

CAAT news

Dirty tricks

BAE's Rent-A-Spies target CAAT



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**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE**

Contents

The CAAT office will be closed from 1.00pm on Friday 19th December 2003 until 10.00am on Monday 5th January 2004. We wish all our supporters all the best for the festive season.



CAATnews
Issue 181

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CAAT was set up in 1974 and is a broad coalition of groups and individuals working for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries.

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Nancy Orrell with Foreign Office Minister Denis MacShane MP. Photo: Gus Campbell



CAAT at the Labour Conference. See page 10

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BAE Systems in CAAT spy allegations

A *Sunday Times* reporting team have made front-page allegations against UK arms giant BAE Systems for spying on key CAAT campaigns and activists.

Journalists were shown computer files, diaries, evidence that activists had been followed and that core parts of the campaign had been infiltrated by a network of private security agents posing as activists headed by one Evelyn Le Chene, a former Tory party activist from Gravesend, Kent.

The arms company originally approached Le Chene in the mid 1990s as she was an expert in “human intelligence”, claimed the newspaper. She told BAE that her ersatz activists had infiltrated a vast range of high-profile pressure groups including CAAT and the anti-poverty campaign, the World Development Movement.

Through her company R&CA

Aerospace) mooted £500m Hawk Jet sale to Indonesia’s notorious armed forces, illegally occupying East Timor (now Timor Leste) for 24 years and responsible for as many as 200,000 deaths.

A CAAT offshoot group, Hull Against Hawks (HAH), found itself particularly targeted. HAH was the non-violent direct action group most local to where the Hawks were being manufactured, at Brough in East Yorkshire. HAH’s de facto secretary is alleged to have been an operative of Le Chene. Documents show that Le Chene’s firm was invoicing BAE £280 flat rent every month to pay for the agent’s flat. According to the *Sunday Times* whistleblower, this person was deliberately manhandled by security staff at the 1997 British Aerospace AGM to boost his credibility within the campaign.

Another agent was able to download the entire contents of a computer at

passed onto BAE’s in-house government relations teams, supposedly giving them an advantage in the battle for the heart and minds of those in the corridors of power.

‘Completely outrageous’

Lord Clark slammed the operation as “absolutely reprehensible” and said that pressure groups “are a critical part of the democratic process”. “The fact that big corporations pay companies like this to obtain information of this nature is completely outrageous,” he added.

BAE’s spokesman ostensibly failed to deny its part in an operation that reportedly paid Le Chene’s firm around £120,000 a year for its espionage.

“The company cannot comment on anything that may relate to the physical security of our plant sites in the UK. The security of our people and places is



How the *Sunday Times* first reported the story on 28 September 2003

Publications, based in Rochester, Kent, Le Chene’s operatives gathered a database of more than 148,000 names and addresses of environmentalists, peace activists and trade unionists. Large corporations including BAE were able to buy the names, often tagged to a menu of biographical information, for as little as £2.25 each.

Surveillance

The surveillance work against CAAT began in the mid-1990s and lasted for the next four years at the very least, claimed the *Sunday Times*. Information was gathered by R&CA, encrypted and then faxed to BAE’s offices at Farnborough airfield where they were digested by BAE’s security chief Mike McGinty, and chief executive, Sir Richard Evans, now the company’s executive chairman.

At the time CAAT was escalating a campaign to stop BAE’s (then British

CAAT’s office in Finsbury Park, London. Membership lists, personal work folders, diary commitments and contacts were copied onto discs. BAE’s telephone switchboard was programmed to identify incoming calls from suspected CAAT activists, sympathisers and any suspicious addresses. The *Sunday Times* also reported that “CAAT members were often followed”.

CAAT’s contacts with celebrities were probed and BAE reportedly asked Le Chene to focus work on gathering information on CAAT’s parliamentary lobbying. Private communications from leading MPs such as then shadow defence secretary David Clark (now Lord Clark of Windermere), former Home Secretary Jack Straw and Ann Clywd, now the government’s Human Rights ambassador to Iraq, were all copied and wound up in the laps of BAE chiefs.

The communications would then be

paramount,” said a carefully worded statement. It ended: “We would never encourage anyone to do anything illegal.”

CAAT, a steadfastly nonviolent campaign, exercises an open-door policy to all supporters, volunteers and anyone taking an interest in learning more about the arms trade, is bewildered by the need for this kind of intrusion. It is currently considering its response to the *Sunday Times* front-page investigation. ■

Links

The *Sunday Times* articles can be found at www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-833883,00.html and at www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-833505,00.html

CAAT’s statement on the allegations can be found at www.caat.org.uk/spying.php



BAE admits interest in exports to Iran

BAE is looking to break into exporting military equipment to Iran, one of its leading executives has admitted to journalists. In a move that would create tension between London and Washington, BAE is lobbying key figures in Westminster to be allowed to work on projects and sell engines to what it describes as the Iranian civilian aerospace sector. Rolf Rue, BAE's managing director for new strategic markets, said that he envisaged such a relationship would lead to rekindling UK military supplies to the country that broadly stopped with the Shah's overthrow in 1979. Although the UK operates an arms embargo against Iran, almost £30m of dual-use equipment that could have either a civilian or military application has been licensed by HMG in the past two years for locations in Iran. This has included "military components for civil aero engines" and beryllium, a light metal that could be used in nuclear arms programmes.

(*Middle East Newline, 18/11/03*)

NYC child gang acquire shoulder-held missiles

Anti-Social Behaviour Orders have so far not spread to the US, but if they ever did, surely the first candidates for 'Blunkett's badge' would be a group of children from Brooklyn's 62nd precinct. In an eerie parallel to life on the streets of remote Eastern cities such as Kandahar, a passer-by spotted the youngsters playing around with a shoulder-held rocket launcher, seized it and handed it in to the NYPD Bomb Squad. Police officers say that a US soldier brought the surface-to-air missile system back from Iraq and passed it to a friend because it had been used and was inoperable. The system was later discarded into the rubbish and retrieved by the children. (*Ananova, 11/11/03*)

Syria buys old Soviet missiles

Syria has bought three batches of advanced shoulder-held surface-to-air missile systems from Belarus, the *Middle East News Line* has reported. The fee-paying website that provides high-level military information for officials and spooks, said that the old Soviet state had secured a deal worth \$100m for three deliveries of SA-18 rockets – the first tranche delivered back in March as the US-led coalition embarked on war in Iraq. The last two shipments then arrived

through the summer months. The news will escalate security fears in the region that such weapons could leak into the wrong hands. Syria was well documented before the 2003 Gulf War as being either a willing or unwitting arms supplier to Saddam's Ba'ath government – along a railway line from Syria to Mosul. US coalition spokesmen have also said they are concerned by links between Syria and rebel forces in Iraq, but little evidence supports these claims. Nevertheless, as troops arrive in the region – many transported by leased commercial passenger-jets thought to be without effective missile counter-measures – the sale is bound to trouble coalition participants. (*Middle East Newline, 11/11/03*)

Cluster bombs hit UK

Israel Military Industries (IMI) sold £20m worth of cluster artillery shells to BAE Systems, UK, in early 2003, journalists in Israel have confirmed. The deal was for 26,000 155mm L20 cluster shells, each containing 50 exploding bomblets. IMI claim that its cluster bombs are fail-safe as they are fitted with self-destructive devices that neutralise the shell if it has not impacted after fourteen seconds. This, they say, is their unique selling point, in comparison to permanently live US-made cluster munitions. The UK Defence Secretary, Geoff Hoon, has admitted on the record that UK armed forces did use

cluster munitions in the latest war in Iraq. Journalists for *Globe* in Israel also noted wryly that the UK's part unofficial arms embargo against their country didn't stretch to London refusing to buy arms from their country – shortly before the UK headed for military action in Iraq. Late last year saw the suspension of UK export licenses previously granted to a Surrey-based company for ejector seats fitted into Israel's F-16 fleet used on raids inside Palestinian-controlled territory. (*www.globes.co.il, 12/11/03*)

Octogenarian of mass destruction found in Holland

The world's most famous living arms inventor, Mikhail Kalashnikov (pictured), is hardly resting upon the laurels of a lifetime of macabre achievement. Only allowed to travel beyond his nation's



borders since 1991, he has since visited over forty countries and recently turned up at an arms exhibition in Holland. Promoting his fourth book, he told the TASS news agency that he was still unsatisfied with the quality of his brand: "I have grand plans. There is no limit to perfection. I feel I am still to do a great deal to improve the combat skills of a weapon I have devoted my whole life to," Kalashnikov said. Anyone out there willing to sponsor Netherlands-bound flights for Iraq Survey Group members interested in seeing real Weapons of Mass Destruction close-up, call us now! (*TASS, 18/11/03*)

Texan fighter jets for Israel

The first F-16I fighter jet, of a new 102 batch, was handed over to Israel in November. Lockheed's Fort Worth facility in Texas played host to Israel's defence minister, Mr Shaul Mofaz. John Bean, Vice-President of F-16 programmes, said: "This programme illustrates the strong bond between Lockheed Martin and

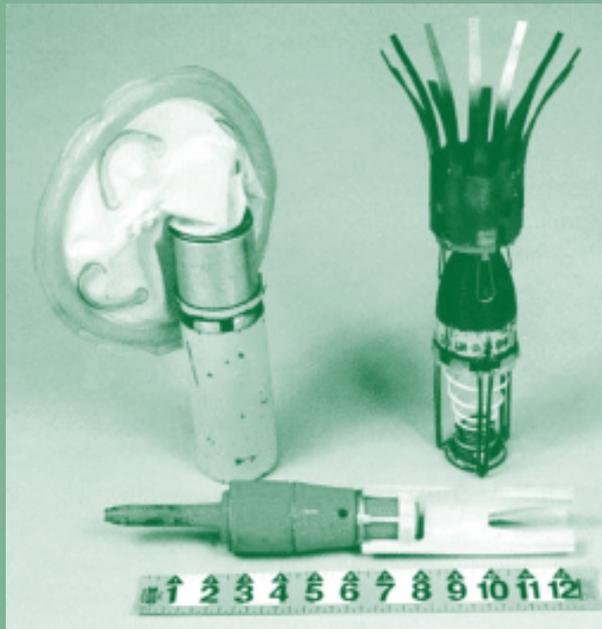
International coalition of NGOs aims to ban cluster bombs

An international alliance of 80 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from around the world have joined forces to push for a ban on the use, production and trade in Cluster bombs. Moreover, the new Cluster Munitions Coalition wants countries that use the bombs to be obliged under international law to clear up the unexploded ordnance and provide "risk education" for those in danger.

A key member of the coalition is CAAT's supporter-organisation, Landmine Action. Its director, Richard Lloyd, told journalists: "We proved with the anti-landmine campaign what could be achieved when people around the world joined together and spoke out against something that is morally wrong. Cluster bombs and other unexploded weapons are more likely to kill than landmines but at present there is no international law to deal with the problem."

Experts estimate that between five and 30 per cent of 'bomblets' (mini-bombs) which rain down from Cluster bombs fail to detonate and remain live – just like landmines – in theatres

of war and post-conflict zones. The coalition say that these bombs can be as destructive as anti-personnel landmines, now banned under a UN treaty.



Another founding member is the international NGO Human Rights Watch (HRW). They estimate since US-led military operations in Afghanistan began in October 2001, 127 people fell

victims to unexploded cluster munitions within the space of 13 months. Nine out of ten victims were children. Steve Goose of HRW said the situation now in Iraq was similar where "tens of thousands of unexploded munitions have been left behind."

Both UK and US governments have admitted deploying such bombs during 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. But the likelihood of many of the fifty-eight countries who possess cluster bombs accepting the moratorium proposal is "not currently attainable", according to Dutch Foreign Minister Jaap de Hoop Scheffer. Nevertheless, it will be put before the awkwardly-titled UN Convention on Conventional Weapons hosted in Geneva (17–28 November) by the coalition – so fingers crossed – watch this space! ■

To find out more, visit www.landmineaction.org, or phone Landmine Action on 020 7820 0222

Israel." The F-16s are fitted with US company Pratt and Whitney engines. They will be compatible with a wide variety of equipment including navigation avionics, targeting pods and advanced air-to-air missiles, some of which will be made locally in a £1bn offsets programme for Israel's defence industry. Israel owns the world's largest fleet of F-16s outside the US, with some 362 in stock, after deliveries of this acquisition are complete. (*Lockheed Martin news release, 14/11/03*)

Common European missiles

The organisation for the management of collaborative armament programmes (OCAAR), has placed a £2bn order for around 1,800 missiles, and their launch systems, with European missile company

MBDA. OCAAR is a jointly-managed procurement alliance formed by France, Germany, Italy and Britain. The deal was described by MBDA chairman Marwa Lahoud as a "major step toward a common European security and defence policy". MBDA itself is a pan-European missile manufacturer – second only in size in its market to US company Raytheon. MBDA is controlled by European aerospace giant EADS, BAE Systems (UK) and Finmeccanica (Italy). The project will also draw on BAE's subsidiary, Alenia Marconi Systems for work. Deliveries of 20 ground-based air defence systems (anti-missile missiles) and 21 naval systems and an accompanying collection of 1,800 missiles are due for delivery to Europe's armed forces between 2007 and 2014. The OCAAR programme also envisages wide openings in the arms export market.

"Certain countries in Asia and the Middle East have already shown great interest in this arms system" said Lahoud. (*www.eubusiness.com, 13/11/03*)

Around the courts

A former armourer of Suffolk and Norfolk police has been found guilty at Ipswich Crown Court of three charges of possessing illegal weapons, including rocket launchers, gas guns and an anti-tank missile. Timothy Richard Ashley, an arms dealer from Pakenham, was cleared of possessing 42 handguns and 47 machine guns. He is due for sentencing on December 19th and has been warned by the presiding judge to expect a custodial sentence. (*Evening Star, 12/11/03*)

UK leads weapons sales to world's poor

By Richard Bingley

A new report commissioned by the Congressional Research Service, an information arm for US legislators, has highlighted the UK's role as the world's second largest weapons supplier to the developing world in recent times.

But ominously for UK arms exporters, the *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations* report also shows that future arms sales agreements might be hard to come by for UK arms executives. UK companies signed just US\$800m worth of contracts in 2002 – ranking them ninth for the year.

Alarming, the UK actually “delivered” some \$4.7bn worth of arms around the world in 2002, retaining its place as the second largest deliverer of arms behind the US that transferred \$10.2bn worth of military equipment. ‘Delivery’ figures reflect deals that have been signed in the past, manufactured to fruition and then physically handed over to the buyer.

Unsurprisingly, the US led the way in the amount of arms transfer agreements made in 2002, netting \$13.3bn of

contracts – around 40 per cent of the global market.

Russia's renaissance in the global arms bazaar is also of concern. It notched up \$5.7bn of arms agreements last year. Both countries together accounted for 65 per cent of the world's arms market. Arms trade patterns have shifted back a little to mirror the market dichotomy of the Cold War; though this is quite possibly a temporary fluctuation.

The report's author, Richard F. Grimmett, concluded that the “developing world continues to be the primary focus of foreign arms sales”, signing some 60.6 per cent of all arms deals last year at a net value of \$17bn. The UK was ranked second in arms providers to the developing world during 2002, delivering poorer countries some \$3.3bn worth of conventional weapons systems. UK arms companies and government officials also signed some \$700m worth of contracts in Africa between 1999 and 2002.

But the UK's arms export market to the third world appears to be slipping away; just \$700m of future contracts were

signed with developing countries last year as former Eastern bloc munitions industries such as those in the Ukraine have reorganised, modernised and increased their market share. Yet, overall, the UK delivered a whopping \$36.3bn worth of arms to poorer countries between 1995 and 2002. This is second only to the US, delivering a mega \$77.4bn worth of arms sales to the same clients.

The Congressional report also highlights sales which will concern counter-terrorism analysts.

Between 1995 and 1998, the US delivered 1,284 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) to Middle East countries, dispatching a further 332 to the region over the next four years. Western European suppliers, including the UK, provided the same region with 350 SAMs between 1995 and 1998, but appear to have choked off the supply since.

Many counter-terror experts believe shoulder-held SAMs are the number one terrorist threat in the world today, especially in Iraq, where many coalition troops are taken into the country via leased commercial airliners.

The report covering arms transfers to developing countries between 1996 and 2003 will be due out next Autumn. ■

The report covering 1995 to 2002 can be found at www.fas.org/man/crs/RL32084.pdf

‘Control Arms’ campaign

In October, Amnesty and Oxfam, with backing from the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), launched a campaign for a global Arms Trade Treaty. CAAT welcomes the initiative as it will further raise awareness of the arms trade, be a step towards greater controls and be another instrument to help persuade the UK government to adhere to its own criteria on arms exports.

Some supporters have already contacted CAAT to ask if we are part of the Control Arms campaign. The answer is that, as an IANSA member organisation, CAAT is and we will sign up to any future call for an Arms Trade Treaty. However, with the much bigger organisations behind the Arms Trade Treaty campaign, CAAT's priority will be to use its rather more slender resources to address the reasons behind the continuation of the arms trade and highlight how the UK government blatantly ignores and abuses its own arms export criteria. ■

For more information about the Control Arms campaign see www.controlarms.org



Scotland closes on arms trade

'Site Unseen' tour with *Chris Cole*

The Firth of Forth looked beautiful as I crossed the bridge early in the morning to attend the first Site Unseen protest in Scotland. A small demo was held outside BAE Systems' subsidiary AMS site in Dunfermline, which produces and tests military electronic equipment for naval weapon systems. In the afternoon we visited two BAE Systems sites in Edinburgh – South Gyle and Crewe Toll. The South Gyle site employees around 350 people working on

'man machine interface' i.e. cockpit displays and control sticks for both military and civil and aircraft. Interestingly, control of the site has been handed over to the US arm of BAE. Around 60 people, about half of them students from Edinburgh University People and Planet group, attended the protest at

BAE's Crewe Toll site which has recently been refurbished at a cost of some £55m. The site is part of BAE's avionics business focused on researching, developing and producing what it calls 'systems & sensors' (i.e. radar, surveillance, targeting and imaging systems) for air, land and sea weaponry. The site also has a 'Laser centre of excellence'. A good public meeting was held in the evening hosted by the hard-working Edinburgh CAAT group

The following day saw the Site Unseen tour roll into Glasgow. BAE employs around 1,700 people in total at two shipyards in Glasgow – Govan and Scotstoun. A CAAT supporter in Glasgow suggested that we contact trade unionists at the sites in advance and this we had tried to do, unfortunately without success. The Scotstoun yard is currently completing construction of the third of a series of three Offshore Patrol Vessels (OPVs) for the Royal Brunei Defence Forces as well as beginning work on the two massive aircraft carriers that the UK MOD has just



ordered. Later we also had a small demo outside the Govan shipyard now owned by BAE Systems, followed by a public meeting in central Glasgow.

The next day I headed south to Northumberland and Newcastle for two more protests. The first, at Bellingham, was the first of the whole tour where I held a lone vigil – except for a BAE manager and a policeman! Between us we had a good chat about life, the universe and everything. Bellingham is a test and

analysis centre for artillery and other weapons systems. Later in the day we held a short protest at the BAE Site in Birtley, Newcastle, where the company makes tank rounds and shells. Another good public meeting in the evening at the FMH in central Newcastle was held.

In early November we visited BAE's site in Milton Keynes, another site focusing on producing avionics. Later in the day we visited one of BAE's research laboratories in Towcester, Northampton, where they are focusing on materials and nano-technology for military use. Finally, we visited the BAE's site near Kidderminster, where the company works on rocket motors.

The final leg

By the time you read this I will have one final visit to complete the Site Unseen tour (see box). The tour has really helped to put BAE Systems on the demo map and encouraged those who have never protested against BAE before to come out and join the campaign. Another aspect of the tour was to try to raise a bit of money for CAAT by asking people to

sponsor my journey. At the moment the trip is on course for totalling around 5,000 miles with £4,635 raised. It would be great if we could get that up to £5,000. If you meant to sponsor the tour, but never quite got around to it, now would be a great time to send in a donation (mark the envelope 'Site Unseen Tour'). Many thanks. ■

Final date

Wednesday 10th December – International Human Rights Day
12.00pm – 2.00pm: Protest at BAE Systems, Radway Green (small arms factory), Radway Green, Nr Crewe, Cheshire CW2 5PJ

7.30pm: Public Meeting, Wistaston Hall, 89 Broughton Lane, Wistaston, Crewe, CW2 8JS

“Cooperation with others for the general good”

UK arms sales to Indonesia in the early Suharto years. By *Nicholas Gilby*

Although UK arms sales to Indonesia were an extremely controversial topic in the 1990s, there is very little literature on the UK's history of arming Indonesia. There is none on sales in the 1960s, during which the Suharto putsch of 1965–6 and the military confrontation between the UK and Indonesia over Malaysia occurred. The files on this were declassified in 1998. Here, for the first time, based on archival records at the Public Record Office, is an outline of how the UK armed Indonesia during the early Suharto years.

Some relevant background: In 1963 Indonesian President Sukarno's opposition to the UK-backed Malaysian plan to create Malaysia from Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak (in Borneo), led to a UK-Indonesian low-intensity military confrontation in Borneo. During Confrontation, the UK embargoed the sale of military and dual-use (called “para-military” equipment at the time) equipment to Indonesia, and (quite successfully, judging from the files) persuaded NATO and other “friendly” countries (e.g. India and Japan) to do likewise. In October 1965, an internal Indonesian Army dispute resulted in a botched coup against Sukarno, which General Suharto quickly suppressed. Falsely claiming the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was behind it, Suharto initiated a six-month orgy of killing described by Amnesty as ranking “among the most massive violations of human rights since the Second World War” and the CIA as “one of the worst mass murders of the twentieth century... far more significant than many other events that have received much more publicity”. The killings, most of which concluded by March 1966, took the

“The time has come for Indonesia to revert to normal customer status”

lives of at least half a million Indonesians (a conservative estimate). Suharto then set up a military dictatorship, ruling Indonesia until 1998, and he remains the world's greatest living mass murderer (Sukarno was forced to hand over power in March 1966 and lived under house-arrest as nominal President until his death in 1970).

In his recent book, *Web of Deceit*, Mark Curtis has shown that the Foreign Office (FO) totally supported (along with the US) Suharto's massacres, and arranged for word to be passed to Suharto that the UK “shall not attack them while they are chasing the PKI”. The UK ambassador to Jakarta saw “no reason to object or complain” about the US supply of radios “to help in internal security” and assist the generals “in their task of overcoming the Communists”. The files on UK arms sales show that by December 1965 the FO were “ready to recommend a revision of our embargo policy if it became apparent that the [Indonesian] policy of confrontation [over Malaysia] had been dropped”.

Although, the Defence Sales Organisation (now DESO) was set up during the Wilson Government (1964–70), for most of

the 1960s UK arms sales were considered by three inter-departmental committees. The most senior was the Ministerial Committee on Strategic Exports (SEC(M)), supported by the Strategic Exports (Official) Committee (SEC(O)). Less controversial issues were decided by middle-ranking officials making up the Arms Working Party (AWP), chaired by the Head of Defence Secretariat 13.

Allowing Dual-Use Supplies (August 1966)

By the end of May 1966, HSH Stanley at the FO was urging the AWP to relax the arms embargo to “avoid impeding British exports” and that unnecessary controls would damage bilateral relations. The embargo should only apply to equipment “directly useful for subversive infiltration operations”. At an AWP meeting the next day, FO official RH Hanbury-Tenison said he hoped an “early agreement on a possible liberalisation of our current policy” could be reached. At a special meeting of the AWP on 8th June 1966 the FO, along with the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Board of Trade, pushed hard for a review against opposition from the armed services, and a paper prepared by the AWP for the Chiefs of Staff was submitted. The Chiefs of Staff concurred with Service anxieties about continuing Indonesian military operations and decided a relaxation should wait until Confrontation had finished.

The files show that throughout the early months of 1966 there were constant debates in the AWP about “dual-use” items, with the FO and Board of Trade constantly pushing for sales against MoD opposition. As the ratification of the Bangkok agreement (which ended Confrontation) approached in the summer of 1966, another paper was put to the Chiefs of Staff

urging that the embargo on dual-use items should be lifted. Although the AWP noted “there might... be some risk of para-mil equipment supplied by the UK or its allies being used against us” the difficulty of “restraining” allies and the imperative that “no potential market should be lost” led them to recommend a relaxation on dual-use items, which the Chiefs of Staff “with some reluctance” accepted on 11th August 1966 (the day of ratification in Bangkok). The FO were delighted, with one official noting “this is something the Foreign Office have been pressing for several months, against strong opposition from the MoD”. The US were informed and quickly followed suit.

Allowing Some Military Exports (February 1967)

The first indication I have seen in the files of arms company lobbying show that starting in August 1966, the FO and MoD were approached by agents of Alvis to supply armoured vehicles and related equipment, and in September by BCC Ltd for the supply of radios for the Indonesian Army. By November 1966 the FO were pressing in an AWP for a further relaxation, saying of

the Indonesians: “if we continue to refuse all their requests [for military equipment] they might tighten up their attitude towards us”. On 1st November 1966, the AWP decided to draw up another paper for the Chiefs of Staff, arguing the embargo on “inoffensive” military equipment should be dropped. A list of “offensive equipment” to remain under embargo was drawn up, the agreed definition of “offensive” being equipment “applicable to infiltration, intelligence gathering or small-scale insurgency operations across the borders of Kalimantan or West Irian”. The MoD noted “there is no need to place an automatic embargo on such items as tanks and armoured cars”, and considered that examples of equipment suitable for supply were wireless sets, Saracen armoured personnel carriers, Ferret scout cars, and spares for armoured vehicles the Indonesians had purchased in the late 1950s. An internal MoD review of equipment the Indonesians were most likely to request came up with precisely these items.

The AWP paper noted “the political and commercial pressures for a further relaxation so far as military considerations allow” with the FO advising “the situation vis-à-vis Indonesia has developed favourably over the last 6 months” and Indonesia “has no ambitions of territorial expansion”. The paper, and list of 14 items still under embargo, was approved by the Chiefs of Staff on 28th February 1967.

Lifting the Embargo in Full (October 1967)

Inevitably the entire embargo was soon lifted, with the FO and Commonwealth Office agreeing in June 1967 “that a relaxation of the embargo should now be considered”, noting its continuation would “exclude ourselves from whatever market there may be for “offensive” armaments”. An AWP paper recommended to the Chiefs of Staff that the “time has come for Indonesia to revert to normal customer status” and that “there is no longer any reason for maintaining our selective embargo”. The Chiefs agreed on 10th October 1967 and there was no embargo on Indonesia again until September 1999.

In 1967 equipment approved for export included:

- Radio equipment for Indonesian tanks and troops carriers (approved 31st January 1967) from BCC Ltd. Purpose stated on the licence: “Government communications”.
- Spare parts for Indonesian Army armoured cars from Cory Brothers and Co. (approved 31 January 1967).
- 50 VHF radios for the Indonesian Army from BCC Ltd (approved 31st January 1967). Purpose stated on the licence: “communications for internal security”.
- 25 Shorland Armoured Cars (the armoured version of the Land Rover) from Short's Brothers (approved 16th March 1967). Short's assured the Board of Trade “the Shorland is designed primarily for internal security”.
- Spares for Saracen, Saladin, Ferret and Humber troop carriers and armoured cars (approved 16th March 1967).

Conclusion

Two further points are worth making. Firstly, having waded through files inches thick I have not come across a single reference

(even veiled) to the nature of the UK's client when arms sales issues were discussed, just as Curtis found among FO officials “no reference to any concern about the extent of [Suharto's] killing at all”. From Curtis's work, it is clear the same FO officials receiving accurate and chilling reports of massacres were participating in discussions on arms sales to Suharto. Secondly, the saga of lifting the embargo to Indonesia was discussed at the lowest official level, with no meaningful ministerial involvement.

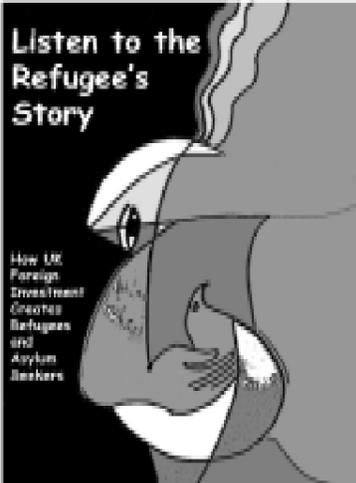
Michael Stewart, Labour Foreign Secretary in the Wilson Government, once said of UK foreign policy “our task...was to discover how best a nation of our rank could co-operate with others for the general good”. Yet, under his and Healey's stewardship, the Wilson Government rushed to arm a man who had committed “a war crime of the same type the Nazis perpetrated” (historian Gabriel Kolko). Suharto of course, went on to illegitimately annex West Papua and invade East Timor (using UK equipment), while Labour were in office, adventures which cost hundreds of thousands more lives. Co-operation with others for the general good, indeed. ■

This article provides an outline of preliminary findings – research is ongoing. Readers with comments or who wish to be kept informed on the progress of research can email the author at nick@caat.demon.co.uk

NEW publication

Listen to the Refugee's Story

How UK Foreign Intervention Creates Refugees and Asylum Seekers



The vast majority of refugees today flee conflict, or social or economic oppression. In many cases, British companies, taxpayers and the government directly and indirectly support the human rights abuses that accompany British investment and policies abroad. Many of these abuses ultimately force people to flee their homes and then their countries. This publication includes stories, poems and drawings from refugees and asylum seekers, including Kurds, Colombians, Afghans, Nigerians, Burmese and Somalis, about why they have been forced to flee their countries. The book highlights broader links between enforced migration and global economic processes, poses key questions about trade and development policies and corporate accountability, and addresses the effects of the current “war on terrorism” on different communities. CAAT helped with the book, and one of the chapters is on refugees and the arms trade.

Compiled by the Stop Arms Campaign Refugee Project,
The Corner House and
Peace in Kurdistan.
130 pages, price £6.95 (non-UK) £5.00.
Cheques payable to ‘Corner House Research’.
Please send orders to:
The Corner House, Station Road, Stramishan Newton, Beret BT10 1YF.
Tel: 01208 472795. Email: cornerhouse@gn.apc.org.



Export Control Act

After consultations at each stage of the long process which started with the 1996 Scott Report into military exports to Iraq, the new Export Control Act 2002 is to be brought into force on 1st May 2004. New secondary legislation becomes operative at the same time. The Act replaces the Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act 1939 and also introduces controls on the transfer of technology and software for military goods by electronic means - a method of military export not dreamed of at the start of World War Two.

The Act also allows the UK government to control arms brokering by UK citizens or companies wherever they are situated. However, in its secondary legislation, the Government has chosen only to use its powers extraterritorially when the equipment is going to

embargoed destinations, or is concerned with weapons of mass destruction programmes, long-range missiles or torture equipment. Much of the weaponry causing pain and suffering, such as small arms, is thus not covered.

What difference does the new Act make?

The whole process of the reform of the strategic export control legislation has been educative. Hopes after the arms-to-Iraq scandal that the UK government (of whatever complexion) might really address arms exports have been dealt blow after blow. Huge amounts of work by civil servants, parliamentarians and non-governmental organisations have resulted in a system that is largely unchanged.

There have been some advances. The system is more transparent than before, some brokerage issues have been addressed

and the trade in “intangibles” has been brought within the system. There are even written export criteria, though actual exports licensed since they were announced, time and again appear to render them meaningless. Fundamentally, the scale, destinations and type of military equipment exported has not changed.

It would appear that all the attempts at a strict export regime are doomed to fail whilst the Government has two conflicting roles – of controlling military exports and of promoting them. The belief in the need for a strong military industry – despite growing evidence that it is good neither for the UK economy nor for UK employment – has prevailed over those who believe that the exports need to be curbed or ended. ■

Ann Feltham

CAAT's plan for 2004–6

After some months of preparation and consultation, the CAAT Steering Committee has approved CAAT's second three-year plan covering the years 2004 to 2006.

Why does the UK government continue to support arms exports?

CAAT believes that an ever increasing number of people understand the negative effects of arms exports and wish to see them end. However, despite this, the Government continues to support military sales. CAAT's top priority for the next three years is to show why the arguments used by the Government for doing so are false (for instance, on jobs, the military-industrial base, world peace and security) and to make clear the real reasons why arms exports continue (including, most importantly, the influence of arms companies within Government). CAAT will be doing this against the background of the increasing internationalisation of the arms industry and the end of an independent UK military-industrial base.

Other priorities

The other major work areas over the next three years are to ask what would happen regarding such issues as security and employment if the arms trade ended; engaging in coalitions campaigning against Ballistic Missile Defense, Cluster Bombs and, possibly, Depleted Uranium; and expanding the highly successful Clean Investment Campaign.

There will also be an emphasis on local work (new resources along the lines of the popular 'Shelling Out' and 'Fanning the Flames' packs to help supporters to raise the issues in their communities will be produced) and raising CAAT's profile in the media and with parliamentarians. Finally, ensuring CAAT's own “good health” through, for instance, financial security and a well-maintained library. ■

If you would like a copy of CAAT's Plan for 2004–6 please send a large SAE to the CAAT office.

Labour Party Conference

At this autumn's Labour Conference in Bournemouth, CAAT hosted a social event jointly with CND and Con-science and had its own stall. The stall was in a good position with plenty of people passing by, whilst the social featured a good band complete with excellent singer, drinks, nibbles and short speeches from Tony Benn as well as MPs Neil Gerrard, Alan Simpson and John McDonnell.

CAAT would not have been able to have a presence at the Conference without the financial generosity of some supporters who provided funds at the last moment and practical help from Bournemouth Local Contact Nancy Orrell, and supporters, Debbie Cowan, Sharen Green and Damien Stone. Our gratitude goes to all of them. ■

Bribing for Britain? BAE uninvestigated

Why are allegations against BAE Systems left uninvestigated, asks Sue Hawley

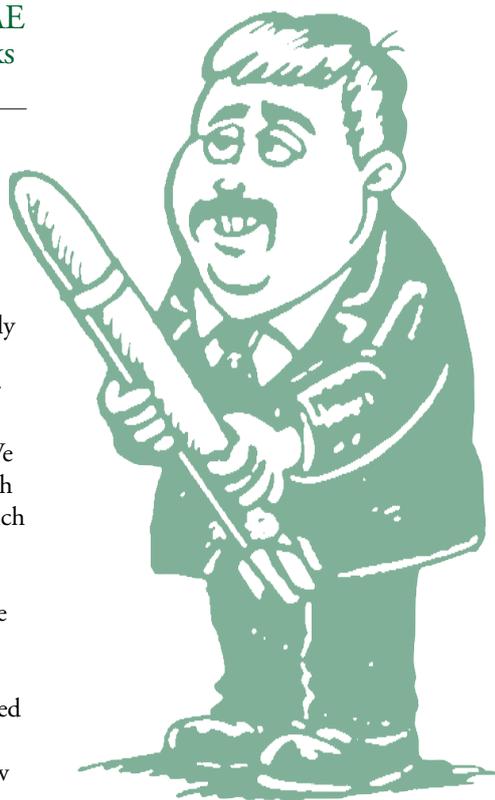
In September this year *The Guardian* newspaper revealed startling evidence pointing towards a “slush fund” run by a front company on behalf of BAE Systems to provide hospitality, including prostitutes, yachts and sports cars, to Saudi Arabian officials supposedly in connection with the infamous Al Yamamah arms deal. BAE Systems never directly denied the allegations, but did deny any wrong-doing. They stated: “We conduct our business entirely in line with the laws of the UK and countries in which we operate.”

Curiously, several commentators seemed to think that the revelations were no big deal. Jeff Randall, the BBC’s business editor, argued in *The Telegraph* that: “Before we become too high-minded about who paid what to whom, let’s remember that the Al Yamamah cashflow underpins thousands of British jobs.”

The argument goes that as long as a company like BAE keeps a few extra hands on the production line by paying off corrupt overseas officials, then why should we complain? Of course, it is highly contentious as to how many jobs the arms industry does actually create compared to the public subsidy it receives. But the real problem with this argument is that while bribery might be good for British business, it is very bad for the ordinary citizens of the countries in which it takes place.

Bribery entrenches undemocratic regimes, undermines the credibility of democratic ones and significantly raises the cost of goods that are paid for in effect by the ordinary citizens of the country buying them. The common perception is that British companies have no choice, and are the victims of venal foreign officials. Very often however, it is the companies that make foreign officials venal, by offering them gifts too tempting to refuse.

Moreover, bribery is actually illegal. In November 1997, the UK government signed up to an international OECD Convention to outlaw bribery. By doing so, it committed itself to making it a criminal offence “to offer, promise or give



any undue pecuniary or other advantage” to a foreign official. As the government argued at the time, the UK’s corruption laws made any act of bribery within the UK itself illegal. Under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001, bribery by British companies overseas also became totally illegal.

Given that bribery is illegal, one of the more extraordinary things to emerge from *The Guardian’s* investigation, is the failure by either the Ministry of Defence or the Serious Fraud Office to do anything about the allegations. The Serious Fraud Office was given a box of invoices and other documents by a former employee of BAE’s front company, revealing payments made in the UK to Saudi officials. Despite this, the former head of the SFO, Rosalind Wright, wrote to the MOD in March 2001 that “there is insufficient evidence which would justify a criminal investigation”. She went on to say that whether the ‘extravagance’ suggested by some of the evidence offered to the SFO was “unusual in contracts such as these I am not qualified to judge”.

Given that the SFO is responsible for investigating high profile cases giving rise “to national publicity and widespread

public concern”, one might have thought that Rosalind Wright would have made it her business to judge whether BAE’s “extravagance” to Saudi officials was “unusual” or not. Instead, the SFO passed the buck to the MOD, who from March 2001 to September 2003, studiously sat on the allegations hoping, one presumes, that they would never re-emerge.

It is not the first time that the UK’s law enforcement authorities and government departments appear to have ignored allegations of bribery involving BAE Systems. In 2000, authorities in Jersey asked the Serious Fraud Office for help in investigating payments of £7m by BAE Systems to the foreign minister of Qatar, which they thought may be ‘corrupt’. The MOD admitted in 2002 that it had known since 1998 that BAE had made payments to the minister. The Serious Fraud Office meanwhile significantly failed to initiate an investigation of its own.

When *The Guardian* first made its revelations about payments to Saudi officials, there were calls for the SFO to initiate a new inquiry. Right now, it looks as if that call fell on deaf ears. Until the UK really starts to investigate its own companies for paying bribes, however, we will have no moral right to complain about corruption in other countries. It is time we started holding the government and our law enforcement agencies to account for continually turning a blind eye to allegations of bribes paid by British companies in the phoney name of British jobs. ■

Dr Susan Hawley works for Corner House, a research and solidarity group which is currently investigating corruption. (cornerhouse@gn.apc.org)

What you can do

- Write to Robert Wardle, Head of the Serious Fraud Office Serious Fraud Office, Elm House, 10–16 Elm Street, London WC1X OBJ, and demand to know why the SFO is failing to launch a full criminal investigation into whether BAE Systems paid bribes to Saudi officials.
- Write to your MP, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA. Press them to ask for an investigation into allegations of corruption against BAE.

A history of deceit

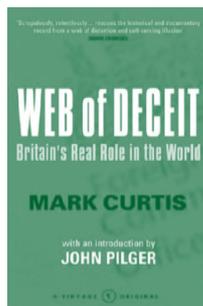
Web of Deceit

By Mark Curtis (Verso, 2003)

Since David Kelly's death and the scandal that surrounded it, the public have become much more sensitive to untruths from above. Our less than solid faith in government has been further undermined by what appears to be deliberate attempts to mislead us with dossiers and calumny so that we would not realise that the war we did not want was not right. *In Web of Deceit – Britain's Real Role in the World*, Mark Curtis portrays a nation whose history is not merely littered with similar incidents, it is defined by them.

Drawing on a lot of CAAT's writings, Curtis takes the reader on a comprehensive journey through British foreign policy, from the early 1950s to the present day. At each step he demonstrates how, despite whatever spin may have been used to conceal it, the objective of Britain's policy was to benefit an elite (whether British, American, or 'the West' generally) and maintain the privileged status quo, paying no heed to internationally recognised morals or norms. The consequence of such behaviour, he claims, is the tide of global discontent and the tsunami of terrorism. Curtis describes how this fearsome force has been used like Snowball in Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Now that insurgents who were once nourished with Western aid and arms have served their purpose fighting proxy wars and become too unpredictable to control, they have become useful foils for excessive defence spending and repressive domestic laws.

The problem with his polemic is its reason to passion ratio. Though throbbing



against a government Leviathan of entrenched interests, backed up by a slavish media. Surely then we need greater ammunition to fight our cause with than arguments reiterated from the very newspapers he criticises. If I'm going to be told that the "Russian president [was] guilty of more terror in (in Chechnya) than Al Qaeda could dream of", I would like to know a bit more than the date that *The Guardian* printed this (29/5/02, FYI).

Similarly, his understanding of international law seems flawed – sometimes it is better to read the book before throwing it. Curtis indignantly criticises British ministers for openly trying to re-write the law or "the rules of the game." But what he describes is exactly how all international law has developed. It is designed to be adaptable, or no state would adhere to it.

For instance, Article 1.1 of the United Nations Charter states that the signatories subscribe to the "principles of justice and international law". 'Justice' is a fairly ambiguous term that allows liberal interpretation. And international law consists of, amongst other things, customary law, which is simply that repeated practise of something will eventually make it become law. States will

with moral outrage, all too often an opinion masquerading as fact weakens an otherwise valid point. Curtis would have us believe that the British public is up

only cooperate with one another if they feel they have room to manoeuvre and it is the cooperation of states that creates the force of law, which is only as strong as they wish it to be. There is no higher authority in international law than the nation states themselves. Inevitably this law will serve the needs of those who are able to uphold it, such as the permanent five member states on the Security Council who can veto anything that doesn't go their way. Whether or not this is right is a whole other book, but the point is that Curtis' repeated appeals to international law are misguided. Humanitarian Intervention is in the process of becoming law through custom; it is not against the law, nor is it being illegally written in.

This book is part of a movement towards the more alert citizenship that is required to effect practical change in Britain's foreign policy. Curtis does a good job of showing where the problems within government lie and places the blame squarely with the shadowy elites. It is now the turn of the British public to react to it. Knowledge generates responsibility and we cannot continue to throw up our hands in despair. We must make the sacrifices and commitments that will not always be easy, but that are necessary for a more just and stable world. Otherwise the only deceit is self deceit. ■

Catherine Mahony

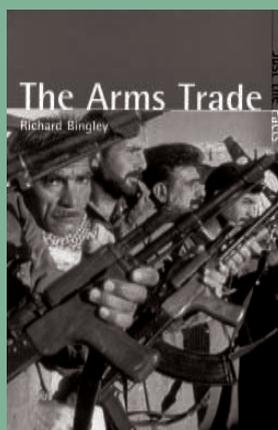
To order the book, see www.amazon.co.uk; www.randomhouse.co.uk/vintage, or call 01206 255 777, quoting ISBN 0099448394

Just the Facts: The Arms Trade

Written by Richard Bingley, CAAT's media co-ordinator from 2001–2003, this is a young person's citizenship guide (for 13–16 year olds) that serves as a useful introduction to understanding the global arms trade.

Just the facts: The Arms Trade looks at the way the trade in weapons has developed through history. It considers the main areas of the debate about the

arms trade, such as the supply of arms to the developing world by the West and the sales of arms to terrorist groups. The book then explores the arguments made by both sides in the arms trade debate and what is being done about the issue. It includes case studies, statistical information and



ideas for further research and future contacts.

Other titles in the *Just the Facts* series include: Animal Welfare, Cyber crime, Global Pollution, Racism, War and Conflict and World Poverty. ■

ISBN 0431161437
Price £11.50
www.heinemann.co.uk/library/book.aspx?n=206&d=g&s=410&sk=820&isbn=0431161437

UK arms and condemns Israel

Export licenses for arms and internal security equipment are being granted for Israel, according to a letter sent by a DTI minister to Menzies Campbell, the Liberal Democrat's shadow foreign secretary.

Licenses have been granted this year for categories including leg-irons, electric shock belts and chemical agents such as tear gas. Licenses for categories including mortars, rocket launchers, anti-tank weapons and explosives were also authorised.

The UK government had warned Israel at the start of the 2000 uprisings that if UK-supplied equipment was found to be used in occupied Palestinian territories then sales would cease. Indeed, at the end of last year, ejector seats fitted into Israeli F-16s, provided by a company in Surrey were halted by DTI officials. This caused a major behind-the-scenes diplomatic spat. But the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to the UK in July 2003 appears to have normalised arms trade relations.

This was despite Tony Blair giving him



Palestinian youths confront an Israeli tank during clashes in the West Bank city of Jenin on November 22, 2002. Iain Hook of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in Jenin refugee camp was shot dead as Israeli troops fought Palestinian gunmen during a gun battle in the West Bank city of Jenin. Photo: Reuters

a grilling on human rights abuses and the shooting of three Britons in separate incidents over the past year by Israel's defence forces in Palestinian territories. One victim, Iain Hook, was working for the UN in Jenin.

The National and EU code of conduct governing arms sales says licenses should not be granted if they will "aggravate existing tensions or conflicts in the country of final destination". Moreover, the Foreign Office's 2003 annual human rights report said: "both Israel and the

Palestinian terrorist groups have shown a worrying disregard for human rights."

The report is admirably undiplomatic and thus widely truthful. It also noted the "excessive force during Israeli incursions" and writes that the effect of curfews and destruction of Palestinian property "has been one of collective punishment". ■ See *The Guardian*, 5/11/03. *The Foreign Office's 2003 Annual Report on Human Rights* can be found at www.fco.gov.uk then click on "official documents". For the main precis of *Israel/Palestine* go to pp. 47-49





Fundraising

There's lots of fundraising news this month, as November has seen some fantastic fundraising by CAAT supporters. You may remember reading in the last issue about CAAT's New York City Marathon runner Edward Bradley. I'm delighted to report that on 2nd November, Edward joined 37,000 other runners in New York and completed the 26 miles course in four hours 40 minutes. This was Edward's first marathon and everyone at CAAT would like to congratulate him for that achievement and to thank him for all his fundraising efforts.

Thanks also to everyone who lent their support by sponsoring Edward. If you are impressed by his huge effort and commitment, but haven't had chance to send in

Thank-you's

We'd like to thank everyone who gave their time to support 'A Night of Unknown Resistance'. Particular thanks go to Brian Damage & Krystall at London's Pear Shaped Comedy Club, Brett Vincent at Bound & Gagged, Stef and In Vitro, Andrew and Mass, Sonoma, Jamie Hicks at Goldsmiths Student Union, and finally Dan O'Neill for all his hard work and enthusiasm!

your donation yet, then it's not too late! Or if Edward has inspired you to pull on your running shoes, why not follow his example and raise some money for CAAT at the same time? The Women's 5km Flora Light Challenge takes place in London in September 2004 and we are hoping to enter a team of CAAT runners. We would also love to get CAAT teams together for other sponsored runs. So if you are interested in joining us for the Flora Light or any other race, please do get in touch.

Goldsmith's College got in on the act on 20 November, hosting 'A Night of Unknown Resistance' in aid of CAAT. This evening of comedy and music was organised by CAAT supporter Dan O'Neill, and we would like to thank him for all his effort.

The entertainment is set to continue on 12th December, when 'Peaceful Revolutions', a Matrix-themed club night, takes place at the Brixton Telegraph. Organised by Maz and the Seaside Tribe, it promises to be a thrilling experience with DJs, drumming, live art and lots more. Every penny raised goes to CAAT so what better way could there be to spend a Friday night? Call the office for advance tickets and more information.

Finally, with the festive season almost upon us, now is the perfect time to snap

up the few remaining CAAT t-shirts as gifts for family and friends. Give me a call to see which sizes are left, but don't wait too long, because they're selling out quickly! I hope you all have a very happy and peaceful New Year and I'll see you in 2004. ■ *Kathryn Busby*

Office available to let

There will be office space (two rooms) available to let, at 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX from 1st January 2004.

Rental is £5,000 pa (including service charge) to any organisation that educates or campaigns non-violently on an issue compatible with the peace movement's perspective.

Contact Ian Dixon on 020 8673 0670 or email iandixon@btinternet.com

Esther Levitan

Esther Levitan, who died peacefully after a stroke on 10th November at the age of 77, was a volunteer who performed a variety of tasks in the CAAT office between 1995 and 2001, when the Finsbury Park stairs finally became too much for her. Her work for CAAT, Oxfam and Amnesty, was only a postscript to a varied and fascinating life, vividly portrayed in her memoirs, naturally called *The Book of Esther*.

A South African, the child of Lithuanian immigrants, she worked tirelessly and courageously against the apartheid regime, at one point suffering three months solitary

confinement. In 1984 she emigrated to Israel, coming to the UK 10 years later to be near her family.

The only adjective that properly describes Esther is 'valiant'. In her youth she was beautiful and she had a great appetite for life, only partly frustrated by the ill-health that dimmed her last decade.

During these years she kept going through sheer will-power. (Shortly after major surgery, she left her hospital bed to fulfil a speaking engagement – to the horror of her doctors). Besides her work for good causes she remained an indefatigable traveller, taking a coach trip to Skye in the last month of her life.

She was a woman of many contradictions: a Communist who never read a word of Marx but saw the Party as the

best instrument to use against injustices in her society; a Jew who knew little of the Scriptures and disliked much of what she knew, yet was zealous in maintaining the customs and rituals of her people. Just recently she fasted through the Day of Atonement, even though she knew that sick people were exempt.

She was argumentative, inquisitive, sometimes outrageous, but also deeply kind and utterly without guile. She will be a terrible loss to justice and peace, to her co-workers, friends, children and grandchildren, to whom she was devoted. Not long ago a 10-year old Californian girl used a school essay to write a remarkable tribute to 'Grandma Esther'.

get active!

The campaign thrives on your participation. Below is how you can get involved and stop the arms trade with CAAT

Materials CAAT publications available from the office

New CAAT postcard

Available for distribution locally

Following the Iraq conflict, CAAT has been very successful in highlighting the fact that the UK armed Saddam in the first place. Our campaign postcard outlines six questions about the arms trade.

Thousands of these post-cards have been distributed at demonstrations and other events against the war, and have helped CAAT to gain many new supporters.

Now we're asking CAAT supporters to help distribute these cards locally. Could you take 100 or more to hand out at relevant local events? They're free from the office, but we estimate it costs about £4.00 in printing, postage and packing to produce 100. If you can make a donation, it would help us to produce more campaign materials.

Good luck, and thanks for your help increasing support for the campaign.

Local action

If you are able or would like to put leaflets or CAAT News out into local libraries or health food shops, or give them out at meetings, hold a stall at a local event and require materials, join a local group or become a local contact, get in touch with Philip Barrett.

Email philip@caat.demon.co.uk tel 020 7281 0297

Letter-writing

You can never write too many letters on behalf of CAAT. Most MPs can be reached at the House of Commons address (*[Your MP], House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA*). You can also make an appointment to see your MP in person at their surgery. Contact Ann Feltham if you need advice on this.

Email ann@caat.demon.co.uk tel 020 7281 0297

Demonstrate!

CAAT demonstrations are peaceful, inclusive and fun. The more people who come, the more effective they are. Have a look at the campaigns diary on the back page, or contact the office for more information.

Email enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk tel 020 7281 0297

Make a donation

CAAT always needs your financial support. If you are able to make a donation, please send a cheque (payable to CAAT) now, to: **CAAT, Freepost, LON6486, London N4 3BR**. Alternatively, you can use the form on the back page to set up a standing order, giving CAAT an urgently needed regular income.

Email kathryn@caat.demon.co.uk tel 020 7281 0297

New report

DSEi 2003: international arms market

Available in print (£3.00) and online at www.caat.org.uk

During protests against Defence Systems Equipment International (DSEi) at the beginning of September, the event's organisers began putting out the line to journalists that DSEi was not an arms fair. Even the show's daily newsletter on Wednesday 13th September made this claim, while illustrating the article with pictures of fighter aircraft, a military communications system and a warship.

Thanks to months of dedicated research, CAAT was able to quickly and easily dismiss the claim for the spin it was. On the eve of DSEi, CAAT published our ground-breaking report on the arms fair illustrating in detail some of the worst arms companies selling weapons at the fair, and highlighting concerns about some of the arms buyers. Hundreds of journalists were either sent the report, or accessed it over the web – and *The Guardian*, *The Mirror* and the BBC all featured data from it.

With entries on more than 25 arms companies, briefings on more than 10 arms buying countries and data on issues from cluster munitions to corruption, landmines to globalization, this DSEi report will now serve as a vital background document to inform the work of all arms trade campaigners, or to simply to help build your knowledge on the trade.



Campaigns diary

10 December Site Unseen protest – Radway Green; public meeting in Crewe

12 December 'Peaceful Resolutions' club night @ The Telegraph, Brixton, London
(see www.caat.org.uk or www.seasidetribe.org for more details)

March 2004 Clean Investment Campaign 2004 launch

11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ
tel 020-7281 0297 fax 020-7281 4369
email enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk
web www.caat.org.uk



Protests against DSEI 2003 Photo: Richie Andrew

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