime minister

further their business.

During a three-month investigation they had hired Sarah Southern, a former Cameron aide now working as a lobbyist, who advised them that making a "huge donation" was the best way to gain access to senior government figures.

Her connections led to a two-hour meeting with Cruddas bare the extent to which the party has been prepared to sell access to Cameron in exchange for cash. He revealed:

☐ Donors who want to be "taken seriously" are told they should give £250,000 to join the "premier league", and then "things will open up for you". Cruddas warned that nothing could be gained by "scratching

☐ The premier league can lobby the prime minister directly on business issues and their views are "fed in" to the Downing Street policy machine.

☐ The party makes "well over" £5m a year selling private dinners with Cameron to its biggest donors, who can pick up "key bits of information" by asking him "practically

☐ The prime minister entertains big donors at No 10 and Chequers, his official retreat. Donors are also invited to soirées at the Downton Abbey location, Highclere Castle.

☐ Big donors are invited to bring their most important clients to exclusive events, where they can be introduced to ministers such as George Osborne,

Hague, the foreign secretary.

The disclosures appear to contradict claims by the Tory party that its high-value donor groups, such as the "leader's group", are for genuine supporters who do not seek to influence policy or gain unfair advantage in return for their cash.

Last night a spokesman said  
Continued on page 2

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THE SUNDAYTIMES

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Peter Cruddas, main picture, and, Inset, with the prime minister, said: 'You will get to meet George Osborne, you will get to meet David Cameron'

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# Cash for access to PM

**Continued from page 1**  
the party would launch an urgent investigation.

The revelations also raise questions about the role of the prime minister. Months before taking office, Cameron warned that this type of "secret corporate lobbying" was the "next big scandal waiting to happen".

The meetings at which "premier league" donors could lobby the prime minister directly have not been declared to the public.

Cruddas, who is 90th in The Sunday Times Rich List after building a £750m fortune through financial spread-betting, was one of the party's co-treasurers and a member of its controlling board.

The undercover reporters told him that they were British expats working for a company incorporated in Liechtenstein but they wanted to do business in the UK, buying up government assets such as the Royal Mail. They said their wealthy Middle Eastern funders expected them to have contacts with the prime minister and other key government figures.

Cruddas initially gave them the party line that it was not possible to buy access to the prime minister, but then went on to suggest the opposite.

He said the reporters could join the leader's group for £50,000, but that would not get them into the "premier league" of donors with special access.

The reporters were told they had to come into the party at a "high-level" with a big donation. "Hundred grand [a year] is not premier league. It's not bad. It's probably bottom of the premier league. Two hundred grand, 250 is premier league."

The reporters said that the sum was in their budget. The conversation continued:

Reporter: "If we do become premier league, what would we get in addition?"

Cruddas: "... The first thing we want to do is get you at the Cameron and Osborne dinners."

He added later: "In fact, some of our bigger donors have been for dinner in No 10 Downing Street, in the prime minister's private apartment, with Samantha." They could ask the prime minister anything they liked about issues affecting their business. Told the reporters wanted to raise with Cameron the prospect of an overseas firm buying the Royal Mail, Cruddas responded: "Spot on... You could ask him about that. That would be a very good thing."

Cruddas, who has given £1.2m to the party, said he had used his access to Cameron to object to the Tobin tax on financial transactions: "He said don't even worry about it..."

Cruddas said that big donors could not determine policy, but he would make sure that their suggestions were fed into the No 10 policy unit. "If you are unhappy about something... we'll listen to you and we'll put it into the policy committee at No 10. We feed all feedback into the policy committee," he said.

The meetings were also good for intelligence. "It's key bits of information that you can use... Frequently I say, well, I was with the prime minister last week and he told me this."

"You do really pick up a lot of information... You are not seeing the prime minister, you're seeing David Cameron. But, within that room, everything's confidential and you will be able to ask him practically any question you want." The reporters could also impress clients with their top

contacts. "It'll be awesome for your business. You'll be... well pleased. Because your guests will get photographed with David Cameron," he said.

Business clients could also meet the chancellor. "If you ring me up... and [say] I've got this really important guy coming to this event, you know, really need to make sure George Osborne says hello to him, and I'll make sure that happens, okay?"

There was still one problem, however. The proposed donation was being paid from a Liechtenstein fund and belonged ultimately to Middle Eastern investors. It was a foreign donation. Cruddas was happy for the reporters to find a way around this and said he'd arrange a meeting with the party's "compliance people" to check that it was legitimate. One option was to create a UK company to donate the money.

He said: "Set up a company, employ some people to work here."

Later, though, the reporters' lobbyist spoke to party officials and returned. As the reporters, posing as executives, were British, the money could be channelled through them.

"[The company] would have to donate through an individual (perhaps a director of the company) who is registered on the UK electoral roll," Southern wrote. She later claimed on the phone: "[The party] don't pry as to where the money comes from, at all."

Southern declined to comment.

A Tory party spokesman said none of the donations was ever formally considered and that donations had to comply with electoral law, which was strictly enforced by the party's

compliance department. "Donations to the Conservative party do not buy party or government policy," he added. "We will urgently investigate any evidence to the contrary."

*Insight: Heidi Blake and Jonathan Calvert.*

*Cash for Cameron: cosy club buys the PM's ear, pages 8-9*

## My regret

**This is an extract from Peter Cruddas's resignation statement:**

"I deeply regret any impression of impropriety arising from my bluster... There is no question of donors being able to influence policy or gain undue access to politicians. Specifically, it was categorically not the case that I could offer, or that David Cameron would consider, any access as a result of a donation. But in order to make that clear beyond doubt, I have regrettably decided to resign."

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THE SUNDAY TIMES

Date 19 February 2012

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clipShare  
newspaper licensing agency**'WE LIVE IN FEAR OF A MASSACRE'**

The only British newspaper journalist inside the besieged Syrian enclave of Baba Amr reports on the terrible cost of the uprising against President Assad

MARIE COLVIN

HOMS

PICTURES:  
PAUL CONROY

**T**hey call it the widows' basement. Crammed amid makeshift beds and scattered belongings are frightened women and children trapped in the horror of

Homs, the Syrian city shaken by two weeks of relentless bombardment.

Among the 300 huddling in this wood factory cellar in the besieged district of Baba Amr is 20-year-old Noor, who lost her

husband and her home to the shells and rockets.

"Our house was hit by a rocket so 17 of us were staying in one room," she recalls as Mimi, her three-year-old daughter, and Mohamed, her five-year-old son, cling to her abaya.

"We had had nothing but sugar and water for two days and my husband went to try to find food." It was the last time she saw Maziad, 30, who had worked in a mobile phone repair shop. "He was torn to pieces by a mortar shell."

For Noor, it was a double tragedy. Adnan, her 27-year-old brother, was killed at Maziad's side.

Everyone in the cellar has a similar story of hardship or death. The refuge was chosen because it is one of the few basements in Baba Amr. Foam mattresses are piled against the walls and the children have not seen the light of day since the siege began on February 4. Most families fled their homes with

only the clothes on their backs.

The city is running perilously short of supplies and the only food here is rice, tea and some tins of tuna delivered by a local sheikh who looted them from a bombed-out supermarket.

A baby born in the basement last week looked as shellshocked as her mother, Fatima, 19, who fled there when her family's single-storey

house was obliterated. "We survived by a miracle," she whispers. Fatima is so traumatised that she cannot breast-feed, so the baby has been fed only sugar and water; there is no formula milk.

Fatima may or may not be a widow. Her husband, a shepherd, was in the countryside when the siege started with a ferocious barrage and she has heard no word of him since.

The widows' basement reflects the ordeal of 28,000 men, women and children clinging to existence in Baba Amr, a district of low concrete-block homes surrounded on all sides by Syrian forces. The army is launching Katyusha rockets, mortar shells and tank

rounds at random.

Snipers on the rooftops of al-Ba'ath University and other high buildings surrounding Baba Amr shoot any civilian who comes into their sights. Residents were felled in droves in the first days of the siege but have now learnt where the snipers are and run across junctions where they know they can be seen. Few cars are left on the streets.

Almost every building is pock-marked after tank rounds punched through concrete walls or rockets blasted gaping holes in upper floors. The building I was staying in lost its upper floor to a rocket last Wednesday. On some streets

whole buildings have collapsed — all there is to see are shredded clothes, broken pots and the shattered furniture of families destroyed.

It is a city of the cold and hungry, echoing to exploding shells and bursts of gunfire. There are no telephones and the electricity has been cut off. Few homes have diesel for the tin stoves they rely on for heat in the coldest winter that anyone can remember. Freezing rain fills potholes and snow drifts in through windows empty of glass. No shops are open, so families are sharing what they have with relatives and neighbours. Many of the dead and injured are those who risked foraging for food.

Fearing the snipers' merciless eyes, families resorted last



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week to throwing bread across rooftops, or breaking through communal walls to pass unseen.

The Syrians have dug a huge trench around most of the district, and let virtually nobody in or out. The army is pursuing a brutal campaign to quell the resistance of Homs, Hama and other cities that have risen up against Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president, whose family has been in power for 42 years.

In Baba Amr, the Free Syrian Army (FSA), the armed face of opposition to Assad, has virtually unanimous support from civilians who see them as their defenders. It is an unequal battle: the tanks and heavy weaponry of Assad's troops against the Kalashnikovs of the FSA.

About 5,000 Syrian soldiers are believed to be on the outskirts of Baba Amr, and the FSA received reports yesterday that they were preparing a ground assault. The residents dread the outcome.

"We live in fear the FSA will leave the city," said Hamida, 43, hiding with her children and her sister's family in an empty ground-floor apartment after their house was bombed. "There will be a massacre."

On the lips of everyone was the question: "Why have we been abandoned by the world?"

Ban Ki-moon, the secretary-general of the United Nations, said last week: "We see neighbourhoods shelled indiscriminately, hospitals used as torture centres, children as young as 10 years old killed and abused. We see almost certainly crimes against humanity." Yet the international community has not come to the aid of the innocent caught in this hell.

Abdel Majid, 20, who was helping to rescue the wounded from bombed buildings, made a simple plea. "Please tell the world they must help us," he said, shaking, with haunted eyes. "Just stop the bombing.

Please, just stop the shelling."

THE journey across the countryside from the Lebanese border

to Homs would be idyllic in better times. The villages are nondescript clusters of concrete buildings on dirt tracks but the lanes are lined with cypresses and poplar trees and wind through orchards of apricot and apple trees.

These days, however, there is an edge of fear on any journey through this area. Most of this land is essentially what its residents call "Syria hurra", or free Syria, patrolled by the FSA.

Nevertheless, Assad's army has checkpoints on the main roads and troops stationed in schools, hospitals and factories. They are heavily armed and backed by tanks and artillery.

So a drive to Homs is a bone-rattling struggle down dirt roads, criss-crossing fields. Men cluster by fires at unofficial FSA checkpoints, eyeing any vehicle suspiciously. As night falls, flashlights waved by unseen figures signal that the way ahead is clear.

Each travelling FSA car has a local shepherd or farmer aboard to help navigate the countryside; the Syrian army may have the power, but the locals know every track of their fields.

I entered Homs on a smugglers' route, which I promised not to reveal, climbing over walls in the dark and slipping into muddy trenches. Arriving in the darkened city in the early hours, I was met by a welcoming party keen for foreign journalists to reveal the city's plight to the world. So desperate were they that they bundled me into an open truck and drove at speed with the headlights on, everyone standing in the back shouting "Allahu akbar" — God is the greatest. Inevitably, the Syrian army opened fire.

When everyone had calmed down I was driven in a small

car, its lights off, along dark empty streets, the danger palpable. As we passed an open stretch of road, a Syrian army unit fired on the car again with machineguns and launched a rocket-propelled grenade. We sped into a row of abandoned buildings for cover.

The scale of human tragedy in the city is immense. The inhabitants are living in terror. Almost every family seems to have suffered the death or injury of a loved one.

Khaled Abu Salah, an activist who took part in the first demonstrations against Assad in Homs last March, sat on the floor of an office, his hand broken and bandages covering shrapnel wounds to his leg and shoulder.

A 25-year-old university student, who risked his life filming videos of the slaughter of Baba Amr residents, he narrowly escaped when he tried to get two men wounded by mortar fire to a makeshift clinic.

He and three friends had just taken the wounded to the clinic, which was staffed by a doctor and a dentist, and stepped away from the door when "a shell landed right at the entrance", he recalled last week.

"My three friends died immediately." The two men they had helped were also killed.

Abu Ammar, 48, a taxi driver, went out to look for bread at 8am one day last week. He, his wife and their adopted daughter had taken refuge with two elderly sisters after their home was hit by shells.

"When I returned the house was obliterated," he said, looking at all that remained of the one-storey building. Only a few pieces of wall still stood. In the ruins a woman's red blouse was visible; bottles of home-made pickled vegetables were somehow unscathed. "Dr Ali", a dentist working as a doctor,

said one of the women from the

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house had arrived at the clinic alive, but both legs had been amputated and she died.

The clinic is merely a first-floor apartment donated by the kindly owner. It still has out-of-place domestic touches: plasma pouches hang from a wooden coat hanger and above the patients a colourful children's mobile hangs from the ceiling.

The shelling last Friday was the most intense yet and the wounded were rushed to the clinic in the backs of cars by family members.

Ali the dentist was cutting the clothes off 24-year-old Ahmed al-Irini on one of the clinic's two operating tables. Shrapnel had gashed huge bloody chunks out of Irini's thighs. Blood poured out as Ali used tweezers to draw a piece of metal from beneath his left eye.

Irini's legs spasmed and he died on the table. His brother-in-law, who had brought him in, began weeping. "We were playing cards when a missile hit our house," he said through his tears. Irini was taken out to the makeshift mortuary in a former back bedroom, naked but for a black plastic bag covering his genitals.

There was no let-up. Khaled Abu Kamali died before the doctor could get his clothes off. He had been hit by shrapnel in the chest while at home.

Salah, 26, was peppered with shrapnel in his chest and the left of his back. There was no anaesthetic, but he talked as Ali inserted a metal pipe into his back to release the pressure of the blood building up in his chest.

Helping tend the wounded was Um Ammar, a 45-year-old mother of seven, who had offered to be a nurse after a neighbour's house was shelled. She wore filthy plastic gloves and was crying. "I'm obliged to endure this, because all children brought here are my children," she said. "But it is so hard."

Akhmed Mohammed, a mili-

tary doctor who defected from Assad's army, shouted: "Where are the human rights? Do we have none? Where are the United Nations?"

There were only two beds in the clinic for convalescing. One was taken by Akhmed Khalcd, who had been injured, he said, when a shell hit a mosque as he was about to leave prayers. His right testicle had had to be removed with only paracetamol to dull the pain.

He denounced the Assad regime's claim that the rebels were Islamic extremists and said: "We ask all people who

believe in God — Christians, Jews, Muslims to help us!"

If the injured try to flee Baba Amr, they first have to be carried on foot. Then they are transferred to motorbikes and the lucky ones are smuggled to safety. The worst injured do not make it.

Though Syrian officials prohibit anyone from leaving, some escapees manage to bribe their way out. I met refugees in villages around Homs. Newlywed Miriam, 32, said she and her husband had decided to leave when they heard that

three families had been killed and the women raped by the Shabiha militia, a brutal force led by Assad's younger brother, Maher.

"We were practically walking on body parts as we walked under shelling overhead," she said. Somehow they made it unscathed. She had given an official her wedding ring in order to be smuggled out to safety.

Abdul Majid, a computer science student at university, was still shaking hours after arriving in a village outside

Homs. He had stayed behind alone in Baba Amr. "I had to help the old people because only the young can get out," said Majid, 20, wearing a leather jacket and jeans. He left when his entire street fled after

every house was hit.

"I went to an army checkpoint that I was told was not too bad. I gave them a packet of cigarettes, two bags of tea and 500 Syrian pounds. They told me to run."

Blasts of Kalashnikov fire rang out above his head until he reached the tree line. He

said the soldiers were only pretending to try to shoot him to protect themselves, but his haunted eyes showed he was not entirely sure.

IF THE Syrian military rolls into Baba Amr, the FSA will have little chance against its tanks, superior weaponry and numbers. They will, however, fight ferociously to defend their families because they know a massacre is likely to follow any failure, if the past actions of the Assad regime are anything to go by.

The FSA partly relies on defections from Assad's army because it does not accept civilians into its ranks, though they perform roles such as monitoring troop movements and transporting supplies. But it has become harder for soldiers to defect in the past month.

Abu Sayeed, 46, a major-general who defected six months ago, said every Syrian military unit was now assigned a member of the Mukhabarat, the feared intelligence service, who have orders to execute any soldier refusing an order to shoot or who tries to defect.

The army, like the country, may well be about to divide along sectarian lines. Most of the officers are members of the Alawite sect, the minority Shi'ite clan to which the Assad family belongs, while foot soldiers are Sunni.

The coming test for the army will be if its ranks hold if ordered to kill increasing numbers of their brethren.

The swathe of the country that stretches east from the Lebanon border and includes

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Homs is Sunni; in the villages there they say that officers ordering attacks are Alawites fighting for the Assad family, not their country.

The morale of Assad's army, despite its superiority, is said to be low as it is poorly paid and supplied, although this information comes mostly from defectors. "The first thing we did when we attacked the house was race to the refrigerator," said a defector.

Thousands of soldiers would be needed to retake the southern countryside. Hafez al-Assad, Bashar's father and former president, crushed his problems with Islamic fundamentalists in 1982 by shelling the city of Hama into ruins and killing at least 10,000 men, women and children. So far his son appears to have calculated that a similar act would be a step too far for his remaining allies of Russia, China and Iran.

For now it is a violent and deadly standoff. The FSA is not

able to win and its supplies of ammunition are dwindling.

The only real hope of success for Assad's opponents is if the international community comes to their aid, as Nato did against Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. So far this seems unlikely to happen in Syria.

Observers see a negotiated solution as perhaps a long shot, but the best way out of this impasse. Though neither side appears ready to negotiate, there are serious efforts behind the scenes to persuade Russia to pull Assad into talks.

As international diplomats dither, the desperation in Baba Amr grows. The despair was expressed by Hamida, 30, hiding in a downstairs flat with her sister and their 13 children after two missiles hit their home. Three little girls, aged 16 months to six years, sleep on one thin, torn mattress on the floor; three others share a second. Ahmed, 16, her sister's eldest child, was killed by a

missile when he went to try to find bread.

"The kids are screaming all the time," Hamida said. "I feel so helpless." She began weeping. "We feel so abandoned. They've given Bashar al-Assad the green light to kill us."



**PLEASE TELL  
THE WORLD TO  
HELP US. JUST  
STOP THE  
BOMBING**

**Loyalties of 'desert rose' tested**

Asma, the British-born wife of President Bashar al-Assad, may well be feeling a sense of divided loyalty as the violence continues in the Syrian city of Homs. Her family are from the area, which has been a focal point for many of the recent protests against her husband's regime and the Syrian army's brutal response.

Despite growing up in Acton, west London, Asma visited her family's home in Homs every year throughout her childhood. She is also a Sunni Muslim, unlike her husband, who comes from the country's minority Shi'ite community.

Asma, 36, has been criticised for displaying an "ostrich attitude", keeping a

low profile as the conflict has intensified. She has refused to comment on the way her husband's regime has used tanks and other lethal means to crush protesters. In an email sent earlier this month, her office merely said: "The first lady's very busy agenda

is still focused on supporting the various charities she has long been involved with as well as rural development and supporting the President as needed."

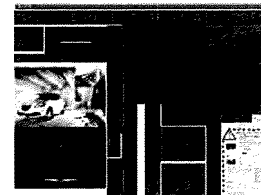
The daughter of a consultant cardiologist and a retired diplomat, Asma was born in London. She attended a Church of England state school in Acton and gained a BSc in computer science and a diploma in French literature from King's College London.

She went on to work for Deutsche Bank and married Assad in Syria in 2000. Now a mother of three, she was once described by Vogue as a "rose in the desert". In Homs, the beleaguered people may now take a different view.



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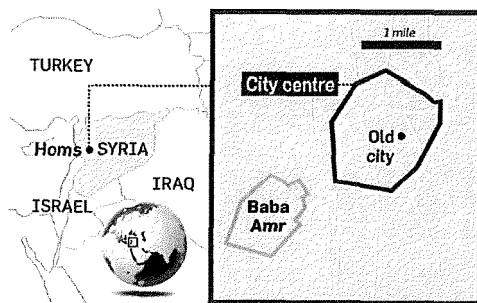


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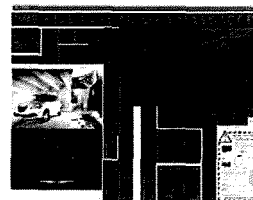
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Marie Colvin at a house in Homs destroyed by a blast that killed four women

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## Vet offers only hope for Syrian wounded

Marie Colvin  
The only British newspaper reporter in Homs

WOUNDED civilians arriving at a makeshift clinic in the Syrian city of Homs are relying on a vet to save their lives because there is no doctor to treat them.

I found the vet struggling to treat patients who had been injured by shelling and sniper fire in the district of Baba Amr, a besieged enclave where 28,000 people are trapped by relentless bombardment. He was using his knowledge of sheep anatomy to treat life-threatening wounds in the sitting room of a house.

One of his patients, a 32-year-old mobile phone repairman named Mohammed Mohammed, had been shot in the back by a sniper. The bullet had come to rest in his chest. Fear filled Mohammed's eyes as the vet stuck a tube into his chest to siphon off blood and relieve pressure on his heart.

Another patient, Zaccharia Mutlaq, a carpenter aged 26, had a thigh wound and a broken foot from shell fire. The vet said his priority was to keep the man's wounds clean.

Neither the vet nor his location can be identified. Three so-called field clinics in Baba Amr, an opposition stronghold, have been destroyed by the Syrian army since the siege began 15 days ago.

Mohammed and Mutlaq were injured after going into a house that had exploded to find a mother decapitated, a father ripped apart by shrapnel and the couple's two daughters dead or dying.

The men's plight reflects the desperation of the civilians cowering in basements or scurrying from house to house to avoid shelling by the forces of President Bashar al-Assad as troops build up around Homs for a possible ground offensive.

*'We live in fear of a massacre',*  
pages 18-19

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# Children cower under Gadaffi's tank barrage

The first British reporter in the besieged Libyan city finds scenes of desperation



I passed the 105 children of Misrata's Tripoli Street orphanage at a school where they had taken refuge from the shelling.

After night, the children ranging in age from a few months to 15 years — had cowered in the orphanage basement. In the end, they could stand it no longer.

Conditions were not much easier at the school. Babies wrapped in blankets were placed side by side on classroom floors while two carers fed the toddlers a thin porridge stew. But at least, for the moment, they were out of danger.

Misrata, the only rebel-held city in the west of Libya, has been under siege from Muammar Gadaffi's forces for more than six weeks now.

As I discovered last week when I became the first British reporter to reach the port, it is children who have borne the

brunt of much of the killing, wounding and trauma. Some

have died in the backs of their parents' cars — shelled or shot. Others have lost limbs in a relentless bombardment by Gadaffi's army.

Until now, news of the suffering in Libya's third city has been limited mainly to occasional satellite phone calls from hospital doctors.

I boarded a gunrunners' trawler for a 300-mile voyage from Benghazi to Misrata. Trav-

elling with Nick Cornish, the Sunday Times photographer, I spent two days there, dividing my time between the front line, the hospitals and the families of some of the dead.

The overwhelming message was a desperate plea to the outside world for help, both military and humanitarian.

Rebels and residents alike appealed to Nato to step up airstrikes against Gadaffi's tanks,

which have fired on houses and cars with devastating consequences. Doctors are in dire need of equipment and drugs.

Any help will come too late for two sisters struck by bullets in their parents' car last week. When they arrived at hospital, they were seen by Ramadan

Atewah, a Libyan heart and lung surgeon based in Britain.

Atewah, who works at the University Hospital of North

Staffordshire, was unable to resuscitate the elder sister, aged six. "So I was determined to save the parents' second child," he said.

On Wednesday morning, I watched this beautiful, one-year-old girl as she lay in intensive care at the Hilkma hospital. Her lashes seemed too long for her face, her body too small for the pumps that sustained her.

On Thursday, she was gone.

"I resuscitated her and kept her alive for five days but after a very hard struggle to keep her alive, sadly, we lost her last night," Atewah said.

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PHOTOS: NICK CORNISH

Children from a Misrata orphanage have been forced to ~~sleep~~ in a nearby school to avoid Gadaffi's bombardment aimed at rebel fighters, Inset

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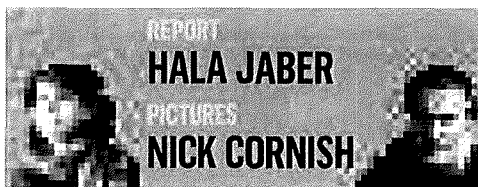
THE SUNDAY TIMES

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clipShare  
newspaper licensing agency**REVEALED: THE FULL HORROR OF MISRATA**

Two Sunday Times journalists  
— the first from Britain  
inside the besieged city —  
find Colonel Gaddafi's pitiless  
troops slaughtering civilians  
and leaving children to die



**F**irst came the bullets, then the boom of a tank shell exploding next to the car. Ali Abu Fannas, a hospital anaesthetist driving his family to a safer part of town, came juddering to a halt.

His wife Latifa glanced over her shoulder to make sure their four children were all right in the back. But all she could see was their eldest, Salem, 15. There was a large hole in his head.

"Ali," she gasped. "Check the little ones."

The doctor turned round to find his daughters Hawaa, 11, and Fatima, 7, and his younger son Adam, 2, huddled together, silent, still and bloody.

"They're all dead," he said. "The four are dead."

His wife refused to accept it. "Please, Ali," she begged. "Perhaps Adam survived. Just one of them. Please check again."

But there was nothing Abu Fannas, 51, could do to save his children or soothe his 34-year-old wife.

"I knew they were all dead by the mangled flesh of their bodies on the back seat," he

said, struggling to contain his tears. "They were killed instantly."

The doctor's children are among about 1,000 people who have been killed in the Libyan port of Misrata since Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's forces laid siege 46 days ago to crush a rebel uprising.

While the suppression of dissent is commonplace in Libya, the bombardment of Misrata's estimated 300,000 inhabitants has been exceptionally cruel.

The longest, most violent confrontation of the Libyan conflict has been relatively little reported up to now. The only access for media has been the occasional coach trip from Tripoli, the capital, to the outskirts of Misrata, with government minders in tow.

Last week I became the first British newspaper reporter to enter the besieged port independently. I travelled with Nick Cornish, the Sunday Times photographer, on a gun-runners' trawler packed with AK-47s, rocket-propelled grenade launchers (RPGs) and mortars.

The weapons had been sent by rebels in the opposition stronghold of Benghazi to help their comrades in Misrata face up to Gaddafi's snipers, artillery and tanks.

What I found was a city in desperate need of help, not only military but also humanitarian. Parts of Misrata — the business capital of Libya with

industries ranging from publishing to iron and steel — have been destroyed.

Main streets that bustled and prospered until two months ago are now lined with

the scorched husks of shops and offices. Even the mosques have not been spared the shelling.

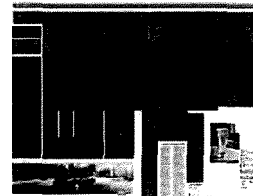
It is the annihilation of people's houses that is the most alarming. Ruined, burnt or pock-marked by bullets and shrapnel, they reminded me of Beirut, my home town, at the height of Lebanon's civil war in the 1970s.

Besides food and clean water, the needs of Misrata's trapped civilians range from baby food and nappies in orphanages to medicines that are running out in the overflowing hospitals. More than anything, they say, they need Nato airstrikes to protect them by destroying Gaddafi's tanks.

The mood alternates between defiance of the dictator and deep apprehension at what might happen if his forces advance into the centre of the city from the suburbs that they now hold.

The army will be pitiless, if its response to the deaths of Abu Fannas's children is anything to go by.

No sooner had the tank shell struck than the doctor's battered car was surrounded by soldiers. They took no notice of his wife's wails of "Salem, Hawaa, Fatima, Adam".



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"Shut up, woman," barked one of the soldiers, ordering the couple to kneel in the road. "We came to liberate you from mercenaries — we came to defend you."

The doctor and his wife were eventually directed to a public lavatory where they were held for two hours with a trembling bride of three months whose husband had just been shot dead in his car.

When the doctor's wife appealed to the soldiers to check for any signs of life in her children, one of them fired four shots in the air.

"Consider them martyrs," he told her. "Celebrate their deaths. Be happy and ululate."

WE would never have reached Misrata if a couple of Nato naval captains had had their way.

When our trawler left Benghazi last Monday with 24 other passengers on board, the skipper contacted a Nato vessel by radio with details of our 36-hour voyage.

"Okay, Nato is informed, protection provided," came the reply. Half an hour later a Canadian warship came alongside. All seemed well.

On Tuesday morning, however, the Canadians instructed us to deviate from our course and then asked whether there were any weapons on board.

"Yes, some," said the skipper's assistant. "Most for personal protection."

This was only partly true. Apart from three doctors and

ourselves, all the passengers were carrying machineguns. Some had RPGs, too, and one had brought some sort of anti-aircraft gun. Boxes of ammunition had been piled up in the skipper's store room and under a blue plastic sheet on the deck were the mortars.

The Canadians boarded, found the weapons and ordered us back to Benghazi.

"You have more than is

allowed for personal protection," the skipper was told. "You are not allowed to bring weapons into Libya."

When the skipper pointed out that he was merely transporting them from one part of Libya to another, which is allowed, it emerged that by following the Canadians' instructions to change course

he had entered international waters. He would therefore be in breach of sanctions if he took the guns to Misrata.

The skipper stood his ground. "Gadaffi is killing women and children and you only seem to be imposing a no-fly zone and a sea blockade, but who protects Misrata?" he said. "I cannot obey your order to head back."

As the Canadians left, I asked: "You won't shoot at this vessel if it proceeds, will you?"

The answer was equivocal: "Just be safe, ma'am."

The Canadian warship was joined by a Greek one. Its captain forbade us to go on. He refused to believe our skipper's claim that the Canadians had tricked him into international waters, so I took the radio.

"I'm a British journalist and what you've been told is true," I said. "I will now telephone every international television station to tell them what Nato has done."

The minutes ticked by. Then the Greeks' radio crackled into life: we had their permission to take our cargo anywhere we wanted in Libya. My companions broke into joyous cries of "Allahu akbar" (God is great). We were on our way.

Reaching Misrata at night, we docked in darkness to avoid being spotted by Gadaffi's forces. As I watched each man collect his weapons and leave with family or opposition officials, I wondered how they would fare in the battles ahead.

As well as the 1,000 dead, there were 2,500 or so injured,

91 of them critically, by the end of last week, according to Misrata's hard-pressed medical officials. Nobody knows how many are fighters and how many are civilians. What is certain is that far too many children have been hurt.

Ali al-Rufaïda, 15, was leaving his home last week when a metallic object caught his eye. It was about half the length of a roll-on deodorant and it shone brightly in the sunlight. He picked it up.

"There was an explosion and suddenly my two fingers were blown off and I got shrapnel in my leg," he said. The adults at his bedside claimed Gadaffi's forces were using cluster bombs. Ali was one of several children who had suffered the same fate, they said.

For others the damage is psychological, not physical. The 105 children of the Tripoli Street orphanage, ranging from a few months to 15 years old, covered in its basement as the shells rained down until finally they were forced out.

I found them in one of the many schools serving as temporary shelters. Wrapped in blankets, the babies slept side by side on mattresses, oblivious to the commotion around them as two carers fed the toddlers a thin rice stew.

Among the most pitiful of those waiting for help are 15,000 homeless families. Since Gadaffi's forces control all three main roads into Misrata, it is impossible for them to join relatives in other towns.

Um Ibrahim would have liked to go to her parents in the eastern city of Ajdabiya, itself the scene of intense fighting. But she has been trapped since she woke to the sound of artillery fire two weeks ago and fled in her night clothes as Gadaffi's forces closed in on her neighbourhood.

A woman in the building opposite hers was killed as she emerged with her three

daughters, but Um Ibrahim felt she had no choice but to make a run for it too. "I came with my baby just wrapped in a blanket," she said.

"You cannot live in a neighbourhood where Gadaffi's

forces have placed their weapons on the rooftops. They hunt down anything and anyone that moves. The snipers are more lethal than the artillery."

While some refugees have been taken in by strangers, others have been housed in schools, with five families to a classroom.

Women cry at the loss of their homes, children run along the corridors and men gather in groups outside to discuss the latest situation.

There is no good news in the streets, only the constant thud of mortar fire and the zing of bullets. Even the children are becoming fluent in the language of warfare.

One boy, Muayyed, 8, explained the differences between the sounds of the various weapons deployed.

The machinegun fire was a "brrrrr, brrrrr", he said, while the mortar produced a "bang" and a tank shell made more of a "boom".

A six-year-old girl named Hawaa said she woke up every night dreaming of Gadaffi.

"If Muammar comes to our house," she said to her family's amusement, "I will take Papa's gun and kill him."

I received a strange taste of battle in Misrata when some rebels invited me to escort them into the deserted alleyways off Tripoli Street,

hitherto the main commercial thoroughfare.

The silence was broken by the frequent whizzing of sniper fire. When a mortar shell landed 90 yards behind us, Cornish and I sought cover in an adjacent building. The rebels simply carried on as if nothing had happened.



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"Don't worry," said one. "They [Gadaffi's forces] are just bored. They like to fire indiscriminately but we'll get them eventually. Let's have a group picture!"

THE men were particularly proud of their less conventional weapons. Two large lorries parked to one side had been packed with ball bearings to be strewn across the street should Gadaffi's tanks close in. This would make the tanks slip and slide, the rebels exclaimed with wide smiles.

What looked like a piece of metal tubing mounted on another lorry was in fact a rocket with a plastic propeller that would be launched, it seemed, with the aid of a car battery and cables.

"Meet Sadoon," the rebel commander said. He claimed that the rocket, named after a Libyan revolutionary hero of a distant war with Italy, had a range of almost two miles.

The rebels' aims last week were to cut off supply lines to Gadaffi's forces positioned further up the street and to rid the surrounding buildings of snipers.

The tactics included playing recordings of the call to prayers at high volume as close as possible to Gadaffi's soldiers. They are thought to loathe the sound and the accompanying cries of "Allahu akbar" from the rebel fighters.

Despite the impression of amateurishness, these fighters — armed with Russian-made machineguns and RPGs and shielded in their cars by sheets of metal clamped to roofs and doors — have managed to hold back a professional army with far superior weapons and vehicles.

The confrontation in Misrata began in February with five days of clashes between pro-Gadaffi militias and opponents of the regime. By February 23 the opposition was in control.

Gadaffi sent wave after wave

of troops, dislodging rebels from the airport, a military base and the main entrances to the city. But despite their tanks, training and firepower, his men have made little or no headway in the past six weeks.

The rebels have held their lines but lack the means to push Gadaffi's forces back. Military stalemate has produced humanitarian disaster.

While men of all ages have rallied to the rebel cause, Gadaffi's army appears to have resorted to press-ganging boys as young as 15. A wounded soldier of that age was captured last week and taken to hospital but died from his injuries, doctors said.

Another casualty, Abdulrahman Salem, 19, claimed he had been placed in a bus full of teenagers who were told they were being driven to a pro-Gadaffi demonstration in the dictator's home town of Sirte. Instead, Salem said, they were handed guns and told their destination was Misrata.

"We were told that French mercenaries and Al-Qaeda were raping our women in

Misrata and that we had to fight to free the city from them," he said. When he saw no mercenaries he deserted, only to be shot in the abdomen and leg by a sniper from his own side. "I swear I was tricked," he cried in hospital as doctors tried to reassure him. "Please believe I'm as much a victim as you."

What happens next in Misrata is the most urgent question of the conflict. The beleaguered inhabitants believe that although the United Nations security council had resolved to protect civilians, Nato has failed to do so. "Where is Nato? Why are they not striking at Gadaffi's tanks?" they ask.

Nato says it is doing so. According to the Ministry of Defence in London, RAF Tornados on armed air recon-

naissance and "overwatch" patrols hit five tanks in the area of Misrata on Friday.

Nato officials have emphasised the difficulty of attacking armoured vehicles in residential areas without causing "collateral damage".

A rebel commander who gave his name as Salah retorted: "They can be assured that no civilians are currently living in these areas. They can attack."

Alain Juppé, the French foreign minister, has said the city's ordeal "cannot go on". This weekend there was talk of a possible European Union mission to bring in food and medicine with military support.

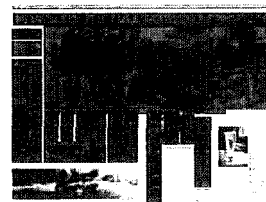
Furthermore, according to rebel officials, our confrontation with the Canadian and Greek navies had led to discussions with Nato, which agreed to stop searching vessels heading for Misrata.

The rebels can now bring in what they like.

Any relief is too late, however, for Latifa. It is now nearly three weeks since her four children were killed. They died on March 21, the Arab version of Mother's Day, and even in the mayhem of war they were planning to celebrate it.

In her daughter Hawaa's bag Latifa found a card that the child had planned to give her that evening. Hawaa, who would have been 12 on March 31, had written: "There is nothing better than the warmth and protection of a mother . . . Mama, you are the entire world."

Last week Latifa was struggling to see how she could continue without Hawaa and the others. "I can't sit by myself without thinking of my babies — I see them in front of my eyes. How can I live without them?" she cried. "They filled my life and home. They were my everything."



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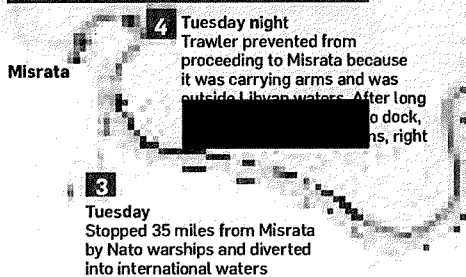
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**NATO NEARLY SCUPPERS RESCUE MISSION**

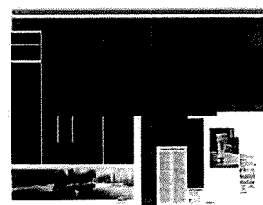


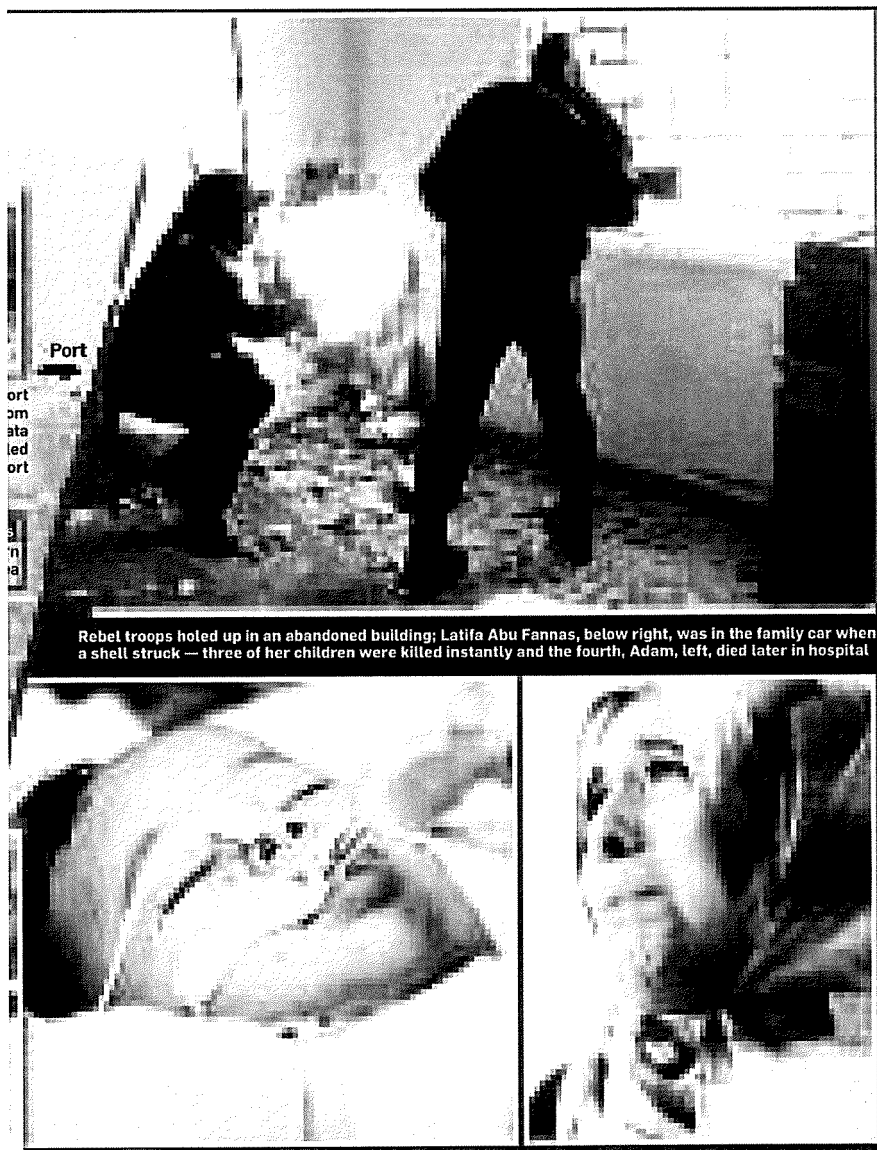
- 1** Benghazi Monday  
Trawler leaves for Misrata
- 2** It follows Libyan coastline, staying within territorial waters of 12 nautical miles
- 3** Tuesday  
Stopped 35 miles from Misrata by Nato warships and diverted into international waters
- 4** Tuesday night  
Trawler prevented from proceeding to Misrata because it was carrying arms and was outside Libyan waters. After long negotiations, right



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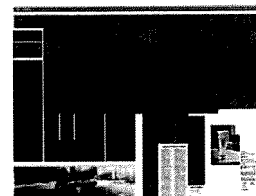
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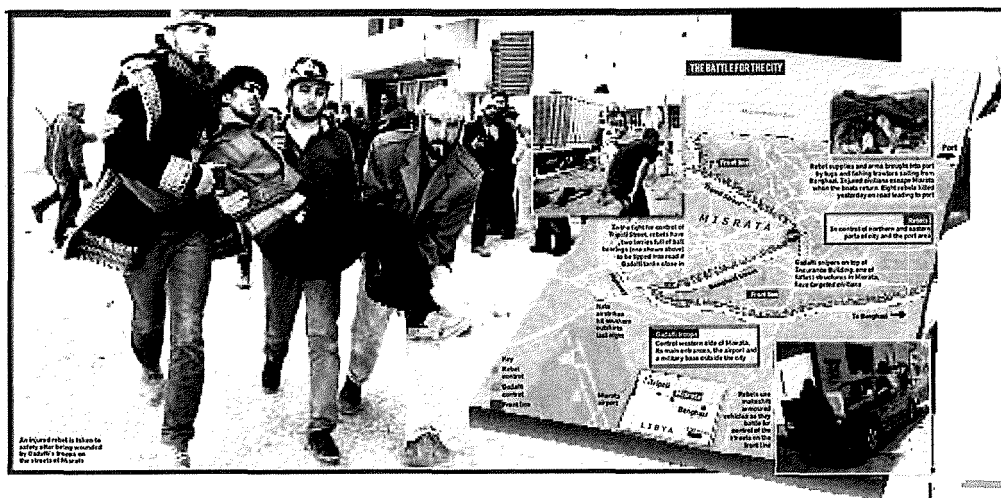


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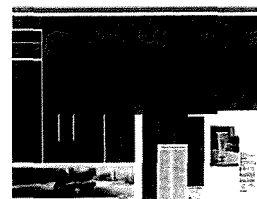
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# World Cup votes for sale

## INSIGHT

A WORLD CUP official has been caught on film agreeing to sell his vote to one of England's rivals bidding to host the 2018 tournament.

The official, a member of the Fifa committee which grants the World Cup, guaranteed his vote to an undercover reporter after requesting £500,000 for a personal project.

A second member of the same committee was recorded asking for £1.5m for a sports academy from a reporter seeking his vote.

The Sunday Times investigation also uncovered allegations that supporters of two countries competing to host the World Cup have offered up to £750,000 a vote for personal "projects".

One former member of the Fifa committee warned that the failure of the England bid to offer such deals would be its downfall: "England have got all the good reasons why they should host it but they don't strike the deals... It's sad but true."

Our reporters spoke to six senior Fifa officials, both past and present, who offered to work as fixers for the World Cup bid. They all suggested paying huge bribes to Fifa executive committee members.

In seven weeks' time the 24-strong Fifa executive committee will decide by secret ballot which countries should host the 2018 and 2022 World Cups — prizes worth billions.

During our investigation Amos Adamu, a member of the committee, was filmed negotiating a deal for his vote in which he would receive £500,000, half to be paid upfront.

Reynald Temarii, a Fifa vice-president, was the second committee member asking for a payment, in his case to finance a sports academy. He also boasted that his confederation had been offered between \$10m and \$12m (£6m to £7.5m) by supporters of two bidding countries.

Our findings raise serious questions about the probity of some Fifa officials and cast doubt on whether England's bid will receive a fair hearing.

David Cameron had welcomed Sepp Blatter, the head of Fifa, to Downing Street last week.

Bidding countries, officials and national football associations are strictly forbidden from entering into a deal or even the "beginning of a collaboration" to influence voting, according to Fifa's rules.

England is one of four contenders left in the bidding process for 2018. It is competing against Russia as well as the joint bids of Spain and Portugal and Holland and Belgium. On Friday the United States quit the race for 2018 and instead joined Qatar, Australia, Japan and South Korea in going for 2022 only. The bid committees have denied any improper approaches or wrongdoing.

The Football Association has mounted a vigorous campaign to stage the 2018 tournament in England and has always insisted it will not resort to bribery. Every Fifa official or adviser spoken to in the investigation agreed that England's bid had not involved bribery.

Our reporters posed as lobbyists for a consortium of American private companies who wanted to help secure the World Cup for the United States. The US bid committee's campaign has been completely above board and the reporters emphasised they were not connected with it.

The undercover reporters approached Adamu, the Nigerian president of the West African Football Union who also serves as a Fifa executive committee member.

At an initial meeting in London, Adamu told the reporters that he wanted \$800,000 to build four artificial football pitches in his home country. He wanted the money paid to him personally, adding:

"Certainly if you are to invest that,  
Continued on page 2 ▶▶

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**England fears over World Cup vote corruption**

►► Continued from page 1 that means you also want the vote."

The deal was sealed last month in Cairo when Adamu gave his "guarantee" that he would vote for the United States in 2018. At the time America was still bidding for 2018. Adamu asked for the payments to be made through a relative who has a business in Europe.

He also pledged his second preference for America in the 2022 contest but could not

give his first preference. "I've already given my word to some other bid," he said.

Among the potential fixers who met the reporters were two Fifa committee members.

Amadou Diakite, on the referees' committee, advised the reporters that they should offer bribes of about \$1m and he would make the introductions.

"I think that leaving the member to decide what he is going to do with the amount is the safest way to get his vote," he said.

In Paris the other serving official offered himself for hire for up to £300,000. Slim Aloulou, chairman of the Fifa disputes resolution committee, told the reporters they should not pay "peanuts" and recommended bribes of £1m a member.

As serving Fifa members, Diakite and Aloulou should abide by its ethics code which says: "Officials are forbidden from bribing third parties or from urging or inciting others to do so in order to gain advantage for themselves."

Temarii, president of the Oceania Football Confederation, asked one of our undercover reporters for NZ\$3m (£1.5m) to fund a sports academy at its headquarters.

At the meeting in Auckland, New Zealand, he also claimed that supporters of two bid committees had offered Oceania between \$10m and \$12m.

Last night Fifa said it would examine the recordings provided by The Sunday Times.

*Foul play threatens England's Cup bid, pages 7-9*

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# Foul play threatens England's Cup bid

Nations spend vast amounts in an attempt to be named World Cup host. But as **Insight** finds, \$800,000 offered to a Fifa official can be far more effective

DUSK was falling over the banks of the Nile when Amos Adamu, one of world football's most powerful men, met with two lobbyists for a highly confidential meeting.

Adamu escorted the pair to a quiet spot in the gardens of his luxury Cairo Marriott hotel where the conversation would not be overheard.

"You know, one has to be very discreet about these things," he told the lobbyists.

The reason was that Adamu

is one of just 24 people who will take part in a secret ballot in December that will decide which countries will host the World Cup finals in 2018 and 2022.

By the end of the meeting he had shaken hands on a deal that exposes corruption at the heart of the governing body of world football, Fifa.

The lobbyists were in fact undercover British reporters who said they were representing a consortium of Amer-

ican businesses who wanted to buy his vote for the USA.

In the gloom of the Cairo night, the 57-year-old Adamu was filmed agreeing to accept a payment of \$400,000 (£250,000) before the vote and \$400,000 afterwards.

The money was ostensibly to pay for artificial football pitches in Nigeria but Adamu wanted it to be paid to him personally rather than to his football federation.

He then went on to give an

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assurance about his vote.

Male reporter: You will vote for the USA, yeah?

Adamu: [Nods]

Female reporter: Because obviously that's what the consortium wants to guarantee.

Adamu: I know, I know, I know, that is a guarantee.

During a three-month investigation The Sunday Times was told that such shady deals were becoming commonplace and even encouraged by some of Fifa's own officials, past and present.

Our undercover reporters travelled around the world gathering evidence indicating that bribery and vote-buying are an acknowledged part of the contest to host the World Cup.

A winning bid requires just 13 votes from the 24 members of the Fifa executive committee who are eligible to vote. So perhaps it should be no surprise that one member said that his federation had been offered almost £8m for just his vote.

Others are said to have been offered personal payments of £750,000 each.

Former committee members named colleagues who they claimed had taken bribes in the

past. Several former and current officials — including the chairman of another Fifa committee — were selling their services for exorbitant sums and offering advice on buying votes.

It is a story that will make depressing reading for the England team bidding to host the 2018 World Cup.

England's bid is widely regarded as one of the best for stadiums, infrastructure and organisation, but that is only half the battle.

In Auckland, New Zealand, we secretly filmed Ahongalu Fusimalohi, who for years served as the Fifa executive committee member of Oceania. He believed that England stood little chance because it was too careful to abide by the rules.

"England have got every

reason why they should host the World Cup . . . but they don't strike the deals," he said.

"You've got 24 members making that decision . . . Globally if you don't come up with

something — although it's corrupt, it's only corrupt if you get caught — these people will go all over the world . . . to get it at any price. It's sad but it's true.

### The fixers

The Fifa executive committee, which includes the president, Sepp Blatter, are some of the most pampered sports administrators in the world. They travel first-class, they stay in the best hotels, are paid \$150,000 (£94,000) a year and receive a daily allowance of £300.

On December 2 they will take the multi-billion-pound decision on the 2018 and 2022 World Cups. Russia and the joint bids of the Netherlands-Belgium and Spain-Portugal are in the running for both dates. England are now contesting just 2018 and Qatar, Australia, Japan and South Korea are going for 2022 only. As of Friday, the USA is bidding for just 2022.

The Sunday Times decided to investigate this summer after receiving allegations that dirty tricks were being used to win the World Cup.

Two reporters posed as lobbyists for a London company that had been hired by a consortium of US businesses who wanted to secure the World Cup for America.

It was made clear that this consortium was not connected

with the official US bid committee whose campaign has been completely above board.

In order to get some intelligence on how World Cup bids really worked, we approached a number of football fixers with the inside track on Fifa.

The first was Michel Bacchini, a Swiss national and Fifa's tournament director for the Olympics, who had worked

for bids in the past.

Bacchini was surprisingly direct. The way to win votes was to use big corporations to offer Fifa executive committee members business deals that would generate income for them, he said.

"[That way] you can't prove anything. What has this to do with football? You know, it's a nice income secured over several years. That's the way you have to do this," he said.

Two weeks later over lunch in Zurich he named current members of the committee who he claimed had taken money before. He singled out one wealthy representative who was made rich by the successful German bid for the 2006 World Cup.

Bacchini: I know how to get to him . . .

Reporter: What do we offer him. Is he someone who wants money?

Bacchini: Yeah, yeah . . .

Reporter: So how much do you think we might have to offer him?

Bacchini: . . . easily \$1m.

After suggesting that we might make secret payments of between \$2m-\$5m, Bacchini cautioned: "Imagine if this comes out, disaster. I mean this is a highly, highly politically sensitive issue. Imagine if one guy just drains the information to the press?"

Back in London, the reporters had dinner with a man who said he had seen it all before. Ismail Bhamjee, from Botswana, was a Fifa executive committee member for eight years before he was forced to resign over a ticketing scandal.

Bhamjee, 66, named three close colleagues from the committee who he claimed had been given cash in 2004 to vote for Morocco to host the 2010 World Cup. He believed the amount was \$250,000.

He also identified a fourth committee member who he said was paid \$1m to support Morocco but switched to the

eventual winner South Africa at the last minute when he was paid more.

Bhamjee: I know they gave, they gave X [name withheld] personally a lot of money . . . But please, this is confidential.

Reporter: How much did they give him?

Bhamjee: He got, I think, a \$1m-plus.

He was happy to contact some of the Fifa executive committee members. "We speak to them and say, 'You guarantee us your vote' . . . We tell them: 'Look, we give you \$200,000 and if we win the bid, we'll add on another \$200,000'."

Bhamjee also said he had

good intelligence on commercial interests who were attempting to buy votes for their country. The reporters asked how much the offers were.

Bhamjee: Anything from a quarter to half a million dollars.

Reporter: . . . Is that to invest in football? Or is that for them?

Bhamjee: No, no, no, no. This is separate from the football.

Reporter: That's for money, personal money?

Ismail: Yeah, they get.

However, later something spooked Bhamjee. The following morning he phoned the reporters in an agitated state saying he hadn't slept all night and claimed to have suddenly discovered that nobody wanted any money for their vote. He sent the reporters a £100,000 invoice for his work.

### The deal

The message had been clear. Some of the Fifa executive committee voters would have regional loyalties, some would vote politically or tactically and some would vote for the best bid. However, a few were in it for what they could get, whether it be finance for themselves or their federation. It was time to meet these men.

Adamu, president of the



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West African Football Union, has been a Fifa executive committee member since 2006.

In July he was quoted in a Nigerian paper saying: "The public sees every football administrator as a corrupt person, and I cannot explain why it is so. We should be transparent to prove them wrong."

Fifa had written to all its executive committee members  
Continued on page 8 ▶▶

### THE FIXERS' ADVICE: A MILLION DOLLARS FOR A VOTE

**MICHEL BACCHINI**  
From Switzerland  
Ex-Fifa tournament director for the Olympics



**'One million [for a vote]... This is easily paid. This is peanuts for him'**



**SLIM ALOULOU**  
From Tunisia  
Chairman of Fifa dispute resolution committee  
Former Fifa executive committee member, 1988-2004

**[On payments for votes]**

**'Unfortunately, I hear that this kind of practice is spreading more and more ... these amounts must be quite high. It's not for peanuts ... around one million'**

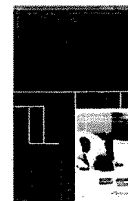
**AMADOU DIAKITE**  
From Mali  
Member of Fifa referees committee  
Former Fifa executive committee member, 1998-2007



**'I think that leaving the member to decide what he is going to do with the amount is the safest way to get his vote'**

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## 'England should host the Cup but it won't do deals'

►► Continued from page 7 ordering them to seek written permission before they met with bid committee representatives, following complaints about the high level of lobbying activity during this summer's World Cup in South Africa.

However, there was no problem in setting up a meeting with Adamu when he came to London in early September. Over coffee in a hotel bar, the reporters explained they wanted his vote and had backers willing to fund sports projects in his country.

According to Fifa rules, Adamu should not have entertained such an approach. But he appeared not at all surprised by the naked attempt to buy his vote. "You know, every bid campaign, they say, 'What can we do for you?'"

He said he had recently visited Moscow, where supporters of the Russian bid had offered "co-operation" in building facilities and offering training to players. This again seemed to be a breach of Fifa's rules. However, England, he said, had made no such proposals.

Adamu leapt at the offer of funding and said he had his "own project" that required cash. He wanted to build four artificial football pitches, which would cost \$200,000 each. The discussion turned to how the money would be paid:

Reporter: It can be paid in cash or it can be transferred.

Adamu: Yes.

Reporter: I didn't know whether it had to go via the Nigerian football federation, or it's better to you directly?

Adamu: Directly, directly.

He appeared to fully understand what was expected of him in return.

Reporter: Will it help you make your decision in favour of America in some way?

Adamu: Obviously. It will have an effect, of course it will

have an effect. Because certainly if you are to invest in that, that means you also want the vote.

He wanted more time to consider the proposal and a second meeting was arranged for Cairo later that month.

Later he sent an email stating for the record that it was "against Fifa code of ethics to solicit, directly or indirectly" anything that would influence his vote. And yet, that's exactly what he was about to do.

### The Cairo connection

The undercover reporters joined the great and the good of African football in Cairo three weeks later. The executive

committee of the Confederation of African Football (CAF) was in town and that meant a number of Fifa executive committee members.

The reporters met Issa Hayatou, the long-standing Fifa executive committee member who is the CAF president. He was coy and said it would be indiscreet to say what offers had been made. "We know, but I can't say. Each makes their own offer," he said.

He probably didn't know it but one of the offers had been made the night before in the garden of a former palace that Fifa executive committee members were using as their hotel.

Adamu was careful as he talked through the illicit deal. He agreed to accept the cash for "football development" in Nigeria.

To give the transaction the cloak of respectability, he made it clear that money should not be seen "as a precondition for voting". However, this was exactly what the deal was.

Seconds later he gave his guarantee that he would vote for the USA (which at the time

was bidding) for 2018. He put the reporters in touch with a relative and later suggested that the payment could be made through that relative's trading company in Europe.

Adamu was also happy to pledge that he would give his second-round vote to the USA for 2022, but he could not give his first. "I've already given my word to some other bid," he said.

Cairo had been full of talk about illicit payments. Amadou Diakite, who for many years had been Mali's man on the Fifa

executive committee, had left the city with news that he spilled out to the reporters. He said he had heard that some of the voters were being offered personal payments of between \$1m and \$1.2m for their vote. In the course of seven telephone calls he named names, and gave details about the proposals.

Diakite, 56, who serves on the Fifa referees committee, advised the undercover reporters that they should offer bribes of about \$1m and he would make the introductions.

He said these bribes could be dressed up as "projects" but actually the money would go directly to the members.

"I think that leaving the member to decide what he is going to do with the amount is the safest way to get his vote," he said.

Later in Paris another current official was offering himself for hire for up to £300,000 for the World Cup bid and other work. This was Slim Aloulou, the 68-year-old chairman of the Fifa disputes resolution committee, who has been around

Fifa for 30 years and spent 16 years on the executive committee before being made an honorary member of the organisation in 2004.

The undercover reporter

asked him how votes had been acquired in the past and what was a reasonable offer.

Aloulou: What I can tell you is that a little while ago, these things were really not common, unlike what is said. Unfortunately, I hear that this kind of practice is spreading more and more. About amounts, I can't frankly tell you, but these amounts must be quite high. It's not for peanuts. I can make inquiries and try to figure that out.

Reporter: We thought of \$800,000.

Aloulou: Yes, around \$1m.

Reporter: Per member?

Aloulou: Yes, yes! Per member. I think, but the cost might be even higher than I think. I believe it could be around that level. You know, people invest much more than that to get the World Cup.

### Securing a vote

Meanwhile, on the other side of the world in Auckland, one of our fictional lobbyists was attempting to find out what a Fifa vice-president, Reynald Temarii, wanted for his vote.

A former French footballer, Temarii has served on the Fifa executive committee since 2007 because he is head of the Oceania Football Confederation, which covers New Zealand and the South Pacific countries.

The reporter told him he wanted his vote for the USA and was willing to finance sports projects.

Temarii responded: "Your proposal, for sure, it's interesting. For me I just tell you that when the people come to see me I usually say: 'Okay, what will be the impact of your bid in my region?' If there is something concrete on the table, then it's interesting to discuss. If not, forget it."

He went on to explain that he was looking for NZ\$3m

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(£1.5m) to build a sports academy at its Auckland headquarters.

Reporter: Is it something, for example, that our consortium might be able to finance?

Temarii: Yes, this kind of thing I am keen to discuss.

Temarii then told the reporter that there had been two other offers which he described as "huge".

JC: More than the NZ\$3m?

RT: Yes, yes.

JC: How much are they offering you?

RT: No, no, I can't talk to you like that, but for me this is the basic approach when I talk with someone who wish[es] to get my vote.

At this point Tai Nicholas, Oceania's general secretary, entered the conversation to say "just for the regulations" that the cash offers to the confederation were not "formally linked" to the voting. "We are asking the bid teams to talk about 'if you win, what would you provide Oceania?'" said Nicholas.

It was far from clear how this would get around Fifa rules, which make clear that no offers should be made or discussed that could influence the voting. Indeed, Temarii then let slip that some of the offers for his vote were between \$10m and \$12m.

However, he went on to list his arguments for backing the USA as a second preference and ended with: "The third reason why we could vote for the States is because this kind of support coming from a private company would be useful, helpful for us."

His officials had become suspicious by the end of the meeting. Temarii said he would vote for the USA second because of the television revenues and in the latter part of the meeting said the financial assistance could not be linked to his vote.

Later Oceania sent an email saying that it was still interested in receiving cash

from the consortium supporting America, but wanted to make clear this would not "influence" Temarii's vote.

The following day the reporter met Ahongalu Fusimalohi in an Auckland hotel. Fusimalohi was Temarii's predecessor on the Fifa executive committee—a position he held in 2002-7. He was keen to work as a £100,000-a-year consultant for our fake company to give advice on securing votes.

Fusimalohi said he knew all about dirty tricks because he had been offered cash bribes to vote for Morocco in the contest to host the 2010 World Cup.

"If I'd taken something, I would have taken, well, they were trying to buy me cheap but my selling price would have been a full retirement—and in shame, if I was to ever get caught . . .

Reporter: How much were they offering?

Fusimalohi: Well, something like \$100,000 to \$150,000.

Reporter: This is interesting for me.

Fusimalohi: And they'd put it in a separate bank account and I said, "Bullshit, if I get caught I mean that's a waste of my whole career. I'm not going to buy into this small-time petty cash money."

Reporter: If Fifa found out

that . . . [one] were offering members incentives, would it be a problem?

Fusimalohi: Oh yes, it's going to be a big problem. It has to be strictly confidential . . . The 11th commandment of the CIA is just never get caught . . . It really is what's happening."

On Friday Fifa said it would examine The Sunday Times's footage and tape recordings. We wrote to all the people

recorded, asking them to explain their comments.

Fusimalohi and Diakite claimed they had made everything up because they were suspicious about whom they were dealing with.

Bacchini said he was recounting allegations he had read in a book and Bhamjee insisted that he had never uttered the words attributed to him. Aloulou said he never promised to secure votes and had only offered to make introductions. Temarii explained that his door was always open to anyone who wished to invest in his region.

Adamu insisted that he had merely been talking to the reporter's fictional company about business in Nigeria after the World Cup. He insisted he did not guarantee his vote. "My vote is not for sale," he said.

*A World Cup tainted by corruption, Editorial, page 24*

**THE MEN WHO DECIDE ON THE VENUE FOR THE WORLD CUP**

■ To win the contest to host a World Cup you need to gain a simple majority of the votes from the 24-man Fifa executive committee

■ It is made up of representatives from the world's six regional football federations and has a built-in European bias. Eight members are from Uefa, the European football body, plus the president, Sepp Blatter, who is Swiss

■ Africa has four members on the committee, Asia has four, South America has three, north America has three, and Oceania has just one

■ Europe has staged 10 of the 18 World Cup finals and, for the past 50 years, has hosted every other competition. This run came an end when Brazil was

given the 2014 event following on from this year's finals in South Africa

■ South America has held the competition six times whereas North America, Asia and Africa have each only hosted the finals once

■ Fifa has made it clear, however, that it wishes the 2018 competition to be held in Europe. The choice is between England, Russia, and the joint bids of Holland/Belgium and Spain/Portugal

**Off-side**

Fifa rules prohibit bidding committees from offering voters money, or "any kind of personal advantage that could give the impression of exerting influence . . . or conflict of interest in connection with the bidding process, such as the beginning of a collaboration, whether with private persons, a company or any authorities".

Its code of ethics says Fifa officials may not accept bribes, gifts or other advantages offered or promised. They are also forbidden from bribing third parties or from urging or inciting others to do so in order to gain an advantage for themselves.

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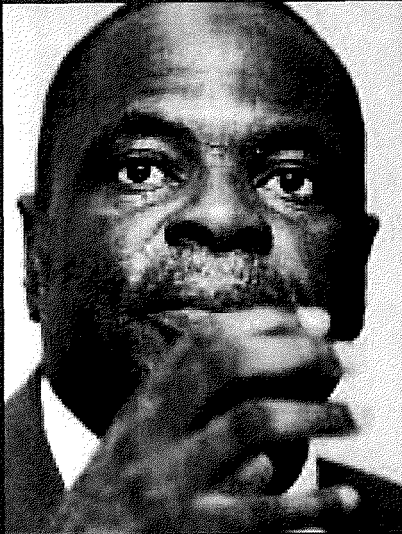



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 <p><b>Amos Adamu, Nigeria</b> Current Fifa executive committee member. President of West African Football Union</p> <p><b>'Certainly if you are to invest in that, that means you also want the vote'</b></p>	 <p><b>Ahongalu Fusimalohi, Tonga</b> Executive committee member of the Oceania Football Confederation. Ex-Fifa executive committee member, 2002-7</p> <p><b>'It's only corrupt if you get caught'</b></p>
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**Reynald Temarii, Tahiti**  
Current Fifa executive committee member.  
President of the Oceania Football Confederation

'There are two ... who offer us a huge [amount of money] ... For me, this is the basic approach when I talk with someone who wish[es] to get my vote'



**Ismail Bhamjee, Botswana**  
Ex-Fifa executive committee member, 1998-2006

'We speak to them and say: You guarantee us your vote ... We tell them: Look, we give you \$200,000 and if we win the bid, we'll add on another \$200,000'

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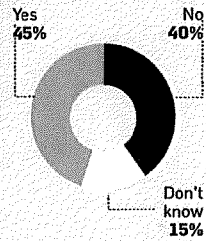
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### Up for the cup

Do you believe England should be bidding for the 2018 World Cup?



say England is being given a fair chance of winning

YouGov questioned 1,898 adults for The Sunday Times on October 14-15, 2010

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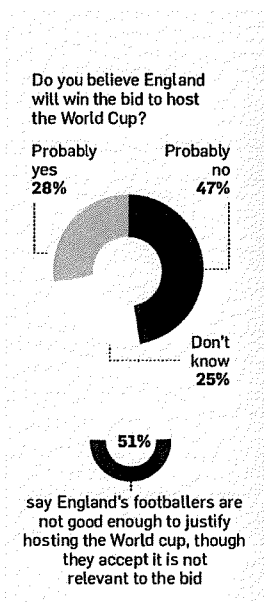


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JAMIE McDONALD/ANDY RAIN



David Cameron meets Sepp Blatter, the Fifa chief

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# World Cup fixer reveals network of corruption

## INSIGHT

A FORMER boss of football's governing body has been secretly filmed identifying officials who he said could be bribed to buy their votes for the World Cup.

Michel Zen-Ruffinen, the former Fifa general secretary, was available for hire as a £210,000 fixer arranging approaches to officials to see what they wanted.

The involvement of such a senior figure in the "cash for votes" scandal will put further pressure on Fifa to widen its investigation into vote buying.

Last week two members of

the Fifa committee that grants the World Cup were provisionally suspended after a Sunday Times investigation recorded them negotiating payments. A further four officials were suspended after we handed over our tapes. The tapes, which have not yet been published in full, contain highly damaging allegations about illicit deals ahead of this December's vote to decide who will host the 2018 and 2022 World Cups.

They include claims that two countries are offering to hand over £750,000 to individual officials for their vote. There is also an allegation that the joint bid of Spain and Portugal, one of England's chief rivals, has used underhand tactics.

Zen-Ruffinen, former right-hand man of Fifa president Sepp Blatter, had threatened The Sunday Times with an injunction and criminal proceedings to prevent publica-

tion. Covert recording and filming are illegal in Switzerland.

The 51-year-old had been working with our undercover reporters who posed as lobbyists representing a consortium of businesses who wanted the United States to win the bid to hold the competition.

Over lunch in a restaurant by Lake Geneva, Zen-Ruffinen began to explain which Fifa executive committee members he said would require payment for their votes. Talking through a list of names he said: "X is nice, he's a nice guy, but X is money." Of a second member he said: "X, it's money, we can go to [a city] and talk with him on a terrace no problem."

A third member of the Fifa executive committee had a different motivation: "He's the guy you can have with the ladies and not with money."

He described a fourth member as "the biggest gangster you will find on earth" and said he believed the minimum fee for this person would be \$500,000 (£319,000).

It was Zen-Ruffinen who cast doubt on Amos Adamu, the Nigerian Fifa executive committee member. Adamu was filmed in Cairo last month guaranteeing his vote after requesting £500,000 for a personal project to build four football pitches. He was suspended last week.

Zen-Ruffinen organised for a middle man to make approaches to three other committee members to find out what they wanted in return for

their vote. He reported that his middle man was confident that one of the members "definitely can be convinced".

Zen-Ruffinen described one member's vote as "only financial". He later said if there was an agreement "everything could be done" through the member's lawyer.

The last meeting with the reporters took place in London. Zen-Ruffinen claimed that Spain, one of England's chief rivals for 2018, had formed an alliance with Qatar, the 2022 bidder. They had seven supporters who would vote for both bids. "So they start with seven [votes] which... was not expected by the other candidates," he said. "And this is not just a rumour, that's fact."

The Fifa ethics committee said it was investigating an alliance last week, but did not identify the countries. Qatar has strongly denied the claim and Spain has declined to comment until the investigation is over.

Zen-Ruffinen said last week he was "totally against" bribery and had only offered to make introductions. He said many of his comments were "impressions" and "exaggerated" to "awaken" the reporters' interest.

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Michel Zen-Ruffinen reveals how best to entice Fifa members to sell their votes on the right to host the World Cup

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clipShare  
newspaper licensing agency**Want the World Cup? It'll cost you money or girls**

The former general secretary of Fifa tells the undercover **Insight** team how votes to choose the host nation can be bought

THE man in the crisp, navy suit who strode into the five-star Hotel d'Angleterre overlooking Lake Geneva was once the second most powerful person in world football.

The suave Michel Zen-Ruffinen had been the general secretary of football's governing body, Fifa, until he fell out with his mentor Sepp Blatter, the organisation's president.

Zen-Ruffinen was at the hotel to meet two British lobbyists who wanted to hire him as a fixer to secure support for America in December's vote to choose the hosts for the 2018 and 2022 World Cups.

At a quiet table in the corner of the hotel's restaurant, he explained how to win the votes of the 24 Fifa executive committee members who decide on the bids by secret ballot.

For some, the vote was about football politics or regional affiliations. For others he went on to name, it was about money.

"There are some people, you go straight to them and say, 'Listen, how do you see things? What will you like to make sure that you vote for a specific country?'" Zen-Ruffinen said.

What he did not know was that the two people in front of him were undercover Sunday Times reporters attempting to find out about corruption in the

World Cup bidding process, and pretending to be helping the Americans. The reporters went on to contact one of the committee members Zen-Ruffinen had discussed during the lunch: Amos Adamu, president of the

West African Football Union. Last week Adamu was one of six officials provisionally suspended by the Fifa ethics committee, which is now examining serious allegations raised during this newspaper's three-month investigation.

Our investigation into Fifa corruption has made news around the world. A Fifa official was dispatched from Zurich to pick up our videos from Heathrow on Monday night. Announcing the suspensions on Wednesday, Claudio Sulser, the chairman of the ethics committee, said: "This is a sad day for Fifa and for football. We have zero tolerance for any breach of ethics."

The evidence submitted to Fifa contained further allegations that can now be revealed.

Zen-Ruffinen, a 51-year-old lawyer, worked for 16 years at Fifa and was regarded as Blatter's protégé. But he left the organisation after criticising it for financial mismanagement. Over steak and green salad in

Geneva, Zen-Ruffinen was disparaging about his former employer and, in particular, the executive committee that decides the World Cup venue.

He said he disagreed with paying for votes but made it

clear that this was how the bid process sometimes worked and that he would be willing to help by making introductions.

He started with a member he knew well:

Zen: [name withheld] is nice, he's a nice guy, but [name with-

held is money. This is the [region withheld] member who is asking for the most, I can tell you.

Reporter: And he wants it for him, rather than for his football confederation?

Zen: Yep, that's right.

Reporter: How much does he want, do you think?

Zen: I don't know. I can sort it out but I don't know.

Reporter: Can you find out?

Zen: Yeah.

He said he knew the member liked money because an associate had recently been forced to pay the member a \$10,000 bung as "pocket money" to arrange football deals before the last World Cup.

The reporters suggested a different part of the world and Zen-Ruffinen identified another member: "[Name withheld], it's money. We can go to [names city] and talk with him on a terrace, no problem. Openly, openly," he said.

A third Fifa executive member was described as "the guy you can have with ladies and not with money..."

Reporter: We could just offer him girls?

Zen: Absolutely... You should tell him if, if this [the World Cup] is held in that country for which we are supporting, then you can be sure that if you are staying in Dallas that there could be [pauses]...

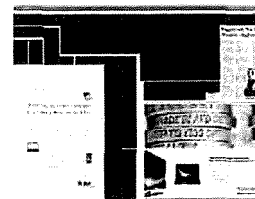
Reporter: Has that happened before?

Zen: No, officially not, unofficially for sure.

He described a fourth member as "the biggest gangster you will find on earth" who profited

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handsomely from World Cup bids. "I can imagine that the total of what he would receive in money and in other advantages would be as a minimum half a million," he said.

When the reporter asked whether a budget would be needed for illicit payments, Zen-Ruffinen responded "probably, probably". He went on to claim that he been approached to pay bribes by a bid committee during the 2004 contest for the 2010 World Cup.

"I was asked by the Moroccan bid committee — that was shortly after I have left Fifa — to attend a meeting in Bern, at the Hotel Schweizerhof, where we . . . were offered money to go to [Fifa executive committee] members to offer money."

The Morocco allegation was confirmed by two former executive committee members interviewed by the reporters (see undercover video on the Sunday Times website). Morocco declined to comment.

Zen-Ruffinen said he had turned down the offer to act for Morocco but was willing to work for the reporters' fictional company, which was planning to do much the same thing.

He accepted a letter of engagement and flew to Cairo last month for a second meeting. Zen-Ruffinen said approaches would be made to members using a middleman they knew. Such was the secrecy surrounding the mysterious middleman that the reporters were asked to pretend to bump into Zen-Ruffinen in the hotel garden so that he could briefly introduce them.

Zen-Ruffinen said he had passed on the reporters' instructions to find out from members what they wanted for their vote. Zen-Ruffinen said: "He said that once he has the reactions, and provided they are all, let's say, in principle ready to accept something, then we would have to define how to proceed."

It was agreed the middle man would find out whether

three members wanted money. "The guy from [names country] definitely can be convinced, according to [the middle man]," Zen-Ruffinen said. "The guy from Nigeria [Adamu] was also on the list as being okay to accept."

He claimed there were many people working behind the scenes in the same way as our fictional company: "The key is

that everybody knows how it works but nobody should have the proof that this has been worked like that."

A series of telephone calls followed about the middleman's progress. It was going slowly because the middleman had learnt that the reporters were speaking to some people themselves. The reporter asked Zen-Ruffinen whether anyone else had been making offers. He replied that an official from another bidding country was claiming to have secured several votes. "If he says 'secured', it means that half of them have been bought," he said.

After the call, the reporters were told by Amadou Diakite, a former executive committee member from Mali, that the country named by Zen-Ruffinen had made a series of offers of \$1.2m (£750,000) to members for "personal projects".

Zen: Speaking openly, the group you represent could try to overrule [names the country offering cash] by offering more, because your budget is higher? Right?

Reporter: Yes, exactly.

Zen: Okay, that changes everything.

The offers were never made, however. On October 1, Fifa wrote to all the executive committee members warning them about the reporters' fictional company. There was time for a final meeting with Zen-Ruffinen at a boutique hotel in London. He was concerned that the press had been asking about his relationship to the fictional organisation. He wanted to make clear he did not

wish to help buy votes, but he

still negotiated a fee that would have amounted to €720,000 (£640,000) had America won.

He had one last important piece of information. He claimed the American bid was threatened by an alliance between Spain and Qatar. If true, this was also seriously bad news for the English bid.

It was widely reported last week in the wake of our revelations that Fifa is now investigating an alleged alliance between Spain and Qatar, although Fifa has not confirmed the countries.

As for the other investigations, the ethics committee studied the hours of video provided by The Sunday Times and quickly concluded there was enough evidence to warrant suspending two of its executive committee members.

Interviewed by the BBC on Friday, Adamu said he was happy to be investigated because he was "not guilty" and wanted the world to know the "truth of the matter".

Adamu had met our undercover reporters twice. The first time he told the reporters he wanted \$800,000 (£500,000) to build four artificial pitches in his home country. He wanted the money paid to him personally. "Certainly if you are to invest in that, that means you also want the vote," he said.

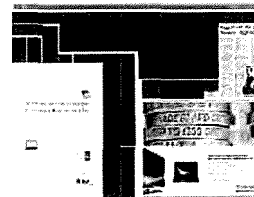
Afterwards he sent an email saying he was looking forward to seeing the reporters in Cairo

later that month. But he was careful to state that it was "against Fifa code of ethics to solicit, directly or indirectly, for anything that will influence any executive committee member's decision on the hosting of the World Cup".

The comments he made in the email made it all the more remarkable that in Cairo Adamu offered to guarantee his first vote for America in 2018 after agreeing to accept the \$800,000 payment.

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Reynald Temarii, the second member of the executive committee to be suspended, also protested his innocence last week. Temarii, president of the Oceania Football Confederation, asked one of our undercover reporters for NZ\$3m (£1.5m) to fund a sports academy at its headquarters. He claimed supporters of two bidding countries had offered Oceania between \$10m and \$12m.

The other suspended members were fixers who had separately suggested paying huge bribes to executive committee members. The four — Amadou Diakite, Slim Aloulou, Ismail Bhamjee and Ahongalu Fusimalohi — are all former members of the committee.

On Friday, Zen-Ruffinen sent a letter to The Sunday Times in which he explained his offer to approach members through a middleman: "I had heard through a third party that a person was allegedly

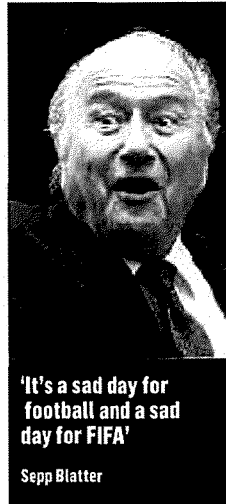
active to secure votes on behalf of another bidder and that you could, if this person would agree, possibly gain information or even possibly discuss some kind of financial support with some members."

He said many of his remarks were "impressions" based on his time at Fifa eight years ago. Other comments were "clearly exaggerated" to "awaken" the reporters' interest. He added that he had told them he was "totally against any form of

bribery in whatever form" and had only offered to make introductions.

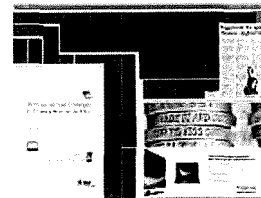
*Insight: Claire Newell, Jonathan Calvert, Solvej Krause, Cecile Schoon.*

*What a timid way to tackle corruption, Editorial, page 22*



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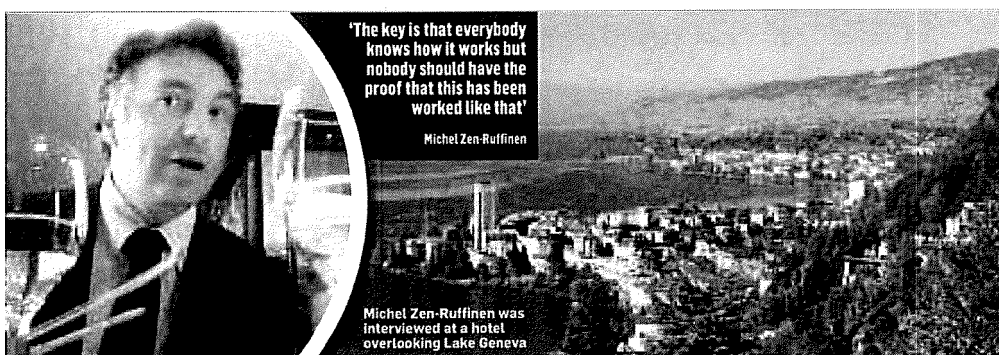


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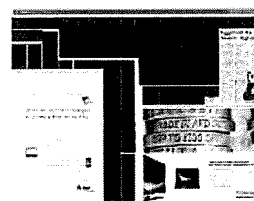
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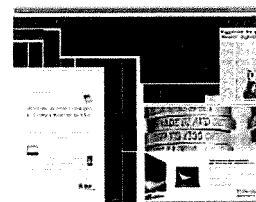
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# Labour peer claims £100,000 expenses on empty flat she said was her home

## INSIGHT

A LABOUR peer who lives in the East End of London has claimed about £100,000 in parliamentary expenses on a flat in Kent that neighbours say has been unoccupied for years.

Baroness Uddin, who worked closely with Tony and Cherie Blair, has been claiming allowances intended for peers living outside London although she resides only four miles from the Lords.

Inquiries by The Sunday Times have established that the baroness bought a two-bedroom flat in

Maidstone in 2005 and has named it as her main home to claim almost £30,000 a year in accommodation expenses from the House of Lords.

Residents from the five other flats in the same block as Uddin's property all say they have never seen her there. They could see through the windows that the bedrooms were unfurnished.

Yvonne Adams, who has lived next to the flat for three years, said: "I can't emphasise enough how no one has lived there. They just haven't. I know that for a fact."

Adams said she went on to her rear balcony every day and had never seen anyone on the balcony next door. Until recently, there were piles of leaves on the balcony and sheets over the bedroom windows had fallen down. "There has never been a stick of furniture in there," she said.

Last weekend, hours after The Sunday Times had challenged Uddin about her "main residence", the baroness's BMW 4x4 car was

spotted at the Maidstone flat and members of her family arrived.

A plumber who went into the flat to help the family with a broken boiler said: "It looked like they were just moving in. They told me they were just moving in." By Sunday night, curtains covered the windows, a light was on in the hall and a mat

was placed outside the front door.

The Sunday Times has also challenged Uddin about a further £83,000 worth of expense claims she made before she bought the Maidstone flat in September 2005.

She has claimed that her main residence has been outside the capital since 2001 but refuses to say where, despite repeated questions.

Last night Angus Robertson, the leader in Westminster of the Scottish National party, which has campaigned for stricter controls on expenses, said he wanted two inquiries into the baroness's expense claims. "I will be writing to the police and the House of Lords authorities asking them to investigate this report," he said.

Lord Oakeshott, the Liberal Democrat frontbencher, said: "An empty property can't be a peer's main residence. The Lords authorities must check the facts of this case and investigate."

Insisting she had done nothing wrong, Uddin said: "Should the House of Lords authorities wish to investigate the matter I will, of course, co-operate fully." She said she stayed at the flat "regularly" and that it had furniture.

Yesterday she appeared at the flat but refused to prove it was furnished by showing a reporter around. "I'm telling you it is. You'll just have to accept that," she said.

The baroness, who became Britain's first Muslim woman peer in 1998, has lived with her family in a house in Wapping, east London, since the early 1990s. Neighbours there say they regularly see her. By contrast, none of the residents of the Maidstone apartment block could remember seeing her.

The occupiers of apartments directly above and below the flat

said they had always believed it was empty.



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Baroness Uddin, who worked closely with Tony and Cherie Blair, lives only four miles away from the House of Lords

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## The deserted Kent flat that earned baroness £100,000

**Expenses** A 'main home' outside London meant Lady Uddin could claim £29,000 a year, but the neighbours tell **Insight** that nobody lived there

THE small two-bedroom apartment in a quiet corner of Maidstone had been a mystery to its neighbours for years.

As far as they could see, it had been vacant and unfurnished since the day it was bought. Nobody had ever attempted to let it. However, after darkness fell last Sunday night a BMW 4x4 entered the gated apartment block and parked outside the flat.

A neighbour saw four people, including two women in saris, apparently carrying something into the house. "They were there for about half an hour," said a postman who lives next door but one to the flat. "They did take in something: it was either a television or a computer screen." By the next morning thick curtains protected the two bedrooms that had been visible from the street, a light was on in the hallway and a striped mat had been placed outside the flat's front door.

"I thought, 'There's a mat. Someone must have moved in,'" said Yvonne Adams, whose own front door is a few feet across the corridor. "No one's been living there."

What the neighbours did not know was that the property is owned by Baroness Uddin, 49, a Labour peer. She has designated the flat as her "main address" so she can claim almost £30,000 in accommodation expenses a year from the House of Lords while continuing to live in her London home.

The flurry of activity in the flat on Sunday night came after The Sunday Times had asked the baroness questions about her "main address" the previ-

ous day. Neighbours also report a brief visit by the same car the previous night.

Yesterday MPs and a peer called for a full investigation into the baroness's expenses claims. She has received more than £100,000 (this figure includes an estimate for last year) since buying the Maidstone flat. She also claimed a further £83,000 for the same allowance from 2001, four years before she bought the flat.

Despite repeated questions, she has declined to discuss whether she actually owned or rented a main home outside London during this period.

Angus Robertson, the SNP's leader in the Commons, said: "I will be writing to the House of

Lords authorities and the police and asking them to investigate this report."

Lord Oakeshott, the Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman, said: "The system stinks. Peers should get a simple taxable daily rate instead of these allowances. An empty property can't be a peer's main residence. The Lords authorities must investigate."

Born in Bangladesh, Manzila Pola Uddin came to Britain as a teenager and went on to become a community worker and social services officer while pursuing a political career that saw her rise to be deputy leader of Tower Hamlets borough council in the early 1990s.

She was made a peer by Tony Blair in 1998 and took the title "Baroness Uddin of Bethnal Green in our London Borough of Tower Hamlets". Aged 38, she was the youngest woman in the Lords.

As a campaigner on women's and ethnic minority issues she has become part of the new Labour establishment, befriending Cherie Blair. Her Facebook friends include the cabinet ministers Harriet Harman, Hazel Blears and David Miliband and

Alastair Campbell, the former spin doctor.

However, she has never forgotten her roots. Her Facebook entry lists London as her home town and she has continued to work and live there. She and her family have resided in the same three-bedroom house in Wapping since the early 1990s.

A page entitled "my backyard" on her personal website says: "I have a great sense of belonging to the East End which has been my home for over 30 years... it is where my professional and political career has taken shape, where my children have grown up, and also where I served as a local councillor for eight years."

Yet she designated the family house in Tower Hamlets — where her children lived and went to school — as a "second home" and this allowed her to claim the cost of overnight accommodation in London.

The purpose of the allowance is explained in a House of Lords guidance note that says: "A member whose main residence is outside greater London and who maintains a residence in London for the purpose of attending sittings of the House may claim this allowance towards the cost of maintaining such a residence."

In the Commons a "main residence" is considered to be

the home where an MP spends most nights, but in the Lords there is no fixed definition. Mary Morgan, director of public information at the Lords, says: "A member will know what his main residence is. It's where they live... For the purpose of claiming expenses, it's where they travel to and from. There is no official definition."

The Sunday Times began looking into Uddin's expenses claims as part of an inquiry into peers who clock in to the House of Lords chamber briefly so as to claim overnight allowances. We photographed her going into the Lords through the peers' entrance, saw her appear in the chamber for less than a minute and then leave the building. The whole visit took just three minutes.

In the latest published list (the year to March 2008) she claimed £29,600 from the Lords for overnight subsistence — one of the highest sums for any peer. She gave the location of her main residence as Kent.

This was curious because there appear to be no public documents linking the baroness to the county. The only reference is a speech to the

Lords in 2006 which she began with the words "I am a resident of Maidstone borough council". She is listed on the electoral roll at the Wapping address from 1996 to the present.

She has been a director of seven companies in the past 10 years and each time has said she lives at her Wapping home. The Companies Act says directors must give their "usual" address.

Uddin has a brother, Rous-

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## “ THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A STICK OF FURNITURE

seau Khan, who lives in Bromley, south London. Khan owns the house and a neighbour said Uddin did not live there.

When a reporter rang her London home, her husband Komar picked up the telephone. He appeared confused about his wife's "main residence" in Kent.

Reporter: "Have you lived there [the Tower Hamlets family home] for a long time?"

Husband: "Yeah, We came here in '93."

Reporter: "Ninety-three, I see. Am I also right in thinking you have a place down in Kent?"

Husband: "Sorry?"

Reporter: "Do you have a place in Kent?"

Husband: "Kent?"

Reporter: "Kent, as in the county Kent? No?"

Husband: "No."

Minutes later the reporter spoke to Uddin about her three-minute visit to the House of Lords that day. She said she had been working on Lords business outside the building and had gone to the chamber but left quickly after realising she had another meeting.

The reporter attempted to broach the subject of her overnight expenses claim but she put the phone down. That evening she instructed Carter-Ruck, the libel lawyers, to speak on her behalf.

At the same time a reporter went to her London home. It is

a three-storey building in a block of about a dozen flats built by Spitalfields Housing Association. The association's housing stock is for people requiring affordable housing and the average rent for one of the association's three-bedroom houses is £500 a month. The baroness is claiming more than £2,000 a month for running and maintaining a house in London.

Neighbours confirmed that the baroness shares the home with Komar, two of her sons and a daughter. Komar was outside the house smoking a cigarette.

When asked where his home was, he said, "I live here", apparently surprised by the obvious question. When reminded about the home in Kent, he added: "I live in both places." Later Carter-Ruck said that he had initially answered "no" when asked on the telephone whether he had a property in Kent because it belonged to his wife.

Fozlu Miah, 29, lives next to the Uddins in the same building, having moved in with his parents in the early 1990s, about the same time as the

baroness. "As far as I know she lives here," said Miah. "I see her most days through the window, coming in and going out. I sometimes talk to her... I call her auntie."

Rafique Uddin (no relation), another neighbour, has known the family for years: "We all moved in at the same time. I don't know anything about a house in Kent. I'm surprised to hear that because almost every day when I'm parking my car I can see their car. The mum [baroness] is going in and out.

They are continuously living here as far as I know."

Her daughter Masuma Siddiqah, 17, is best friends with the baroness's daughter. She said: "[The baroness] is always there. I hear her beep her car every day when she gets home." Siddiqah added that Uddin's daughter had never

told her anything about the family having a home in Kent.

In a statement last Saturday, Carter-Ruck confirmed the baroness owned a property in Maidstone which is registered

as her main address with the House of Lords. The solicitors also offered to disclose the Kent address if The Sunday Times undertook not to publish details or approach members of the baroness's family at the address. We declined.

Where was it? Overlooking a nature reserve on the fringes of Maidstone's central shopping area lies a block of apartments built in 2005. Land registry searches confirmed that Uddin owns a street-level flat there.

She bought it for £155,000 in

September 2005, nine months after peers' expenses claims for overnight subsistence were made public for the first time. There is a mortgage on it.

It has two small bedrooms on the roadside and a lounge incorporating a kitchen area at the back. It is part of a group of six apartments that all share the same main entrance.

The Sunday Times has interviewed residents from all five of the other flats and others living nearby. They all said they had never seen Uddin, who

cuts a distinctive figure, at the property. The neighbours said the property had been left empty since it had been bought. Three remembered peering into the two bedroom windows at the front and noting the rooms were unfurnished.

The windows now have thick curtains drawn across them after last weekend's visit. The postman said some of the people who entered the flat on Sunday had arrived in a BMW four-wheel-drive. His description of the vehicle, including

two letters from its registration plate, match Uddin's car.

He said: "Nobody has ever lived in there. If you'd have

come down a week ago you could have peered in and said nobody lives there."

Adams has lived across the corridor from the baroness's flat for three years. "I can't emphasise enough how no one has lived there. I know that for a fact," she said.

"There was a time when they had a sheet or something at the window which had fallen

down and the security light was coming on, just shining into a completely empty flat... No, there has never been a stick of furniture in there."

Matthew Hollis, whose flat is directly above the baroness's property, confirmed there had been no furniture in the bedrooms. When initially asked about the flat, he responded: "I don't think anyone does live there. I've never seen anyone in there..."

Stuart Brown and his girlfriend Gemma Fox lived directly below Uddin's flat for three years before leaving recently. He said: "We never had anyone living above."

The other ground-floor neighbour, who requested her name be withheld, said: "I thought it was empty, too. I posted a note through there about two months ago because my friend was interested in renting."

A woman in a house that looks directly onto the back of the flat said she often saw people on the balconies above and below the baroness's flat. "That sweater has been hanging over that middle flat balcony probably since the end of last summer," she said.

"Every few months some people would just visit, but you are talking 10 minutes max," Adams said.

On Friday evening the baroness issued a solicitors' statement saying: "I do not believe that I have done anything wrong or breached any House of Lords rules. Should the relevant House of Lords authorities wish to investigate the matter I

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will, of course, co-operate fully.

"The Wapping house is rented, while I own the property in Maidstone. The Maidstone property is furnished and I strongly deny that I have never lived there. Indeed I have stayed there regularly since buying it."

Yesterday evening a reporter spoke to a plumber who had entered the flat last weekend to fix the boiler. He described how the property was covered in dust and sparsely furnished.

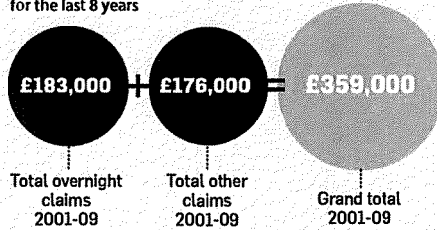
He said: "I've been in more flats than I care to remember, but this place looked like someone had left it ages ago. It was very dusty. There were odds and sods of furniture around. There was an old mattress on the floor of one bedroom. It wasn't made up. There was a fold-up clothes dryer in the other bedroom."

"It didn't look lived-in. It certainly didn't look like a family home. They told me they were just moving in."

*Insight: Jonathan Calvert,  
Claire Newell, Kevin Dowling,  
Solvej Krause*

### The cost of a Baroness

Baroness Uddin has lived in London since 1973. She now has a family home in the capital, but has claimed overnight allowance for living outside London for the last 8 years



\* Figures include an estimate for April 2008 to March 2009 based on previous claims

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**Property puzzle**

When we asked neighbours about Baroness Uddin's flat they said:

“I've never ever ever seen anyone go in there”  
*Neighbour 1*

“It's a bit of a strange one because we never had anyone living above us”  
*Neighbour 2*



“I've never seen anyone”  
*Neighbour 3*

“No one's been living there”  
*Neighbour 4*

“I thought it was empty”  
*Neighbour 5*



ANDREW PARSONS

**BARONESS UDDIN**

- Born Bangladesh 1959
- Arrives in east London 1973
- Begins working for Newham social services 1988
- Deputy leader of Tower Hamlets 1994-96
- Fails to become Labour parliamentary candidate for Bethnal Green 1997
- Made life Labour peer 1998
- Starts Jagonari Centre to train and educate Asian women 1999
- Meets Blair as part of delegation to tackle Islamic extremism 2005
- Made chairwoman of ethnic minority women's taskforce 2008

Uddin attending a meeting of Muslim leaders with Charles Kennedy, Tony Blair and Michael Howard in 2005. Blair made her a peer in 1998

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Uddin has received about £100,000 in expenses for the Maidstone flat by claiming it as her main residence since 2005. Neighbours insist that she has never lived there

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## Millionaire lord claimed £20,000 on small flat

### INSIGHT

A MILLIONAIRE peer has claimed more than £20,000 in allowances from the House of Lords by saying that a small rented flat occupied by his brother is his main home. Last week he could not even remember its address.

Lord Bhatia, a businessman and philanthropist, has lived with his wife in a £1.5m home in southwest London for 20 years. Almost two years ago he decided to "flip" the designation of his primary residence to a two-bedroom flat in Reigate, Surrey, which has been his brother's home for three years. The town is a mile beyond the M25 motorway, a boundary used by peers to define whether they live outside London for expenses purposes.

By saying the Reigate flat was his main home, Bhatia was able to claim lucrative "overnight" allowances from the Lords. Peers whose main home is outside the capital are able to collect £174 a night as reimbursement for the cost of a hotel or maintaining a second home while attending parliament.

Bhatia could not remember the address of the flat when repeatedly asked last week. He had to look it up and even then misspelt the name of the block. A neighbour could not recall him living there, but Bhatia insisted he had spent many weekends at the flat and said he intended to move there with his wife when he sells his family home.

Angus Robertson, the SNP leader at Westminster, said he would be writing to the police and the Lords asking for an investigation into Bhatia's claims. "These reports warrant full investigation by the House of Lords authorities and the police. This seems to be a misuse of parliamentary money to fund private or

family arrangements," he said.

In recent months The Sunday  
Continued on page 2 ▶▶

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## Peer with £1.5 mansion claimed small flat was his main home

►► Continued from page 1  
Times has highlighted the need for an overhaul of the Lords' expenses system. Unlike the Commons no new legislation is being introduced to change Lords' allowances, despite a series of scandals.

The police are already investigating the overnight allowance claims made by Baroness Uddin and Lord Clarke of Hampstead following inquiries by this newspaper. Uddin faces fresh questions about her travel expenses as it emerged that she claimed for 89 round trips to a flat at which her neighbours had never seen her.

Bhatia is a 77-year-old Labour party donor who sits as a cross-bencher. He is a successful businessman who has been prominent in several charities. After being made a peer by Tony Blair in 2001, he went on to lead the Edutrust Academies Charitable Trust which was formed to open and run city academies.

He quit the board of the trust after a government inquiry found evidence of financial and governance mismanagement at the charity.

The Sunday Times began looking into his allowance claims after examining his record in the Lords. Although his attendance record is high, he has taken part in only 15% of votes since becoming a peer and has not spoken in the House for four years. Some peers are known to "clock in" frequently, securing a daily attendance allowance without staying to do any work.

Bhatia lives in a family home in Hampton, southwest London, estimated to be worth £1.5m. It is flanked by long lawns that lead to a second house he used to own, now the home of his daughter. It is 15 miles from Westminster.

In March 2006, Casley Finance, a company owned by Bhatia, began renting a two-

bedroom flat in a modest 1970s apartment block in Reigate, 23 miles from Westminster.

His brother, Sultan, who is company secretary of Casley Finance, moved into the flat at around the same time. Sultan, who works for a charity, had left his family home after a marriage break-up. Casley Finance continued to pay the rent, service charges and utility bills.

In October 2007, Bhatia informed the Lords authorities that he had changed his main address from "London to Surrey". In the next six months he claimed £12,247 in overnight allowances. Although the figures have not yet been published, he was entitled to claim at least as much again before he changed his main address back to London in January this year.

Last week Bhatia said he rented the Reigate flat because his Hampton home was too big and he and his wife wanted to downsize to a smaller property.

He said his allowance claims were justified even though he continued to live in Hampton. He said he spent 40%-50% of his weekends while the Lords was sitting sharing the flat with his brother, although his wife occasionally came with him.

There was little evidence that the flat was where he normally lived. He has always given Hampton as his main address to Companies House and the electoral register.

Bhatia admitted he stayed in Hampton during last year's recess but said he went to Reigate when he "needed to go there". He said he did not need to stay at the flat during recess because these were not periods when he could claim expenses.

"During the parliamentary period when you're sitting... you claim the night allowance. Outside the parliamentary period, during recess... it's entirely up to me to decide to stay in either of the two houses."

On Thursday Sultan told a reporter he "looked after" the flat for his brother who stayed at the property "from time to time". The flat's only next-door neighbour said of Sultan: "He has lived there for about two or three years. He lives alone and rents the place."

Bhatia said he redesignated his main address back to Hampton earlier this year because he became ill and could no longer get to Reigate at weekends. He said he had acted within the rules, as he believed the flat had been his main home.

"I rent it and I intend to move there," he said.

"I'm negotiating with the owner to sell the flat so we could then move there and dispose of this house, because I need to sell this house and move out to a smaller place."

*Insight: Jonathan Calvert, Claire Newell, Solvej Krause  
'Phantom' trips of baroness in expenses inquiry, page 12*

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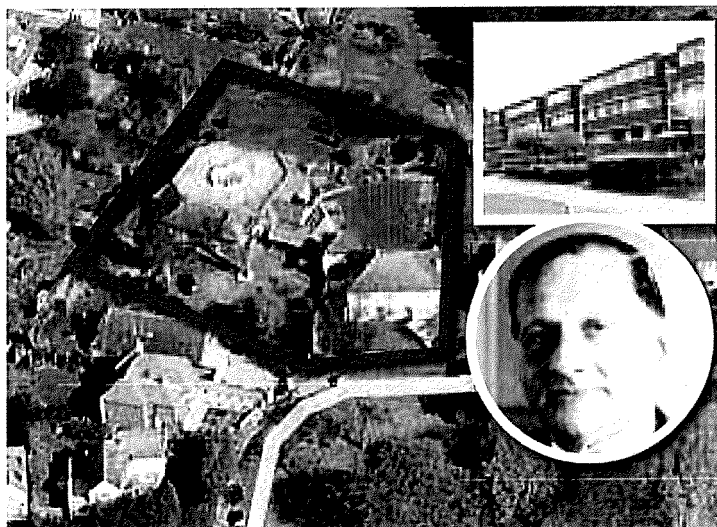


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Lord Bhatia's estate, including his daughter's property, and, inset, the peer's Surrey home

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# Peer claims £70k for home that does not exist

## INSIGHT

A TORY peer received more than £70,000 in parliamentary expenses by making claims that were apparently based on a "non-existent" main home.

Lord Taylor of Warwick claimed he lived with his sick mother in the Midlands until 2007, allowing him to claim overnight expenses while attending the House of Lords.

However, inquiries by The Sunday Times have established that his mother's home was sold in 2001 and she died in the same year.

The findings raise serious questions about the probity of Taylor's expense claims and are likely to prompt an investigation by the House of Lords authorities or the police.

This weekend, Lord Oakeshott, a Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman, said: "This looks like the worst abuse yet of the discredited Lords' expenses system. The Conservatives should make Lord Taylor pay the money back to the taxpayer now."

Over the past three months The Sunday Times has exposed 15 peers whose dubious expense claims have raised serious legal or moral concerns. The work has prompted a police investigation into two of the peers: Baroness Uddin and Lord Clarke of Hampstead.

Earlier this year our revelations that lords were prepared to help influence legislation in return for cash led to two peers

being suspended from the house for the first time since the 17th century.

Taylor, a barrister who became Britain's first black peer in 1996, came to prominence as the Conservative candidate for Cheltenham in the 1992 general election. He lost the safe Tory seat after suffering racist abuse from his own party's supporters.

The 56-year-old has lived in Ealing, west London, since 1995 at a house which was his family home before he divorced in about 2004. His wife and three children now live a mile away. He describes his children as "typical proud Londoners".

Between 2001 and 2007 he claimed "overnight subsistence" totalling £73,000 by stating his main home was outside London. Peers who live outside the capital can collect £174 a night tax-free as reimbursement for the cost of a hotel or maintaining a second home while attending parliament.

In contrast to most other lords, Taylor has never volunteered the location of his main residence on the published expense forms. His relatives and a friend say he lives in Ealing, and he attends Sunday services at an evangelical church in Kensington, west London.

When The Sunday Times went to his Ealing home on Thursday, he refused to answer

the door and sent a cleaner to say he was on an important "international business call". After speaking to Conservative Central Office, he was persuaded to issue a statement by e-mail on Friday morning.

He claimed he had been working as a lawyer in the  
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## Peer faces questions over allowance on dead mother's home

►► Continued from page 1  
Midlands until 2007, although Bar Council records show that he has not practised as a barrister since 1993. In fact, he ran a public relations business until 2005, which was registered to his home in Ealing.

His statement went on: "[My mother] was in poor health for a number of years. In addition to working in the Midlands, I spent as much time with her as I could when not attending the Lords, before travelling back down to London.

"For these reasons, I nominated her home as my main home. It was a Taylor family home. I helped to maintain her and her home financially. My second home was in London. This arrangement came to an end in 2007. I have not claimed the second home allowance since."

Taylor did not provide the address but research established that Enid, his mother,

had lived in a modest townhouse in Walsgrave Drive, Solihull, for at least 18 years.

Taylor's former wife's family had bought the house to support Enid and sold it in May 2001 when she was in a nursing home. She died of heart failure in December that year.

Taylor gave his "usual address" as Ealing when he signed her death certificate even though records show he was claiming to live outside London at the time.

In a newspaper interview that year, he was quoted as saying: "It was difficult to explain that I don't have any power, that I'm just a bloke who lives in west London."

When this newspaper made it clear to Taylor on Friday that he could not have been living with his mother in the period up to 2007 because she was dead and the house had been sold, he responded again by e-mail.

"Thank you for giving me the opportunity to clarify matters," he wrote. "I have other family and many contacts, having grown up there . . . With this in mind, I regarded the Midlands as my home base, even after my mother's death. I kept the House of Lords fully informed of my domestic circumstances."

Taylor said he had lived at "a number" of homes in the Midlands but declined to give addresses for any of them. He said he had been advised by the Lords to avoid making his "domestic circumstances" public because he had previously been a victim of racist abuse.

He is less secretive, however, about his Ealing address which can be found on Companies House records and the electoral register. Taylor did not explain why addresses in the Midlands should still be a security risk when he longer lives there.

In a later e-mail he explained that he had been working as a "legal consultant" in the Midlands and not as a barrister, but did not elaborate further. However, none of the work he declares in the registers of Lords' interests appears to be related to the Midlands during the period he claimed the allowances.

He held two high-profile roles: as vice-president of the British Board of Film Classification in London and chancellor of Bournemouth University. At the same time he ran his Ealing-based public relations company and was chairman of a Surrey recruitment firm.

He also worked part-time as a deputy district judge for a few years but this was in the south-eastern circuit, which does not include the Midlands.

Yesterday a close family member said Taylor had not had a home outside London since he moved to Ealing in 1995. Another relative

described claims he had lived

with his mother after entering the Lords as "fairy stories".

The latest findings will increase the pressure for an overhaul of the Lords' expenses system. Unlike the Commons, no new legislation is being introduced to change peers' allowances, although the Senior Salaries Review Body has been asked to look into a replacement for the current system.

The Lib Dems are campaigning for peers to be paid a single taxable day rate and for all addresses to be made public to prevent further abuses of the overnight allowance system.

A report published by the Hansard Society last week said a new independent body was needed to police the allowance system and enforce a revised code of conduct which would include strict sanctions against members who break the rules.

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JEREMY YOUNG/ANITA MARIC

Lord Taylor lives in Ealing, above, but claimed for his mother's home, inset, sold in 2001

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# I didn't sleep there but it was my home

**Expenses** The millionaire Lord Paul was able to claim £38,000 by saying a tiny hotel flat was his main residence, Insight reports

LANCASTER HOUSE is often the setting for grand international events attended by numerous heads of state. But one March evening in 2005 it was the venue for a lavish wedding reception thrown by Lord Swraj Paul for his son.

Half the Labour cabinet were there and the guest of honour was Gordon Brown. The future prime minister was unusually warm when he addressed the 1,500 guests.

"Swraj," he told them, was "a great friend, a great businessman" and a "great person" to know.

However, another much more modest building was destined to play a significant role in the life of the multi-

millionaire. He was telling the House of Lords authorities that a small one-bedroom flat at the back of a three-star hotel he owned in Oxfordshire was his new "main address".

He did not actually sleep at the flat. In fact, he rarely, if ever, set foot in it because it has always been the residence of the hotel's manager. Paul continued to live in central London where his family have been based for more than 40 years.

Nevertheless, for almost two years he claimed allowances

intended for peers living outside the capital by saying that his hotel manager's flat was his main home.

The House of Lords paid him about £38,000 without questioning whether his claim was valid. This weekend's disclosures by *The Sunday Times* mean that he may now face a police inquiry or, at the very least, a misconduct investigation by the House of Lords.

The police are already investigating three peers — two Labour and one Conservative — following articles in this newspaper. They are: Baroness Uddin, who had claimed that an empty and unfurnished flat in Maidstone, Kent, was her main home; Lord Clarke of Hampstead, who admitted fiddling his expenses; and Lord Taylor of Warwick, who said that his main home was his mother's house which had in fact been sold several years earlier when she died.

Paul is by far the wealthiest peer to have questions raised about his expenses. He is 88th in *The Sunday Times* Rich List with a family fortune of £500m.

The Indian-born industrialist made his money from the steel industry. He came to England in the 1960s and still

avoids tax on his overseas earnings by saying he is a non-domicile in the UK.

He is reported to have given more than £400,000 to the Labour party and funded Brown's private office while he was in opposition. He gave £45,000 to Brown's leadership campaign in 2007 and has continued to give unwavering support to the prime minister.

Paul and his family own more than a dozen flats in the same London block within walking distance of Westminster. Paul's company's holdings in the block are valued at £14m.

In August 2006 Paul bought a £6.1m country mansion in Buckinghamshire. He has made this his main address, claiming about £27,000 a year from the Lords for living outside the capital, while maintaining his London home.

This is within the rules as long as he did actually use the property as his main address, but raises questions about whether taxpayers should be funding peers to live in London when they already have significant property interests

in the capital. However, Paul, who was ennobled in 1996, had also been telling the Lords that

he lived outside London before he bought the Buckinghamshire mansion.

Records of his expenses claims show that he initially said his main address was London. At some time between April 2004 and March 2005, he switched his main address and his home appeared to be in Oxfordshire. When *The Sunday Times* first asked Paul about this, he said that it was a mistake by the Lords as his address had "always" been in Buckinghamshire.

However, he had been claiming that he lived outside London for almost two years before he bought the Buckinghamshire house. So where was his other property?

"That was Oxfordshire," he said, apparently contradicting himself. "I was just living there. Not a house for myself. I just wanted to try out whether I can live in the country."

When pushed further, he said he had been living in a flat at the Bignell Park hotel in Chesterton, near Bicester. The property, which has been owned by Paul's company Caparo Hotels, since 2001, has only one flat.

It seemed unlikely that a multi-millionaire would make his main home a flat within a

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three-star hotel, when it is more than an hour and a half's driving time away from his family, his job and the House of Lords. It appeared even more odd when a reporter contacted Prenusha Chetty, the hotel's manager.

Reporter: Has he [Lord Paul] ever had a flat there?

Manager: No.

Reporter: Does he stay there sometimes — does he maybe have a suite that's for him?

Manager: No.

For further confirmation, we

tracked down Mark Stevens who had been manager of the hotel up to the end of 2006. He is now running his own bed and breakfast in South Africa.

Stevens said he himself had lived in the flat throughout the time that Paul had been claiming it was his main residence. He did not recall Paul ever staying in the hotel.

"He used to come up for board meetings now and again, but no I don't think he ever [stayed]. I don't think he ever had a night at the hotel," he said.

On Friday Paul confirmed that the property he had referred to as his main home was, indeed, the manager's flat: "That was my main address because I was spending time there ..."

Reporter: The thing we don't understand is that that's where the manager lives.

Paul: The manager lives there and I always had the opportunity to tell him to go and sleep in the hotel — if I wanted to sleep. Or I slept in the hotel. But I didn't spend that many nights there.

Then the reporter told Paul that he had spoken to the

manager who was at the hotel at the relevant time.

Reporter: And he says that you never stayed a night there.

Paul: Yeah, I don't say that I stayed the night. I said that it was available to me.

Reporter: Oh, I see. So you didn't actually stay a night in the flat?

Paul: No ... all I knew was that ... if I wanted to sleep there, he could go to the hotel room. He was a bachelor anyway.

Reporter: Yes, but I mean, that didn't actually happen.

Paul: Yeah. It didn't happen.

He went on to argue that his "interpretation" of the rules was that it was permissible to call the flat his main home as long as it was available to him and it did not matter whether he lived there or not. He said he had spent weekends there.

The rules say that the night subsistence allowance is for a peer "whose main residence is outside Greater London and who maintains a residence in London for the purpose of attending sittings of the House".

It is clearly intended for peers who are based at the address outside London and certainly not for those who happen to have a property available which they do not use.

Lord Oakeshott, the Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman, said: "Claiming a property is your main home, when someone else lives there but would move out if you asked them to, is stretching the English language and the Lords expenses rules too far. Lord Paul should not sit in the Lords at all. Lord Paul should not sit in the Lords unless he gives up his non-domicile tax status and pays full British taxes on all his worldwide income and assets."

Insight: Jonathan Calvert,  
Claire Newell

## THE SUNDAY TIMES

### Stop the rot, your lordships

MPs who overclaimed on expenses will tomorrow be told how much they have to pay back, if they have not already done so. The public was rightly outraged by their abuse of the system.

However, abuses just as serious have been going on in the House of Lords, uncovered by Insight reporters from this newspaper. As a result, Baroness Uddin, Lord Clarke of Hampstead and Lord Taylor of Warwick are being investigated by police.

Today's revelations about Lord Paul, a donor both directly to Gordon Brown and to the Labour party, is perhaps the worst example so far. The country's 88th richest man, with a family fortune of

£500m, he chose to wrongly claim £38,000 of overnight expenses by passing off a flat he had never slept in as his main residence.

Lord Paul's defence, that he was entitled to use the flat and therefore entitled to the expenses, shows how far some peers, like MPs, have lost a sense of right and wrong and have not been constrained in their behaviour.

The Lords' authorities have a choice. Either The Sunday Times carries on exposing examples of abuses of expenses, some of which are being investigated by police, or they do something about it. If they don't, the reputation of the Lords, and all who sit in it, will be further tarnished.

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Lord Paul claimed his main residence was the manager's flat at the Bignell Park hotel in Oxfordshire, which he owns

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Lord Paul at a function with Sarah Brown, wife of the prime minister

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# Tory peer caught in house dodge

## INSIGHT

A TORY peer has been caught using someone else's home address to claim tens of thousands of pounds in expenses.

Lord Taylor of Warwick, a 57-year-old former barrister, told the House of Lords that his main home was a terrace house in Oxford which he neither owned nor lived in.

The property's owner, Tristram Wyatt, a university academic, said he was unaware that his address had been used as the peer's main home.

Wyatt's companion is the peer's step-nephew, Robert Taylor, who admitted to The Sunday Times that his uncle has never lived at the house. "He doesn't live here, he hasn't lived here," he said.

The neighbours confirmed that only Wyatt and Robert

Taylor had been resident at the property in recent years.

Taylor has lived in his family home in Ealing, west London, since 1995. By claiming his address was outside the capital he accumulated more than £70,000 in subsistence expenses between 2001 and 2007.

When confronted earlier this year, Taylor claimed he had lived at his mother's home in the West Midlands during

those years. However, this claim was false as his mother died in 2001 and her house was sold that year.

His former wife has also confirmed that he lived in London, and nowhere else, until their separation in 2003.

The disclosures will be looked at by the police team investigating peers and MPs. Taylor declined to comment last week.

Full story, page 6

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# Peer claimed thousands in expenses on nephew's home

A Tory lord faces a police inquiry over allegations that he claimed on a home he never visited, **Insight** reports

THE Conservative peer Lord Taylor of Warwick is facing a fresh police investigation into his expenses after saying that a house belonging to his nephew's companion was his main residence.

Taylor, a 57-year-old former barrister, told the House of Lords that he lived at the couple's home in Oxford so he could claim allowances for peers based outside London.

The property belongs to Tristram Wyatt, a university academic, who lives there with the peer's step-nephew, Robert Taylor. Wyatt told The Sunday

Times he had not known that his address was being named as the peer's main residence and Robert admitted his uncle had never lived at the property.

Taylor has lived in his family home in Ealing, west London, since 1995. But he claimed £70,000 in expenses between 2001 and 2007 by saying his main residence was outside London. His ex-wife has also confirmed that he lived in London, and nowhere else, until their separation in 2003.

The disclosures are likely to prompt a new police investigation into Taylor.

Files alleging expenses fraud against two peers — Baroness Uddin and Lord Clarke of Hampstead — have already been passed by the police to the Crown Prosecution Service. Both cases resulted from Sunday Times investigations.

Taylor, who became the first black Conservative peer in 1996, rose to fame as the Tory candidate for Cheltenham in the 1992 general election. He lost the safe Tory seat after suffering racist abuse from his own party's supporters.

He has consistently refused to give the location of his main

home, claiming his personal security was at risk.

However, the trail to the Oxford house began in July when this newspaper was looking at peers who did not obviously have a home outside London but were claiming expenses nonetheless.

Peers who live outside the capital are allowed to claim up to £174 a night to cover the cost

of living in London while attending the Lords. Taylor had claimed this allowance up to October 2007 but abruptly stopped when a freedom of information (FOI) request was

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sent to the Lords questioning his expenses.

Before this date he had lived in Ealing and run his public relations firm from his home there. He gave this address to Companies House and the electoral register.

In July a reporter went to the house to ask where his "main residence" had been located. Taylor refused to come to the door, relaying a message through his cleaner that he was busy with an important long-distance phone call.

After our questions were put to Conservative Central Office, Taylor finally responded with a statement which said his mother's home in Solihull had been his main address.

"I nominated her home [his mother's home] as my main home. It was a Taylor family home. I helped to maintain her and her home financially. My second home was in London. This arrangement came to an end in 2007," wrote Taylor.

It was pointed out that his mother had died eight years ago and the house had been sold. Taylor then claimed to have lived at addresses in the Midlands. "Thank you for giving me the opportunity to clarify matters," he wrote.

The Sunday Times story was published in early August and prompted an investigation by the Metropolitan police specialist and economic crime unit which is handling inquiries into MPs and peers.

By October Taylor was claiming in private correspondence to have been cleared. "For your information, the police have examined my expenses. The police are satisfied that there has been no impropriety," he told one person who inquired. This prompted a fresh investigation by this newspaper.

We had been sent copies of Taylor's expenses forms obtained by an FOI request. They contained scant information as

most of the key facts, including his mystery home address, had been redacted.

One small fact stood out, however. Taylor had been claiming the mileage for journeys between Westminster and his main home each month. By counting the number of trips and dividing them from the total mileage, it was clear his main residence was exactly 59 miles away.

This put his mystery address on the southern fringes of the Midlands. Interviews with Taylor's own family had revealed that they, too, were mystified about the whereabouts of the home outside London. But they did recall that his stepbrother's son lived in Oxford.

Robert Taylor is a photographer who lives with Wyatt, an Oxford University zoologist and an expert in pheromones.

Their home has been owned solely by Wyatt since 1991 and is precisely 58.9 miles by road from Westminster. Using this

information, we have been able to confirm that this was the address that Taylor had written on his expenses forms.

When a reporter went to the home 10 days ago, Wyatt said he had not known that his address had been used by Lord Taylor as a main home but would not comment further. Robert Taylor spoke to the reporter over the telephone.

*Reporter:* I was looking for your uncle, Lord John Taylor, and it seems that he's given this address as where he lived, as his main home, and I was just a bit confused as I thought he lived in London.

*Robert:* Not as a main address, but he has been connected to this address. I'm not sure what to say really, he doesn't live here, but obviously he's been here.

*Reporter:* So, he's been there to visit you. So you didn't realise he was giving this as his main address?

*Robert:* No, I'm fully aware that we're receiving post and different things, but it's a bit more complicated than that and I'm not really at liberty to say too much.

The reporter asked again whether Lord Taylor lived at the house or just visited.

*Robert:* He doesn't live here, he hasn't lived here, but he does have a connection with this address and that's all that I understand.

*Reporter:* Can I just ask what the connection is? Is the connection you?

*Robert:* Well, he's my uncle. Neighbours around the Oxford house said they had never seen Lord Taylor at the property.

Birte Aliwell, who has lived next door for seven years, said: "Tristram and Robert live there, definitely never this person [referring to a photograph of Lord Taylor]."

It is not known how long Taylor used the Oxford address to claim expenses. House of Lords officials have destroyed all his expenses forms prior to 2006.

Between March 2006 and October 2007 he claimed more than £23,000 based on the Oxford main home. This includes the mileage for 112 trips between Westminster and Oxford, as he claimed to be travelling to the address almost every weekend the House was sitting.

As for his claims in previous years, Kathy Binysh, his former wife, said she does recall Taylor giving his mother's home as his main address.

However, she added: "When we were married he didn't have a home outside of London and didn't spend time away from the family home in west London."

When the couple separated in 2003, Taylor retained the Ealing home. The property was listed as his only asset in divorce papers, which were sent to The Sunday Times by a source outside the family.

Howard Binysh, the peer's

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former brother-in-law, confirmed that Taylor was based in London before the separation. "To my knowledge he never spent a day living outside the property in Ealing," he said.

Last week Taylor declined to respond to our repeated attempts to contact him. He walked past a reporter at his home and drove off in his car without saying a word.

*Insight: Claire Newell  
and Jonathan Calvert*



Lord Taylor, who lives in Ealing, left, claimed his main home was in Oxford, Inset

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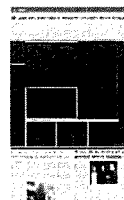
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EDDIE VAN DER WALT



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# Peer in flat scam fined £125,000

Marie Woolf  
Whitehall Editor

BARONESS Uddin and two other Labour peers face suspension from the House of Lords and will have to repay nearly £200,000 after being found guilty of abusing their expenses, an anti-sleaze committee will say this week.

The Lords standards and privileges committee is to recommend the toughest sanctions possible against Baroness Uddin, the first female Muslim peer, Lord Paul, one of Britain's wealthiest men, and Lord Bhatia, a millionaire Labour donor. All three were exposed after investigations by The Sunday Times.

One authoritative source said the findings could open the way for further police inquiries. "They used the same standard of proof as would be expected in a police investigation," the source said.

The committee is expected to recommend that Uddin is suspended for 18 months and repays £125,000 in expenses. She claimed £30,000 a year by saying her main home was an empty flat in Kent while she was living in the family home within four miles of the Lords.

While the committee found Uddin guilty of abusing her expenses, it was divided on what punishment she should receive. Labour peers are said to have defended her, arguing that her "strained" circumstances should be taken into account. They were overruled.

Paul, who is 115th on The

Sunday Times Rich List with a family fortune of £550m, faces a four-month suspension. He had claimed £38,000 by saying his main home was a flat in the back of a hotel that he owned. The flat was permanently occupied by the hotel manager and Paul admitted he had never slept there. The Sunday Times understands that he has already repaid £40,000.

Bhatia, a crossbencher who has his own finance companies, faces an eight-month suspension and a repayment of £27,000. He has lived with his wife in a £1.5m family home in southwest London for 20 years, but in 2007 decided to "flip" the designation of his primary residence to his brother's home, a two-bedroom flat in Reigate, Surrey.

When approached by this newspaper, he could not recall the address of the flat. He said he had been letting it because he wished to move there permanently and had installed his brother as a temporary caretaker. According to sources, the severity of the punishment reflects in part the levels of co-operation and contrition of the peers.

The committee's recommendation represents the first significant sanction against the peers since The Sunday Times began exposing the abuse of the system 18 months ago.

Police investigations into Uddin's and Paul's expenses were dropped after a Lords committee secretly codified the

rules on expenses in January to allow peers to justify calling a property their main home, even if they had visited it just once a month.

Sir Alistair Graham, former head of the Commons standards committee, said police should reopen their inquiry on Uddin. "I think there should be a criminal investigation," he said. "It would seem to me that suspension for 18 months is a serious penalty by the House of Lords' standards but relatively modest, given what took place.

"Uddin's case seemed an extreme abuse of the system. It was really very surprising the CPS [Crown Prosecution Service] did not bring criminal charges."

Lord Taylor of Warwick, a former Tory, is due to appear in court in January over claims that he dishonestly claimed more than £24,300 in parliamentary expenses. He denies six charges of false accounting.

Lord Clarke of Hampstead admitted claiming for staying overnight in London when he drove home. He made a public apology and has repaid £9,190.

Uddin, Paul and Bhatia could not be reached for comment.

*'Untouchable' Uddin targeted by former M15 chief, page 4*



Uddin: guilty of abuse

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