

CEASE FIRE

Newsletter of the Nottingham Student Peace Movement

Issue 2 - Nov 2004

Fallujah Assaulted

Richard Hindes

Fallujah is a name which we have all become very familiar over the last few weeks and months. Located 40 miles to the West of Baghdad it has been a major base for anti-occupation insurgents in Iraq and has been the target of two major US assaults. The first in April was aborted, but not before some 800 Iraqis had been killed, Iraqi Body Count (www.iraqbodycount.net) calculated that between 572 and 616 of these were civilians, 300 of them being women or children. The second continues at the time of writing.

The city has become infamous for anti-US violence, particularly in light of the lynching of four Americans on 31 March 2004. Much of the reporting at the time described the victims simply as "contractors", but it emerged that all were employees of Blackwater Security Consulting and "were among the most elite commandos working in Iraq to guard employees of U.S. corporations and were hired by the U.S. government to protect bureaucrats, soldiers and intelligence officers" (Washington Post, 2/4/04). Not that this justifies the atrocity, but it does serve to put it into perspective.

In fact the city was relatively peaceful during and immediately after the US/UK invasion. This state of affairs continued until April 28, 2003 when a demonstration by schoolchildren and parents against the occupation of their primary school was fired upon by US soliders, killing 18 and injuring about 60 others. While the soldiers insist (as well they might) that they responded after coming under attack from the crowd, the ramifications of what Iraqi exile Sami Ramadani calls the "April 28 massacre" (Guardian, 01/11/04) continue to be felt today.

In the aftermath of April 28, Fallujah quickly came to be seen as an emblem of resistance to the occupation. This, coupled with the 31 March lynching, led to the first US assault on the city. This only got as far as the outskirts, but still claimed the lives of hundreds of Iraqis. The city's general hospital is located across the Euphrates from the rest of the city and early on in the assault, US forces closed the bridge, preventing most of the population from reaching it. Several people on the ground, among them anti-war activist Rahul Mahajan, reported that snipers were firing on ambulances and photos of ambulances with bullet holes in the windows (see: www.empirenotes.org/fallujah.html) would seem to support this.

The termination of the assault marked something of a defeat for the US and saw it hand control over to the "Fallujah Brigades" made up of former Iraqi Army officers and insurgents. With the continuing insurgency and the desire for elections, in the hope they will provide the imprimatur of something at least resembling democracy to US policy (if only for domestic consumption in the States), there was little chance of this situation continuing for long. It was clear that a major US assault was inevitable, but that they needed to wait long enough to get the US Presidential Elections out of the way, for fear that a major increase in the US body count would imperil Bush's hopes for re-election.

In the intervening period the US continued to bomb the city, ostensibly targeting "safe houses" run by the Tawhid wal Jihad (Monotheism and Holy War) group apparently led by Jordanian extremist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. This despite the insistence of many within the city that Zarqawi is not there and that if he were, they would kill him. Whatever the truth, the bombing can have done little to endear the city's population to the supposed benevolence of the United States (*Cont. on page 2*)

Elsewhere...

Actions in response to Fallujah attack

On Monday 8th, the day the assault started, there were protests in over 30 towns and cities around the UK, including a demonstration called by Nottingham Stop the War in the Market Square.

In London hundreds demonstrated outside Downing Street while others blocked roads and painted anti-war graffiti. Activists scaled the gates of Downing Street, and Milan Rai was arrested after splattering the foreign office with fake blood. On Sunday 7th, there was a protest at Parliament Square, following which campaigners layed flowers at the Cenotaph, before locking on and blocking Whitehall.

An activist broke into the US bomb store at Welford and chalked anti-war slogans onto the bombs on Thurs 4th.

Tribunals at Guantanamo are illegal

On Mon 8th Nov, US District Judge James Robertson ruled that military tribunals at Guantanamo Bay should not continue in their present form and that many of the 550 prisoners at the camp were probably prisoners-of-war, eligible for rights under the Geneva Conventions. The Bush administration has repeatedly refused to grant the prisoners such rights.

Hoon-ded

Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon was in Nottingham on Fri 12th Nov, to 'answer our questions'. NSPM couldn't pass up on the opportunity to let him know how we felt with placards and flyers suggesting questions that somehow Mr Hoon never got round to answering. He performed pretty terribly on issues such as democracy in Iraq and missile defence. One unnamed source commented "He's a bit of a twat, really".

Fallujah Assaulted, cont...

and its allies. This bombing was increased in the run-up to the ground assault and included the razing of the Nazzal Emergency Hospital in the centre of the city (BBC News, 6/11/04).

Before the assault began, the city was surrounded and any "military-aged males" seeking to leave were arrested. The exact definition of "military-aged males" is unclear, but it seems to stretch from 15-60, perhaps wider. Of course, preventing non-combatants from leaving an area under attack is a violation of the laws of war, but the detention of almost the entire male population raises difficult questions for the occupying forces. As Zeynep Toufe notes, if your "enemies" and the civilian population seem to be undistinguishable, you're in the wrong country. It means the whole country is united against you and your occupation" (Under The Same Sun, 9/11/04).

The opening gambit of the assault saw US forces, with some Iraqi support, capture the city's general hospital. The New York Times quoted a "senior American officer" who described the hospital as "a center of propaganda". The report explains that during the assault in April "unconfirmed reports of large civilian casualties" had fuelled popular uprisings across Iraq which had forced them to withdraw. "The hospital was selected as an early target because the American military believed that it was the source of rumours about heavy casualties" (New York Times, 8/11/04). Rahul Mahajan offered a rough translation of what this meant, "The hospital was shut down because doctors told people how many innocents were killed by the American assault, thus making it a military target. Any pretence of civilization is now gone" (Empire Notes, 8/11/04).

There has been little doubt since before the assault began who would emerge victorious. The asymmetry between the US and its allies and the Iraqi resistance is striking. Nevertheless, claims that the attack will weaken the insurgency are essentially nonsensical. The city of Samarra, was "retaken" by US forces in September, much as Fallujah will be, albeit with less resistance and a fraction of the international attention. This has not seen an end to attacks in the city and a wave of suicide bombings over the weekend claimed the lives of 34 people (Independent, 10/11/04).

At the time of writing, the death toll from the assault on the city remains unknown. Claims by Donald Rumsfeld that "he did not foresee large numbers of civilian casualties during the assault" (ABC News Online, 9/11/04) stand as proof of either his duplicity or disconnection from reality, depending on your opinion, but tell us nothing about the likely human consequences of the attack. The reality is that hundreds – perhaps thousands – of people will lose their lives. That those in power consider these deaths unimportant tells us much about their supposed humanitarianism. More troubling is what the largely non-existent response to the assault among the general population tells us, about the rest of us.

Even Fascists Have a Right to Speak

Dominic Wong

It was the opinion of many at the European Social Forum (ESF) that Fascists do not have a right to speak, or a right to be Fascist. At least two panelists at a 'debate' expressed that view and most of the audience agreed by applause. I ask what these people think free speech is. It is a double standard to support free speech for the people with the opinion of the majority but censorship for a dissenting group; or freedom for us, but not them.

The point of free speech, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, or any type of freedom is that it does not impose any restriction, it does not specify who can attain it or when, for how long, at what cost etc. If free speech were only to be available to the dominant group of people it would not be free speech, it would be an imposition on free speech; a tyranny of the majority. If any freedom were to have conditions, it wouldn't be a freedom because there would be costs involved. Any such attack on one group's freedom diminishes the freedom of all others because it weakens the concept of freedom. If it can be so easy to take away one person's freedom what is to stop it from happening to me? What assurance do we have that we are still free, and will still be free tomorrow?

Protecting the right for others to speak freely protects our own right to do so. Many people at the ESF should be aware that they hold beliefs that are not the majority. Though mainstream society

rejects Fascism right now does not mean that they agree with anything else that people at the conference believe. I presume that many people participating in the ESF have been silenced on numerous occasions or face hostility and repression towards their own beliefs and belief systems. So it is ironic that they would support a type of control that may be used as an instrument to their own oppression. More ironically Fascists historically opposed free speech and dissent, and used censorship as a form of political and social control.

I am not suggesting that free speech means providing a platform for fascists to speak, though you may want to organize some type of debate. Free speech means acknowledging that others have the same right to hold and express opinions as you do, no matter how acceptable or right or wrong you believe their opinion to be.

Fascists must be publicly challenged. Fascists must be confronted and shown to hold beliefs that are neither praiseworthy nor intelligent. But this must be done publicly so that the wider society can benefit from this exchange of ideas. I don't see what progressives are worried about, do they really think that they will be outwitted by a fascist, that a fascist is going to provide more convincing arguments and persuade other progressives or intelligent people to join them. The only people fascists will convince are people already of a similar mindset or ignorant people with no exposure to the other side. This is precisely why it is dangerous to publicly ignore fascists. If you censor fascists they will be forced to operate underground, through channels unbeknownst and inaccessible to progressives or mainstream society. It is through these channels that fascists have the ability to recruit people who don't have the benefit of hearing challenges from non-fascists.

The best way to defeat fascism is to do it openly; to expose its idiocy and make it undesirable to the public.

Having a free exchange of ideas amongst fascists and non-fascists also helps non-fascists to consolidate their beliefs by comparing and testing them. Society benefits from these exchanges, and it would be disastrous if the tables turned and the repression of free speech was to be directed at the progressives in society. As I cannot confidently say that

we hold ultimate truths and can show that the beliefs we hold are necessarily the right beliefs, and that the opposite is true of other beliefs we must err on the side of liberty.

CEASEFIRE NEEDS YOU!

Do you want to write regular (or one-off) articles on peace and social justice issues? Do you have editing or layout skills? Can you draw cartoons or write poetry? We're always looking for people for our team! Please contact sunspm@gwmail.nottingham.ac.uk

thepeacepipe.blogspot.com

2004

The Peace Pipe

Monday, November 08,

What shall we do about Fallujah?

As Richard has recently written on this blog, the assault against the city of Fallujah has begun. The Nottingham Stop the War coalition has opted for its usual strategy on such occasions, that is, to call for a demonstration in Market Square. This is to coincide with other actions up and down the country (or so we are to believe, Indymedia had only three such actions listed when I checked this morning). Whilst there is no doubt in my mind that the assault of Fallujah will be bloody, and doubtless come at the cost of many, many civilian lives, I think there is growing dissent in the anti-war movement about the types of tactics we use, and their usefulness.

Within the movement itself there has been, for some time, a division between those calling for more and more national demonstrations in London (despite the dwindling numbers), and those wanting to opt for direct action approaches, such as Mil Rai's little adventure, blogged about by Richard at the weekend. The demonstration option was enshrined from the moment that 1-2 million people took to the streets of London in protest against the invasion of Iraq on 15th Feb 2003, but many seem to ignore the fact that recent demonstrations have achieved nothing like such numbers (even with the aid of Europeans coming to London for the ESF). The popular support for such actions is no longer there. Even those turning up complain of knowing exactly who is going to speak and what they're going to say before they get there. The media give such demonstrations scant coverage and politicians find it easy to ignore them. They have become impotent and drain our resources.

The direct action alternatives proposed by such organisations as Justice Not Vengeance, and Trident Ploughshares, are to train small groups of committed activists to non-violently obstruct the physical structures associated with the military and government, in an attempt to make it more and more costly to ignore their protests, effectively forcing the end of military actions. This type of action has the advantage of requiring significantly fewer people to undertake, it doesn't need to be publicised (although this can give it a dual role), and actually forces some kind of response on the side of those targeted. But there are serious issues raised with this kind of action. In speaking to fellow activists about such approaches in recent days, about the Mil Rai incident and others, I hear a lot of voices of caution. People are wary about any actions that could potentially alienate the public and allow activists to be easily cast as the villains. People are wary about being arrested and facing the possibility of prison sentences and fines for actions that they perceive as having a minimal effect on

the system they are attempting to change. People are wary about the motives of those who carry out such actions, that they are too willing to cast themselves as heroes in some kind of epic struggle. I think that many of these are valid and need to be addressed.

In my experience, an act of extreme violence and oppression, like the US-British assault on Fallujah, inspire in us who have thought about the consequences of such acts, a deep urge to end them. We look to the people in the anti-war movement for solidarity and inevitably end up protesting using the methods that they are used to using. In the case of the Stop the War coalition this usually means having a demo. The general public are very used to such actions now, and have generally decided whether they agree and are sympathetic or not. In either case a further demonstration is likely to have little effect on how they act. Indeed, the way these demos are organised and carried out, in true paper-selling style, may alienate not just the public but many people who would otherwise be willing to stand with us. If we are frustrated with the lack of StW's progress, and are willing to be more 'radical', we may attempt some form of direct action. This may provoke more of a response from the authorities but it is likely to be more repressive as well. I do not suggest that this in itself is any reason not to engage in such action, however, if we are asking people to put themselves at risk of punitive measures by the police we should be able to show that their actions have meaning and are having an effect. I don't really see this as being the case at present.

The decision that I have arrived at about the forms of protest that I have described above are that they are effective only where there is mass public support for them, or where they strike at the heart of the oppressive machinery that we are trying to stop. In all other times our role in the peace movement has to be in mobilising that support. In providing the information that is needed to change the public perception of world events. To attempt to persuade people to think about world issues in a different light. To keep promoting that alternative perception. To expose the deep flaws in the current mass media. Not only these, but also to attempt to build peace, through supporting our local communities and building strong co-operative partnerships among groups. If we seek to end tyranny on a global level we have to show that peaceful alternatives exist at a local level. And of course, we have to end tyranny within ourselves first. But that's another blog, for another time...

posted by DanR at 2:30 PM

To find out how to post on the Peace Movement's blog, email: sunspm@gwmail.nottingham.ac.uk

Who's to blame?

Tom Gillespie

Riding the bus home to Lenton after Milan Rai's engaging talk in the Portland building [Peace Forum, Oct], one particular statement of his began to swim around in my head: 'We are responsible, partly, for those attacks on September 11th'. This idea set my mind off, and I began to think about responsibility, and, specifically, where the blame lies when an individual makes the decision to use violence against another human being. Milan's idea of displaced blame reminded me of the journalist Robert Fisk who was attacked and beaten up by an angry mob in Afghanistan simply for being a white Westerner. Despite the fact he had not provoked the attack personally, Fisk said he did not blame his attackers, as they had been irresistibly driven to violence by America's unjust foreign policies. Applied generally to Islamic terrorism, this idea of blameless violence is very tempting to us sandal-wearing peaceniks. However, we must resist temptation. While the 9/11 hijackers could no doubt have listed dozens of legitimate grievances that drove them to mass-murder, they, like every other sentient human being, must inevitably take responsibility for their own actions. Responsibility for one's own actions is a universal principle that we can't suspend, at least if we wish to talk seriously about the ethics of violence. The BNP thug, for example, cannot be absolved of guilt after vandalising a Mosque under the pretence that he was provoked by Islamic terrorism.

However, there is such a thing as *shared responsibility*, and this is where, I believe, the West comes in. Healthy, intelligent young men do not strap bombs to themselves and walk towards Israeli military checkpoints for no reason. While the suicide bomber must be held responsible for his furious and desperate action, we in the West share his responsibility, simply by creating this fury and desperation in the first place. Vicious fundamentalists like Bin-Laden would not be able to attract followers without the constant supply of anger and disillusionment that flows, like so much blood, from Blair and Bush's foreign policies.

Consider how this man feels when he thinks of the plight of his fellow Muslims. Western governments have (in no

particular order) denied his people a nation in Palestine, discarded their basic human rights in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, and invaded and occupied two Arab nations without provocation or legal justification. We have forced death and poverty on them year after year, through bombs, bullets, sanctions, depleted uranium poisoning, and the propping up of corrupt, oppressive dictatorships. Across the Muslim world, men and women watch in silent fury as their ancient and noble culture is denigrated and trivialised by the homogenising steamroller of globalisation and westernisation. It is only inevitable that, fuelled by poverty, death and humiliation, this silent rage will manifest itself as stone-throwing, suicide bombings, and hijacked aeroplanes.

Therefore, we, as Westerners, must share the burden of responsibility with every terrorist who takes the decision to take a life. How can we absolve ourselves of this terrible guilt? It's simple: hit the streets and protest against our governments' divisive overseas policies. At the very least we distance ourselves as individuals from this source of violence and terror. But who knows, if we keep up the pressure, our politicians might just reconsider their actions and adopt policies that fuel cooperation and understanding instead of hate. Then again that would require a Prime Minister that actually paid attention to what the public thought. If only.

Direct local democracy

Andy Burrell

Today the word 'democracy' has almost become synonymous with the form of it that we see in westernised countries, namely, the representative form of democracy within the framework of a nation state. It is fairly apparent that large problems exist within this system of governance and organising of society but perhaps the most worrying thing we see is just the sheer powerlessness of the population in relation to organising their lives on any level other than purely the individual. Representative democracies seem to be creating exactly the non-existent society comprised solely of individuals that Thatcher spoke about. This is quite clearly not a desirable state of affairs,

as any brief introspection will show you that your happiness, prosperity and general well-being is intimately tied in with those around you, and hence the state and health of society and local community is of paramount importance.

These deep-seated problems in the system we find ourselves in seem to make us very apprehensive when our governments try to 'export' this system to countries around the world. I have heard many a comment in the vein of 'I'm not too sure about democracy any more' or in justifying brutally corrupt regimes as 'Just the way they do it, who are we to say?'. Well if the prior statement is really just short for 'I'm not too sure about *representative* democracy any more' then I would be quite happy to agree with that, however if, as it seems with the second statement, democracy itself is being questioned, I would be most worried. For what exactly is it that someone would like to replace democracy with? I do not mean democracy in the form we have it today, but in its basic sense of using majority agreement to reach communal decisions. For communal decisions are necessarily going to be a part of any society, they must be reached and the only other two options in order to do this that I can see are consensus & dictation by an elite. But as consensus is both impractical and likely to suppress dissent, and dictation from an elite has obvious problems, it seems an as-direct-as-possible form of democracy is what we are left with, if only by process of elimination. By direct democracy I mean democracy whereby each person has a say in communal decisions not just a say in who they elect in order to make communal decisions for them. Hopefully, regardless of your political beliefs, you would value a substantial amount of direct democracy, and hence a certain level of self-determination for people in both an individual and communal sense.

Capitalism has been critiqued over and over again and been portrayed as both the bringer of civilization and prosperity, on the one hand, and the root of moral decay and social oppression on the other. I think one point about capitalism that is fairly intuitive is that it does dissolve the

social into the economic. The gradual co-modification of things like culture and education are an obvious example of this. But is the social reducible to the economic? We certainly don't seem to think like that, and it is most definitely not the case that the most prosperous society economically is by default the best society.

The main criticism that is levelled against democracy itself is that the view of any minority is suppressed, as it is only the majority that has any say. This can sometimes be crudely referred to as mob rule. Undoubtedly this is a problem as minorities may not have their best interests served, and equally the majority view may just be a wrong or dangerous view to have. This is a problem, but one that seems essentially irresolvable and hence in the absence of any alternatives will just have to be a problem that exists and if acknowledged can be minimised in its impact. I would like to point out here that with this problem; that the smaller the population being governed by a single system, the less likely it is that there will be many people with a limited political voice and whose lives will be subject to the will of the majority. It must be said in the same breath that interconnectedness and interdependency between democratic systems is important, as isolationism and competition creates problems like the division between the global north and global south that we find today.

As far as minimising the problem of mob rule is concerned? This it seems can most effectively be controlled by having free and unrestricted dissent. A platform whereby individuals and minorities can voice objections and dissent is of paramount importance in any democratic system. Dissent has won many victories in the past and will continue to do so, as it can bring to the attention of people many issues that are often ignored. So essentially collective decisions should preferably be made by the people in a democratic way, and dissent should be actively encouraged, so as to get as informed and representative a decision as possible.

Many of us here are active in voicing our dissent at the current status quo. Things like marches, boycotts etc. are all forms of dissent. These are very

important actions and we have seen extensive pressure put on systems to reform, and changes brought about by campaigns and direct action. However, there seem to be certain limiting factors to these types of political action.

First off, in relation to boycotts and ethical consumption, as I mentioned earlier capitalism tends to reduce the social to the economic. Boycotts remain in this economic realm which is both its main strength and its weakness. They seize upon the power we have as consumers and thus it is one of the only forms of dissent that capitalism – being market driven - cannot ignore. However, one's political-economic power in boycotts and ethical consumption is directly proportionate to how wealthy one is, a situation that is definitely not desirable if we value equality.. This is not true in the case of basic consumer goods as we all need to buy those, rich or poor. However, this does mean that anything that is not a basic consumer goods is not boycott-able, and equally there are many things people are just not practically able to boycott. It is also not really gaining social political power but rather limiting the damage done by market forces and helping those being exploited by globalisation. I do want to stress that ethical consumption is VERY important, but remains limited and can often be counteracted by companies that promote a pseudo 'green' image.

Large-scale demonstration and lobbying is another kind of dissent we often take part in. This, again, is very important but limited in its effectiveness. Essentially this remains a reactionary activity- most often caused by a public outcry against a specific action or policy by the government. This is obviously very important when assessing how our government's actions are impacting on people across the globe and an important way to express our internationalism. But, being reactionary, these forms of dissent are generally protests against rather than for. It is not a regaining of political power for people, but rather a keeping-in-check system for those already in power (and a rather ineffective one at that).

(Concluded next issue)

Nottingham

Crocus cafe

You must have heard about the recently opened Crocus Café in Lenton by now. In a nutshell, the cafe is a fair trade, non profit, community driven project. Check out the website:

<http://www.thecrocus.co.uk/>

The café offers a fantastic space, that they would like to invite student societies and groups to hold events at. The cafe has all the necessary facilities to quench your thirst and fill your belly; it also can hold small concerts, forums, discussions, poetry readings, film showings etc.

Interested? Contact Edd Townsend:
events@thecrocus.co.uk.

Green Lenton

Got a garden that you never use? Want to get some fresh organic veg for reasonable prices? Why not let the Lenton Gardeners come and grow some veg in the unused space? They'll sell you the vegetables that they've grown for a reasonable price once they're done, and you can rest safe in the knowledge that they're pesticide-free. Contact Hywel : greenlenton@yahoo.co.uk

Nottingham Community Review

Nottingham Alternative News aims to provide local, grass-roots news items produced by the community for the community. They aim to balance out the biased, often fundamentally reactionary and racist opinions perpetuated by mainstream news sources.

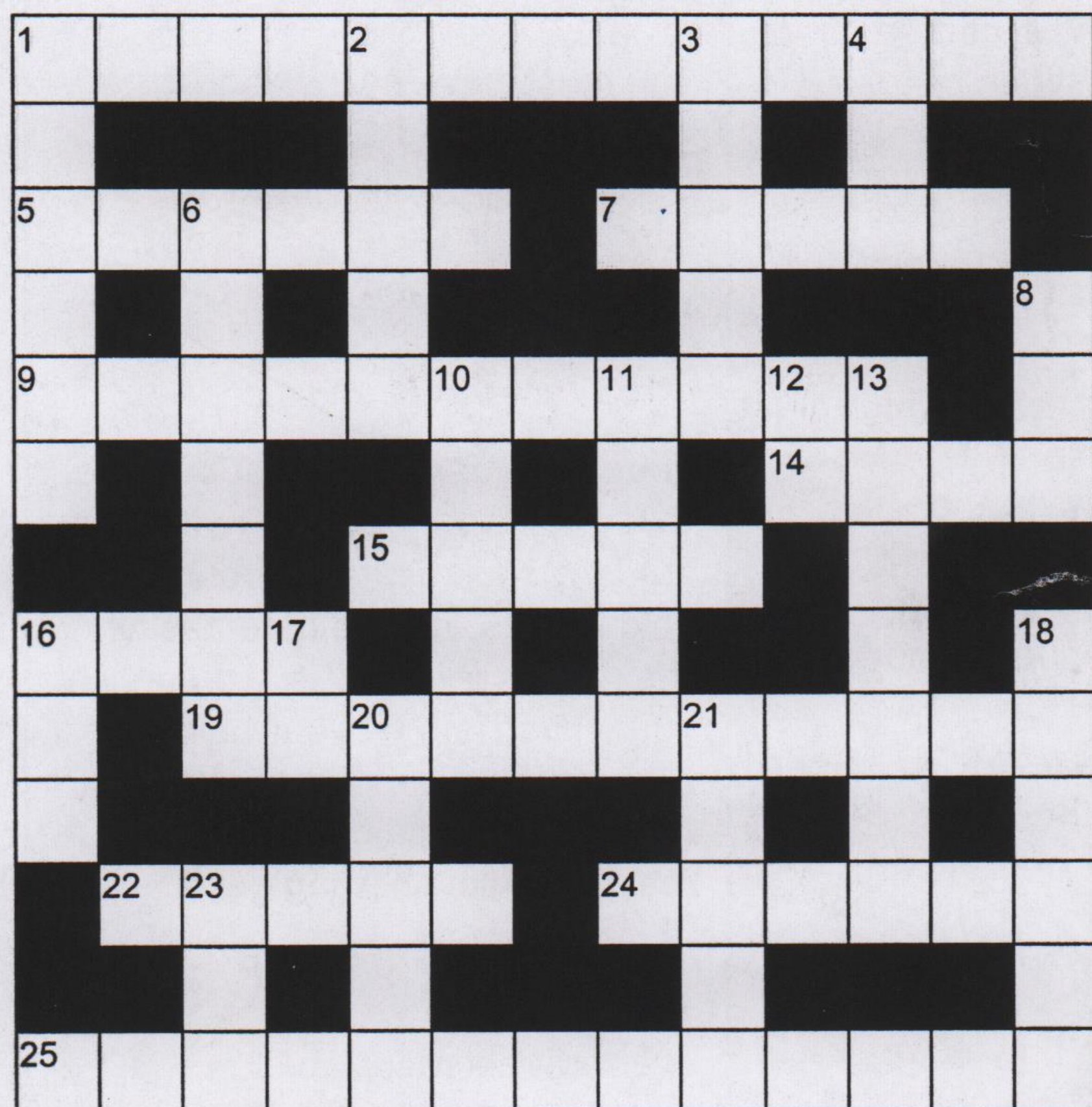
The November 2004 issue is now online and available for your perusal at:

<http://www.veggies.org.uk/AlternativeNews/>

Contributors and readers are much needed!

Peaceword!

by Tim Reid



Across

1. Joined countries (6,7)
5. Back to the deep in ship that goes too fast (6)
7. Not quite ugly – be around a military trumpet (5)
9. Natural surroundings are mixed, never on mint (11)
14. What he meant held the others (4)
15. Those muddled moral principles (5)
16. Our premier to the Big Apple (4)
19. Whose bugger in the Whitehouse? (6,1,4)
22. Strange waste of perspiration (5)
24. We rank among the best descriptions for 19 across (6)
25. Hiss as mad nude dances for deposed dictator (6,7)

Down

1. Crazy lust for the queen in Northern Ireland (6)
2. Leader without a senior (5)
3. It's true – about one hundred made the agreement (5)
4. Initially, only I learned the real reason for Iraq war (3)
6. Jealous, competing after directions (7)
8. US security chief Ridge in lobotomy scandal! (3)
10. River-dwelling mammal is more over the top? (5)
11. Back in the room to see Michael, Roger and Patrick (5)
12. Type of Windows in newest surroundings (1,1)
13. "Get ___ Out", 1994 song by Extreme (3,4)
16. Heath would return as a detective (3)
17. The old (2)
18. Israeli Bird of a Feather? (6)
20. Mo returns with 80s group to D-Day landing beach (5)
21. Gets off breast, constructed as new (5)
23. 16 and 19 across told us 25 across had lots (1,1,1)

From the Beatles to Bigley

By Tony Hillier

Bigley came from Beatles' city
whose heart reached out with all the
love that was needed
worldwide compassion was media spread
it has to be said, all those of an
apathetic nature
'Look away now'

hope for peace raised its graceful head
much thought, much said
more than Velcro-bound body armour is
needed
more than street vigils worldwide
more than hiatus ceasefires

listen, please listen
the Bigley's have the right to demand
participative peace
wisdom must blossom, as the refrain we
scream loud
'all we are saying is give peace a chance'
we are all saying give peace a chance

Many thanks to Swindon poet and community
activist, Tony Hillier, for the donation of his
work to Ceasefire.

Coming Soon...

*Sat 20th Nov – Demo @
BluePrint (9pm-3am)*

Promotional night for NSPM's
socially conscious club night.

*Fri 26th Nov – Race, Justice &
Peace Forum*

What's race got to do with it?
Panel discussion, featuring Alan
Simpson MP, Dr. Azzam
Tamimi and Abdullah Uthman.



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