

CAAT news



CAAT GATHERING 2004



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**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE**

New Labour: still the arms industry's flexible friend

Over the past decade, most economists have found only overall economic costs, not benefits, from UK involvement in the arms trade. Governments have largely ignored their findings preferring instead to continue with a massive public subsidy to UK-based arms companies worth up to an estimated £936m a year. Not surprisingly, the companies involved have been happy to sit back and reap the benefits of preferential treatment over other industrial sectors. But after stinging criticism from the National Audit Office and a deterioration in relations with the Ministry of Defence, BAE Systems, Britain's leading prime military contractor, kicked off 2004 on a public relations offensive. A report by the independent consultancy Oxford Economic Forecasting (OEF), commissioned by BAE Systems itself, highlighted the importance of the company's export performance to the UK economy. These are exactly the claims that the anti-arms trade lobby has been attacking – so where has this study left us?

Two further reports

The answer is that, in spite of this report, arms exports still don't look as though they benefit the UK economy. Why? Because the arguments put forward in the OEF report have been countered in an entirely more convincing way by two further studies, both published in September 2004. BASIC, Oxford Research Group and Saferworld's report *Escaping the Subsidy Trap* asks whether arms really are of value to the UK economy. The Policy Exchange's study, *The Best Kit*, examines the future of UK military procurement but devotes an entire chapter to probing the analysis put forward by the OEF. Although produced by research institutes representing two entirely opposing ends of the political spectrum, both reports independently conclude that it is a fallacy to believe that military exports are necessary to the UK economy.

This isn't the first time that these kinds of conclusions have been drawn but despite having had years to prove their critics wrong, both government and industry have continued to claim that military exports bring important economic

benefits without showing exactly how in any convincing way. Just some of their key omissions include a failure to show how military exports contribute significantly to levels of employment; how military exports make a significant contribution to the balance of trade; and what wider economic benefits actually accrue. The OEF report is no exception.

OEF omissions

On employment, the report does not offer an estimate of the numbers of BAE Systems jobs dependent on arms exports, unlike the government. The latter finds that BAE Systems, together with all other UK-based arms-producing companies, directly and indirectly sustains an estimated 65,000 jobs by exporting military equipment. 65,000 jobs, as *Escaping the Subsidy Trap* rightly observes, account for only 0.25 percent of the national labour force. The OEF report also fails to address how, if arms export jobs are so significant to the UK economy, the number of recorded export-linked jobs fell by 63 percent from a peak in 1996/7 (175,000) to 2001/02 (65,000) without economists reporting any discernable costs to the national economy.

On the balance of trade, the OEF report finds that exports of BAE Systems' UK operations were worth £3,000m in 2002, a contribution that the author of *The Best Kit* describes as "not as significant as it might appear". One reason for this is that BAE Systems also imported £1,000m worth of goods in 2002 leaving a net

contribution of £2,000m. This is only 0.7 percent of the value of all UK visible exports. In fact, in 2002, even the gross value of all military exports from all UK-based arms exporting companies made up only 1.5 percent of the value of UK exports.

Another reason is that BAE, like other UK-based arms-producing companies, achieves these sales at an annual cost to UK taxpayers. The industry as a whole enjoys a subsidy worth, according to the authors of *Escaping the Subsidy Trap*, between £453m and up to a possible £936m a year. This diverts resources away from industries that offer better prospects for long-term economic growth. This factor fed into the conclusions of a 2001 report written, in part, by two of the Ministry of Defence's own economists, which estimated that although 49,000 jobs would be lost if military exports were halved, they would be offset by the creation of at least 67,000 new jobs in other industries. Again, none of these, nor many more arguments that show that arms exports are of little economic value to the UK economy, are addressed in the OEF report.

The case remains that one of the most important ways in which campaigners against the arms trade can promote their arguments is to point to the figures. These show that, rather than bringing significant financial benefits to the UK, the arms trade actually serves to distort the country's economic well-being. ■

Emma Mayhew

Links

The BAE Systems-commissioned report by Oxford Economic Forecasting can be found at www.oef.com/Free/pdfs/BAEFinalReport.pdf

Escaping the Subsidy Trap can be found at www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/publications/books/ORGsubsidy.pdf

The Best Kit is available from the Policy Exchange on 020 7340 2650.

EU peace funding supports missile development

Almost £900,000 of EU Peace and Reconciliation money has been allocated to Thales Systems to develop a missile system at its site in Castlereagh, Northern Ireland.

While the specifics of Thales' bid are not available, its proposal had to either address the legacy of the conflict in Northern Ireland or take advantage of the opportunities arising from peace. Cliff Kennedy, chairman of East Belfast Community Development Agency said: "It seems ridiculous that peace money is being used to fund the development of a missile system, particularly in light of the fact that community groups in East Belfast have been turned down for peace money for what we regard as legitimate projects making a genuine contribution to peace." (*East Belfast Observer*, 15/9/04)

Arms exports to Libya

BAE Systems was swift to welcome the EU's decision in September to lift all sanctions on Libya. A spokesperson declared: "It is possible that Libya will be a market for defence equipment in the future."

EU officials said that arms exports to Libya would still be limited by an EU code of conduct barring the sale of equipment that could be used in domestic repression or regional conflicts. However a report from a coalition of 55 European NGOs including CAAT, Saferworld, Amnesty International and Oxfam suggested that the code was not so reliable, given its several loopholes.

The UK's Strategic Export Controls Quarterly Report for April-June 2004 revealed that licences have already been issued from this country for military equipment for Libya. (*Reuters*, 22/9/04; *CAAT press release*, 28/10/04; *The Independent*, 30/9/04)

India-UK military ties strengthened

A visit by the Indian Prime Minister to the UK this September was followed a week later with a visit from the head of the UK's Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) to India, which in turn was followed by Defence Secretary Geoff

Hoon hot-footing it to New Delhi.

In London, the Indian Prime Minister and Tony Blair agreed to expand military co-operation and training. The UK also said it would back India's quest for a permanent seat in an expanded UN Security Council. On his trip to India, the DESO head discussed UK sales of military equipment.

Hoon's trip saw him brush aside comments that his visit was aimed at promoting the British Typhoon fighter contract for the Indian Air Force, stating instead that talks would "explore the co-production of defence equipment." (*The Navhind Times*, 21/9/04; *The Telegraph India*, 27/9/04; *www.keralanext.com*, 20/9/04; *The Hindu*, 4/10/04)

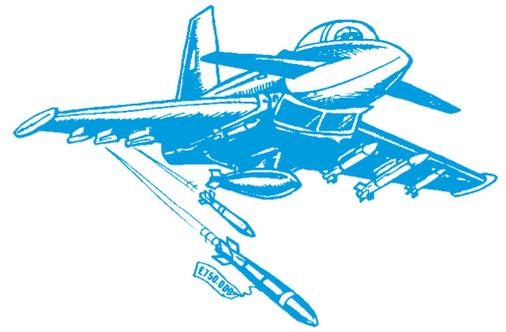
Blair agrees to US missiles on UK soil?

It has been reported that Tony Blair has secretly agreed to site US missiles at Fylingdales in North Yorkshire as part of the Star Wars programme. British diplomats have apparently requested that no formal US request is made until after the general election although preparations are said to be already underway to overcome opposition. The deal represents the most significant new military US presence in the UK since the withdrawal of cruise missiles and goes way beyond the official position that the UK is providing enhanced radar provision for the US national missile defence programme.

A spokesman for the Russian Foreign Minister warned that the move would be "a disturbing new step" in international relations. (*The Independent on Sunday*, 17/10/04; *Independent on Sunday*, 24/10/04)

Compromise reached on UK access to US military technology

After months of recriminations (see 'UK concerns over US arms protectionism', *CAAT News* 186), the US Congress has granted the UK preferred status for defence export licences, saying that applications from the UK should be "expeditiously processed". However the legislation neither defines the term, nor



gives the degree of exemption from regulations that the UK wanted. (*Financial Times*, 19/10/04)

UK helicopter ownership grounded

The government has given the go-ahead for the £1.06bn sale of Yeovil-based helicopter maker AgustaWestland, signalling the end of UK ownership in the helicopter industry. (*BBC*, 9/10/04)

Farnborough future under review

The organisers of the Farnborough air display and trade fair are considering several options for the event's future. The organising body, the Society of British Aerospace Companies (SBAC), spends nearly half its time on the show, even though its primary role is to carry out traditional functions of trade associations, such as political lobbying. The air display may be moved to a different venue,

leaving Farnborough as just the arms and civil aerospace trade fair. (*The Independent*, 22/9/04)

Taiwanese arms spending met with opposition

In September thousands of Taiwanese protested against government plans to spend \$18bn on US military equipment including submarines and Patriot III missiles. They clearly weren't convinced by the colourful posters circulated by the military: the PR flop suggested that funding for the deal was equivalent to the savings made if everyone had one less cup of the island's popular milky bubble tea each week over 15 years.

Taiwan Premier Yu Shyi-kun said the deal was critical for Taiwan to maintain a



“Cold War balance of terror” with Beijing, which has threatened to use military force to prevent any Taiwanese moves toward independence.

One of the first major foreign policy decisions of the newly elected President Bush in 1991 was to set up an arms deal with Taiwan. Talk at the time was less about terrorists and more about how China was the likely long-term threat to American power. (*Voice of America news*, 25/9/04; *Associated Press*, 24/9/04)

Sinking and stinking additions to Israel's armoury

The US plans to sell Israel £178m worth of bombs, including 500 ‘bunker busters’. According to Israeli security sources these have the potential to sink down and penetrate any underground nuclear facilities in Iran. A Pentagon report said the planned procurement sought “to maintain Israel’s qualitative advantage and advance US strategic and tactical interests.”

While Israel refuses to disclose its own nuclear programme it has announced an innovation that is every schoolboy’s dream – a stinkbomb designed for use on civilian protestors that lingers in clothes for up to five years. (*Reuters*, 21/9/04; *The Independent*, 18/9/04)

Coalition of the bribed in Iraq?

In October Poland announced that it would start withdrawing from Iraq early in 2005. The announcement came just weeks after Polish officials complained that an F-16 deal finalised in the run-up to last year’s US-led invasion of Iraq was not producing as much US investment as anticipated.

The unprecedented multibillion-dollar arms deal was negotiated and financed as the Bush administration sought out a ‘coalition of the willing’. On the day that Colin Powell was offering evidence of Iraq’s alleged weapons programme to the UN the Polish Prime Minister was in the States meeting with President Bush – and with Lockheed Martin officials. The US helped to negotiate Poland’s \$3.5bn purchase of 48 F-16 fighter planes from Lockheed Martin, and ensured a promise that more than \$6bn in US business investment would be channelled into Poland.

Poland has had a go at shifting its own weapons while in Iraq: In September Polish arms manufacturer Bumar signed a \$53m deal with the Iraq army, and a delegation from the Iraqi defence ministry visited Poland in October. (*The Baltimore Sun*, 17/10/04; *AFP*, 11/10/04)

In the run up to Christmas, the arms trade gave Iraq...

As the US-led assaults in Iraq continue, military hardware acquired by Iraq in the last few months includes:

16 Jordan Aerospace Industries surveillance aircraft (\$5.8m)

20,000-plus 9mm Glock pistols

43 Armoured Security Vehicles (\$50m)

And from the UK – arms, ammunition and body armour worth £2.5m.

(*JDW*, 25/8/04; *Jordan Times*, 30/9/04; *US Defense Dept*, 13/10/04; *US Central Command*, 11/10/04; *AFP*, 10/11/04)

Czech government donates ammunition to Afghanistan

The Czech government has agreed to donate 6,000 tonnes of redundant ammunition to the Afghan armed forces. Czech Defence Minister Karel Kuehnl said that this arrangement was financially more advantageous than storing or dismantling it. (*AFP*, 11/10/04)

BAE gets Eurofighter contract

BAE Systems has landed a £5bn deal to build more Eurofighter Typhoons at its Wharton plant in Lancashire.

The RAF is taking 90 of the planes, despite an earlier concern that it would not have enough pilots to fly all the aircraft it was planning to order.

In the summer BAE chief executive Mike Turner admitted that there could be a production gap at the company if the Typhoon order was not signed soon. (*Observer*, 24/10/04; *FT*, 17/9/04)

BAE Systems faces serious allegations

The Serious Fraud Office is looking into allegations of false accounting after an investigation by *The Guardian* newspaper into BAE earlier this year. Police and

Serious Fraud Office investigators arrested two people including a former BAE customer relations executive in November. The two were later released without charge.

The allegations come alongside claims by the BBC and *The Guardian* that BAE Systems operated a “slush fund” to facilitate defence contracts. Beneficiaries of the fund were said to include Prince Turki bin Nasser, who was responsible for overseeing the Al-Yamamah deal. This included sales of UK military equipment to Saudi Arabia.

The Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman Norman Lamb said: “It is time for the SFO to tackle the big fish in all of this. Did the authorisation of questionable payments go right to the top?” (*Financial Times*, 1/10/04; *BBC*, 3/11/04; *The Guardian*, 4/11/04)

Meanwhile...

After intense pressure from industry, the government has allowed anti-corruption rules that came into force in May to be flouted while it attempts to deal with claims from British exporters that the requirements would put them at a competitive disadvantage. The new procedures were for vetting deals by the Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD). The ECGD has not refused any company cover over corruption for at least five years in spite of several bribery allegations. (*Financial Times*, 18/10/04)

\$1bn US weapons deal with Pakistan

The US has proposed its largest arms sales package to Pakistan in more than 14 years, marking the first significant arms sale to a US ally since the re-election of President Bush.

The heart of the proposed package for Pakistan is the sale of eight P3-C Orion surveillance planes, built by Lockheed Martin, with a combined price tag of \$970m.

The sale of weapons such as the Orion land and sea surveillance aircraft apparently follow claims by Pakistan’s intelligence services that al-Qaeda followers have been ordered to leave for Iraq, and were likely to use either the land route through central Asia, or board small vessels, such as fishing trawlers, from Pakistan’s south coast. (*Financial Times*, 17/11/04)

Block the Builders

Block the Builders is a new campaign which aims to nonviolently prevent the building of a new laser facility at AWE Aldermaston, the first stage of a series of proposed developments which would enable AWE Aldermaston to build the next generation of nuclear weapons. If and when construction starts, Block the Builders plans to hold a nonviolent blockade of the site. This is not likely to happen until 2005, but planning for the campaign has started now.



Can we do it? Yes we can!

The core of the campaign is a pledge to block the builders at AWE Aldermaston if they start to put their plans into practice and begin construction. The pledge can be signed as an 'arrestable' person or as a 'support' person. On the Monday after it becomes known that construction has begun, the aim is to nonviolently block all entrances to AWE Aldermaston with as many people as possible, for the full day. It is hoped that a large number of pledgers at this stage will increase the pressure on the authorities within the planning process, and will add to the pressure for a public inquiry into the development of the new facility.

Block the Builders campaigners point out that new weapons would mean that the UK would continue to break its international obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) - to make progress, in good faith, towards disarmament. The new facilities at AWE also undermine the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (signed and ratified by the UK, but not yet in force), as they would enable research on nuclear weapons to continue without underground testing.

The campaign has produced an infopack - for your copy see www.blockthebuilders.org.uk or phone 07969 739 812. ■

Lockheed Martin's location exposed

This November Trident Ploughshares activists encouraged local residents, shoppers and those who work near the building housing the headquarters of Lockheed Martin, to write letters telling Lockheed Martin what they thought of their bloody business dealing in death.

Lockheed Martin is the world's largest maker and exporter of arms, and is actively engaged in developing the UK's next generation of nuclear weapons at AWE Aldermaston.

Protesters drew attention to Lockheed Martin's whereabouts with banners, arrows, fake missiles and by distributing leaflets. Many people stopped to write letters, which were delivered to 22 Carlisle Place later in the day.

Trident Ploughshares is a campaign committed to disarm UK nuclear weapons through direct, nonviolent, accountable action. For photos and further information contact Lyn Bliss 01582 736036. ■

Trident Ploughshares activists mark the spot Photo: TP



Called to be Christian Peacemakers ---- Feb 2005

All of us are called to be peacemakers yet it's often hard to know where to begin. Over the weekend of 11-13th February 2005, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR) is holding a conference for people aged 18-30 to explore Christian peacemaking and issues around war and armed conflict.

The weekend will include excellent speakers, in-depth workshops and discussions. It will also be an opportunity to meet with others from around the country who are grappling with how to be peacemakers.



Speakers include: Garth Hewitt, Lindis Percy, Mil Rai, Chris Cole

The weekend is being held in South-West London and will cost £15.

Travel bursaries are also available. Contact FoR, The Eirene Centre, Clopton, Kettering, Northants, NN14 3DZ 01832 720257 office@for.org.uk www.for.org.uk

Film: Farnborough 2004 – arms fair or airshow?

An expose of the arms dealing behind the 'Farnborough airshow'

Behind the family friendly propaganda of the Farnborough Airshow is another side - the arms deals. Sonia Rai goes inside the most important UK arms fair of 2004 and shows the weapons on sale. This short video film, 9 minutes long, is an ideal introduction to a widely misunderstood event. Make it part of a public meeting or part of an introduction to the international arms trade. A detailed briefing is also available on paper or at the website www.armsfair.com. Copies of the film on VHS video tape or DVD may be borrowed by post from the CAAT office. Contact Beccie D'Cunha, CAAT's Local Campaigns Co-ordinator, beccie@caat.org.uk, or telephone the office 020 7281 0297.

Greater Manchester Clean Investment



Manchester Clean Investment Campaign in action Photo: Manchester CAAT

Manchester Campaign Against the Arms Trade has called for Greater Manchester Pension Fund, the largest local authority pension fund in England and Wales, to end its arms investments.

The Fund is for employees of local and joint authorities in Greater Manchester. Its main participants are ten local authorities - Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan. The Fund has investments in major UK arms companies but in 2002 it also revealed that it invested in US arms companies – General Electric and United Technologies.

During 2005, Manchester CAAT aims to protest about the Fund's investments outside each of the ten Town Halls of these local authorities. The protests are aimed at making employees of these local authorities, council tax-payers and Councillors in Greater Manchester aware that they are linked to arms investments. Money paid by employees to the Fund as their pension contribution, plus council tax paid as the employers' contribution to the Fund are used for these investments. Furthermore, Councillors manage the Fund and thereby endorse investment in a deadly trade. Manchester CAAT has also launched a petition calling for the end of these investments by the Fund and will be collecting signatures throughout 2005.

To complete these activities Manchester CAAT has set up a website, www.greatermanchesterpensionfund.org.uk, which features details of the Fund's arms investments, more information on the issue, photographs of some of the weapons in which the Fund invests and a downloadable petition. The website also allows individuals to forward a letter to the Chair of the Fund, calling for the end of these investments. Manchester CAAT aims to take this campaign to as wide an audience as possible in 2005.

To make this campaign a success, Manchester CAAT would welcome supporters in and around Greater Manchester helping by attending its peaceful protests about the Fund's investments and/or by collecting signatures for the petition. To help with these activities please email us at info@greatermanchesterpensionfund.org.uk or write to Manchester CAAT at PO Box 24, Bridge Five Mill, 22A, Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester, M4 7HR. ■

Mike Kavanagh

Manchester CAAT's draft letter to Councillor S. Oldham, the Chair of Greater Manchester Pension Fund

Dear Councillor Oldham

As a stakeholder in Greater Manchester Pension Fund, I feel the following issues are being ignored by the Fund's investment practice.

Arms companies are engaged in supplying deadly weapons to war zones, regions of tension, oppressive regimes and developing countries around the world. Local authorities, whose role it is to look after people in this country, should not invest in companies producing weapons that bring death and misery to people elsewhere in the world. By doing so, they also ignore the concerns of the public they serve; research shows that 77% of UK adults support ethical investment by Pension Funds.

As a Fund member/Council Tax Payer/Councillor (delete as appropriate), I am opposed to investments in this deadly trade and call upon you to end the Fund's investments in both UK and overseas arms companies now and in the future.

Yours sincerely ...

Thanks to Mike Kavanagh

Mike Kavanagh, who had been a Supporter representative on the Steering Committee since 2000, did not stand again as he is concentrating on the Clean Investment Campaign in Manchester. During his time on Steering Committee, Mike made an enormous contribution to its work. Our thanks to him.

Poker in the eye of t



All photos: Patrick Delaney

Gathering participants explore government-arms industry links through a game of cards

Campaigning can be a frustrating business. We have to fight against disillusionment and feelings of powerlessness. We can write letters, sign petitions and protest for hours outside government departments: we can dedicate our lives to campaigning for an end to the arms trade and yet still come up against brick walls or get nothing but standard replies from an anonymous civil servant. It can feel like no one is listening to us, and no one cares about our opinions anyway.

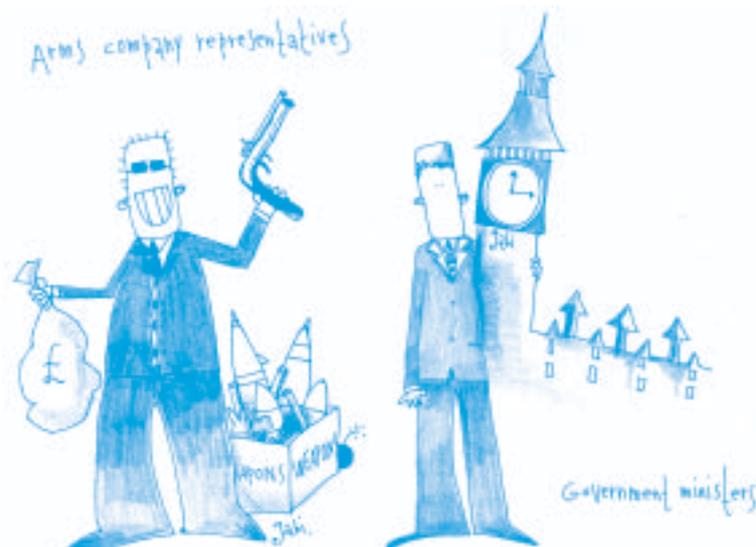
Meanwhile, representatives from the arms industry enjoy a vastly disproportionate amount of access to, and influence over, government policy-makers. Former Foreign Secretary Robin Cook wrote in his autobiography that “the Chairman of British Aerospace appeared to have the key to the garden door to Number 10”. Arms company representatives sit on a vast array of advisory bodies or task forces alongside senior officials and ministers, while Ministry of Defence officials accept high-salaried positions in the military industry and vice versa.

CAAT’s new campaign – to be launched early in the New Year – will be looking at these links and the political influence that they give to arm companies. Getting involved in this campaign will give us the chance to combat those feelings of frustration. We can, after all, challenge this web of relationships and the privileged political access enjoyed by arms companies.

These complex issues were introduced at the national gathering through CAAT’s very own version of the ‘Happy Families’ card game, in which players had to collect a complete family set. The families were made up of various combinations of arms company representatives, government ministers or civil

servants, European Union representatives, trade unionists and arms industry trade associations. Some families represented the revolving door between the Ministry of Defence and the arms industry; others represented some of the government’s task forces.

There were some great ideas generated from the group discussions at the gathering. These ranged from pub quizzes and crazy cabaret to creating a mock-up revolving door. Being at the national gathering was a start: it encouraged us to work together to get our voices heard; and provided us with the forum to share ideas for the new campaign. ■ *Beccie D’Cunha*



he arms trade

Roger Knight, CAAT Local Contact for Bexleyheath gives his feedback on the gathering:

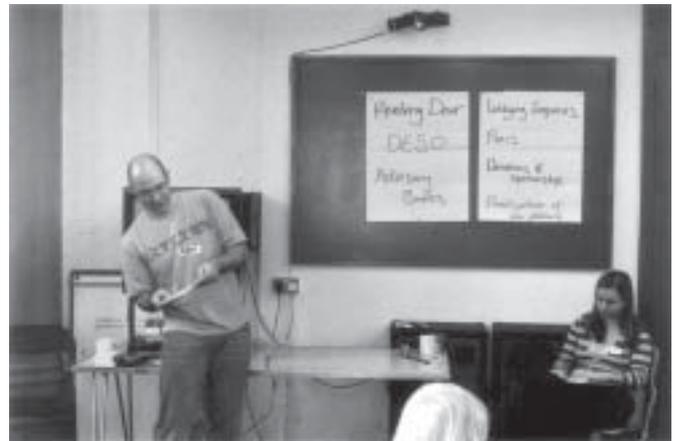
The day began with a game of cards: 'Happy Families'! As often happens with the arms trade all was not as it seemed. This clever game, devised by Beccie, was intended to underline the complex relationships within the arms trade, and the intrigues between government and industry. A picture emerged of the complex web that exists between personalities in politics and commerce that make up this evil trade. After the game Ian gave a talk expanding on the problems that we have in breaking through this web. This was followed by open discussion on the points raised.

An excellent lunch was provided during which we were shown three videos. These included 'Where is the Love?', which gave children's comments about the arms trade.

The afternoon was mostly workshops covering Speaker Training, Local Campaigning, Fundraising, Clean Investment, Campaigning with the Computer, Use of the Media, and Arms Fair Protest. I chose Local Campaigning and Clean Investment and came away encouraged and inspired, as there was so much to draw upon. At the workshops I suddenly realised that I could do something with local schools, using the videos we had seen earlier. I am already involved in Clean Investment and this workshop helped us all to see the value of keeping at the campaign, however slow the results. Liz and Ian assured us of the value in keeping going and encouraged us to continue. They are both great in offering encouragement in this field!

Beccie together with all in the CAAT office had worked hard to make it one of the most enjoyable and productive CAAT national days I can remember – thank you to all.

Perhaps the game of happy families revealed something else: how well CAAT people get on together. It was good to meet old friends and to make new ones. ■



Ian in action during the government-arms industry links talk

The characters featured on the 'Happy Families' playing cards Illustration: Gabrielle Frödén



Spearhead and Reed: Exhibitors Extraordinaire

Spearhead Exhibitions

In 1999 Spearhead Exhibitions Ltd was invited to become the organiser of what had, until then, been the Royal Navy and British Army Equipment Exhibition. The exhibition was renamed the Defence Systems & Equipment international exhibition (DSEi) and had a similar role to its predecessor – the promotion of the UK arms industry and arms exports. Spearhead has organised the biennial DSEi arms fair ever since.

A 2002 Ministry of Defence letter suggested that the change in the nature of the fair also “reflected the increasingly transnational nature of the defence equipment industry” [1]. Indeed, in 2003 over 400 of the 1000 exhibitors were non-UK. Both UK and non-UK companies marketed small arms, missiles, planes, tanks, military electronics and warships, and surveillance and riot control equipment.

The Ministry of Defence estimated that DSEi 2003 would cost £400,000 in “direct costs”, but did not put a figure on the cost incurred by allowing the participation of government employees, from the Defence Secretary to military personnel who were demonstrating various pieces of equipment [2]. Nor did the government include the costs of policing the event, which were reported to have reached £4.38m [3].

Some Spearhead staff

Bob Munton: Chief Executive (bob.munton@spearhead.co.uk)

Mark Jones: Head of Sales, DSEi arms fair

Nik Rudge: Sales and Marketing Director Offshore Europe, (nik.rudge@spearhead.co.uk)

James Grant: author of article in *Armed Forces International* [4]

Spearhead Exhibitions Ltd, www.spearhead.co.uk

Forthcoming Spearhead exhibitions

Defence Systems & Equipment international (www.dsei.co.uk)

13–16 September 2005, ExCel, London Docklands

One of the largest exhibitions of military equipment in the world. Organised in association with the UK Ministry of Defence.

Offshore Europe 2005 (www.offshore-europe.co.uk)

6–9 September 2005, Aberdeen Exhibition & Conference Centre, Aberdeen

The biennial event for the international offshore oil and gas industry. Organised by Spearhead Exhibitions Ltd and the Society of Petroleum Engineers.

Helitech 2005 (www.helitech.co.uk)

27–29 September 2005, Duxford, near Cambridge

A showcase of military and civil helicopter technologies.

Forthcoming Reed exhibitions

World Travel Market (www.wtmlondon.com)

6–11 November 2004, ExCel, London

British Travel Trade Fair

(www.britishtraveltradefair.com)

2–3 March 2005, National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham

London Book Fair 2005 (www.lbf-virtual.com)

13–15 March 2005, Olympia, London

International Food Exhibition (www.ife.co.uk)

13–16 March 2005, ExCel, London

Reed Exhibitions

In September 2003 Reed Exhibitions bought Spearhead for an undisclosed sum.

Reed Exhibitions is one of five subdivisions of Reed Business, which is one of four groups of the publishing and information business Reed Elsevier Group plc.

The Reed Elsevier Group (www.reedelsevier.com) describes itself as: “a leading provider of global information driven services and solutions ... In 2003 revenues were £5 billion” [5].

The Group is probably most renowned for its share of the publishing market. Over the years it has acquired numerous publishing houses and publications including Pergamon Press, IPC, Shepards and Harcourt General.

Reed Exhibitions’ website (www.reedexpo.com) describes its business as “the world’s leading organiser of trade and consumer exhibitions”. Its annual calendar of events lists over 430 events in 32 countries. The company is extending its reach from its key market areas further into the organisation of international exhibitions for the aerospace and military industries. These include Latin America Aero and Defence 2005, Helitech Latin America 2005 and the Taipei Aerospace Technology Exhibition.

Reed Exhibitions has partnerships with several large venues around the world, and is a shareholder in ExCel in London (www.excel-london.co.uk). Amongst their many exhibitions are the prestigious London, Paris and Tokyo Book Fairs, the World Travel Market, the International Food and Drink Exhibition and The Australian Wine Industry Expo. ■ *Gilleen Paterson*

Reed Elsevier Group plc, www.reedelsevier.com

Reed Exhibitions, www.reedexpo.com

NB: Reed Employment, the well-known recruitment company, is not connected in any way to Reed Elsevier or their subsidiaries. (<http://www.reed.co.uk/client/active/>)

- 1 Letter from Dr Lewis Moonie MP, MoD, 29/7/02
- 2 www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/dsei/dsei-2003-report/introducing-dsei.php
- 3 ‘The Wharf’, 5/2/04
- 4 www.armedforces-int.com/article.asp?pubID=15&catID=405&artID=809
- 5 Page 1, Reed Elsevier Group Annual Report 2003

Government response to Indonesia's use of UK-supplied equipment

In October the Government published its response to the cross-party Quadripartite Committee's report issued in May (*CAAT News* 185).

The Committee, after lobbying by CAAT and the Indonesia human rights campaign TAPOL, had criticised the Government for an unclear explanation of why conditions on the Indonesian Army's use of UK-supplied equipment in Aceh had been relaxed in August 2002 when atrocities in the province were rampant and escalating. It also criticised the Government for its ineffectual monitoring of Indonesian use of UK equipment in Aceh, and for not being prepared to punish breaches of the end-use conditions.

The Government has now set out its three most important considerations in relaxing the end-use conditions. None of these are human rights. It ignores CAAT and TAPOL's criticism that the relaxation effectively gave a green light for Indonesian Army atrocities in Aceh (*CAAT News* 183). In response to the criticism of its monitoring, the Government can only cite two instances

since August 2002 where UK officials visited Aceh for monitoring: the first of these took place 18 months after the relaxation! The Government's response is irresponsible and inadequate and CAAT and TAPOL will be pressing the MPs to not let the matter drop.

The Government's response to the one paragraph of the MPs report taken mainly from the Defence Manufacturers Association (DMA)-inspired evidence takes up about a fifth of the document. In contrast to CAAT and TAPOL's evidence, the DMA's assertions are comprehensively and deservedly demolished. The Government does not agree that the UK "compares badly with other licensing authorities, either as regards the speed with which licences are processed or the strictness of our decisions". Many of industry's factual claims are shown to be unfounded - particularly the laughable suggestion that Germany gives export approval by a simple phone call! We recommend that the DMA spends more time on its homework. ■ *Nicholas Gilby*

CAAT opinion poll results

CAAT's latest opinion poll shows continuing support for our position that we should not sell military equipment to other countries, with 44% of the British public agreeing that the UK should not sell arms abroad.

The same set of questions were used this year as were used in a CAAT poll last year. In 2003 the poll showed that 46% opposed arms exports. The CAAT polls follow on from a poll conducted for the MoD in 1998 in which 43% opposed arms exports. Opposition to arms exports has not significantly changed under New Labour. The questions asked in the government survey referred to military equipment as "defence equipment" and asked about sales to "close allies"; CAAT prefers 'EU' or 'NATO' in this

respect. All the polls used the same polling company, the same polling techniques and a similar weighting technique.

This year's CAAT poll, like last year's, shows that CAAT's position on arms exports is still more supported than one where arms are only sold to EU and NATO countries. Encouragingly, more people are now against arms sales to countries the Gov sees as our "allies" than are in favour, a marked turnaround from 1998

The poll was conducted by BMRB International. A total sample of 1001 interviews with adults aged 15+ living in the UK was undertaken between 28th October 2004 and 3rd November 2004. Results were weighted to ensure that demographic profiles match those for adults in the UK aged 15 or over. ■ *Andrew Wood*

Summary of survey (top figures represent CAAT's 2004 survey; middle figures represent CAAT's 2003 survey; bottom figures are Government's 1998 survey)

To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement:	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree strongly	Don't know
Q1. We should sell military equipment to any country that wishes to buy it (%)	3 3 4	6 4 6	8 10 6	23 20 17	59 62 66	1 0 2
Q2. We should sell military equipment to any country not under UN embargo (%)	3 3 6	11 10 14	17 16 12	26 24 24	40 46 41	2 1 4
Q3. We should sell military equipment only to countries that are in the EU or NATO (%)	10 9 31	24 29 31	24 20 12	20 17 12	20 23 12	2 1 2
Q4. We should not sell military equipment to other countries (%)	26 29 25	18 16 16	19 20 15	21 20 21	14 15 20	2 1 2



Labour Party Conference

The CAAT stall at this autumn's Labour Party Conference focussed on arms export subsidies whilst BAE Systems' much larger display featured the company's supposed 'benefits' to the UK economy and education. There was no mention that these had been ridiculed in the Policy Exchange's 'The Best Kit' launched the previous week (see page 3).

For CAAT, the most interesting fringe meeting was organised by the trade union Amicus on 'The future of the UK defence sector'. Most of those present were from the arms industry. The speakers were John

Wall, the Amicus National Officer for Aerospace, Shipbuilding and Defence; Sally Howes, Director General of the Society of British Aerospace Companies; and Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon.

Hoon lavished praise on Amicus and talked proudly of his decision to buy Hawks, overruling his own Permanent Secretary by means of a Ministerial Directive. This, he said, is the Defence Industrial Policy in practice. As readers of *CAAT News* will know, it was the Hawk decision that finally persuaded India to buy the same plane. Geoff Hoon revealed

that he was off to India the following week on another trip as salesman for the UK's arms industry.

In another measure that emphasises the close links between Government, industry and the unions, Hoon announced that he had appointed John Wall to the National Defence Industries Council - the first union member so appointed.

Our thanks to Mark Erickson, Adam Kilgarriff, Susan and Howard Kniveton, Penny and John Mitchell and Jean Twine who looked after the CAAT stall. ■

Ann Feltham

In brief

Still arming Israel

In October, the Government issued its second Quarterly Report on Strategic Export Controls covering the period April to June 2004 (www.dti.gov.uk/export.control).

Particularly worrying are the licences that have been issued for the export of equipment to Israel. In its 2004 Human Rights Report the Foreign Office expressed concern about the civilian casualties during the Israeli military incursions into the Occupied Territories.

- Please write to your MP, House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA. Ask your MP to suggest to the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, that he turns his concern into action. Call for the imposition of an embargo on the sale of all UK equipment to, and purchases from, Israel as well as the breaking off of all military contacts.

Europe

The Foreign Office has published its 'Guide to the European Union' (see www.fco.gov.uk and then click on 'Britain and the EU'). This includes its explanation of the EU Constitution. The page headed 'Improving defence and security' includes: "The EU Constitution would also encourage improvements to the military effectiveness of European countries". It goes on: "This should help encourage other European countries to spend more on defence." This is certainly good news for the arms companies, but not for those who had hoped that the EU might explore a different path towards security.

Trade Union membership

CAAT is planning to do more work with the trade unions, and it would be useful to know which CAAT supporters belong to which unions. If you belong to a union, please email Ann on ann@caat.org.uk or contact her at the office.

Arms trade treaty

The Control Arms campaign had a big success when Jack Straw told the Labour Party Conference that the UK would start work soon to build support for an international arms trade treaty. He made this commitment while talking about small arms, so it is unclear whether he envisages the treaty covering all military equipment or just small arms. ■ *Ann Feltham*

Letter

Dear *CAAT News*,

I was interested in the coalitions article on page 12 of the October/November *CAAT News*. Very early on – in 1976 I think - CAAT set up a coalition of peace groups (already on the CAAT Steering Committee) and third world development agencies to look at the effect of the arms trade on developing countries. It was called Committee on Poverty and the Arms Trade (COPAT), although we really wanted to call it Committee on World Poverty and the Arms Trade – a much better acronym.

It involved the usual suspects – Pax Christi, Quakers, United Nations Association – plus War on Want, Oxfam, Christian Aid, World Development Movement, and the Catholic Institute for International Relations, I think, and probably some others. We met regularly, and published 'Bombs for Breakfast', a booklet about the links between the arms trade and third world poverty. Although it seems hard to believe now, the idea of such a link was very radical, and there was a lot of opposition within some parts of Oxfam and Christian Aid to their being involved in any such coalition.

My recollection is that there was a similar coalition a couple of years later when we were working on arms trade/human rights issues ('the repression trade') and throughout the late '70s we were involved in informal networks of organisations, working with the Lucas shop stewards on alternatives to military industry. So there is a long and illustrious history of working in coalition.

Glad to see CAAT is still so active and is so well respected.

Best wishes,
Sandy Adirondack

CAAT Co-ordinator September 1975 to May 1979 and Joint Co-ordinator from May 1979 to April 1980

Royal Docks Community School makes DSEi arms fair documentary

After looking out of their classroom window and wondering what on earth was going on, students at a school next to the site of the DSEi arms fair produced a documentary exploring the hubbub on their doorstep. School Informal Educator Isabel Hallett spoke to *CAAT News* about the project.

CAAT News What is the film?

IH It's a 10-minute documentary titled 'Where is the Love?'. It explores the DSEi Arms Fair and related social justice issues from the perspective of six young people at The Royal Docks Community School. The school is situated just a stone's throw away from the ExCel Centre, where the fair takes place.

CAAT News How did the film come about?

IH During the fair students asked questions such as 'who are the protesters?', 'why are there so many police?', 'why can't we be let out of school at break time?' and, of course, 'what's an arms fair?'

I encouraged them to seek different viewpoints and to question police, protesters and others involved. Sadly the students felt that their questions were often neither answered nor welcomed. They were frustrated that few people seemed to understand or care about the arms fair, both in terms of their fellow students and teachers.

Impressed by their desire to learn more, the school's Informal Education team invited the students to attend a Community Forum meeting. The students played an active role in the meeting, questioning police and receiving applause from the audience. For many of them this was their first engagement with any kind of local politics. To further support their engagement with local issues and to enable them to find out the views of members of the community as well as the arms dealers themselves, we put forward a proposal to make an investigative documentary film.

CAAT News What was the process of making the film like?

IH It was a really long process! We met as a group for over six months exploring the issues before beginning the filming. The young people were initially concerned with how the fair impacted upon their school and daily lives, but as time went on



Students from the Royal Docks Community School film project

they began making links between the arms trade and issues such as conflict and asylum-seekers.

The young people were at the centre of the project throughout, exploring issues from their perspective as members of the local community. The Informal Education Team worked in partnership with Community Speak, a not-for-profit organisation that trains young people in film-making.

CAAT News What do you hope will happen with the film now?

IH We'd like it to gain as wide an audience as possible. A resource pack is currently being developed for the film to be used in the citizenship part of the curriculum - both for the Royal Docks School and for

schools more widely. The project has received funding from First Light/Film Council and we hope that they will help to promote it in terms of competitions and festivals. We are also having requests for the film from community and peace groups throughout the country.

In addition to its screening at the Royal Docks Community School, which was covered extensively by London Tonight, the film has been screened on board 'Peace Boat' a Japanese peace education project. We are hoping that the film will carry on receiving local, national and international exposure, increasing awareness of the arms fair and inspiring both young people and adults that their views matter and can make a difference. ■

A must-see video

One day in September 2003 you find hundreds of police outside your school. They say they are there as people are protesting about the arms fair in the exhibition centre over the road. This is just what happened to students at the Royal Docks Community School and their response was to find out more and make a short film of their findings. Although the students started their project with open minds, the result brilliantly questions why the UK is promoting the sale of arms around the world.

You can borrow 'Where is the Love?' in either video or DVD format from the CAAT office. It lasts about 15 minutes. Use it to tell others about the DSEi arms fair and to encourage them to campaign around it in 2005.



Fundraising

by Kathryn Busby

Paula Radcliffe was the focus of the media's attention at the New York City Marathon on 7th November, but for CAAT the star of the race was Laetitia Vail (pictured) who successfully ran her first marathon to raise money for our campaign.

The long hours of training finally paid off as Laetitia completed the 26 mile course in 4 hours and 25 seconds, a superb time that exceeded her own expectations and placed her in the top 20% of women in the race. On behalf of everyone at CAAT, I'd like to congratulate Laetitia and say a huge thank you to her for the commitment and enthusiasm she put into both her training and her fundraising.

Thanks also to all those who have already sponsored Laetitia; the appeal in *CAAT News* alone has raised nearly £1,000 so far. If you haven't yet made a donation and are able to, please send a cheque to the office (payable to CAAT) marked 'NY Marathon' on the back. Or if you have internet access you can visit www.bmycharity.com/runningfish and make a secure online donation with your debit or credit card.

I would also like to mention once again our Flora Light 5k runners, including Virginia Moffat and Margaret Davis, as we now know that the total raised from this event was £739. Our thanks go to all who took part and those who supported them.

It's nearly time for New Year's resolutions, so if you are feeling inspired by



Laetitia Vail with her finisher's medal Photo: CAAT

Laetitia, Virginia and Margaret, why not set yourself the challenge of running a race to raise money for CAAT in 2005? Give me a call or check the CAAT website for details of running events across the country.

In the last issue of *CAAT News* you may have noticed an advertisement for the Phone Co-op; an ethical and environmentally responsible telephone service provider. By switching to the low tariffs of

the Phone Co-op, you can save money and support CAAT at the same time, as we receive 6% of the cost of your calls as commission. It's a great scheme and easy for you to set up, just call 0845 458 9000 or visit www.thephone.coop for more details. Please remember to tell them that you are from CAAT, as this is essential for us to receive the commission. Thank you all for your invaluable support this year and I'll see you in 2005! ■

Steering Committee elections

There was no election for the Supporter representatives for Steering Committee this year as there were four nominations for the four two-year places. Richie Andrew, Richard Bass, Dorothy Forbes and Nick Gilby are, therefore, deemed elected.

Still a vacancy

There is still one vacancy for a Supporter representative, for a one-year place. The closing date for nominations will be 17th December. If you would like to stand, please call Ann at the office or email her on ann@caat.org.uk for more details.

Holiday period

The CAAT office will be closed from 1pm on Wednesday 22nd December until 10am on Thursday 6th January.

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

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 Beccie D'Cunha.

Email beccie@caat.org.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.org.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 action@caat.org.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.org.uk tel 020 7281 0297

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 postcards 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.

Contact the office for more details.

Who Calls the Shots?

A new report on the ways in which government-corporate collusion drives arms exports Out soon!

The Labour government continues to offer massive financial and political support for UK arms-exporting companies. The official reasons for this support are given as economic, strategic and/or political, depending on what is most convenient for government spokespeople. However, these rationales are being subjected to increasing scrutiny. They look at best flimsy and at worst pure manipulation.

But if these rationales are not sustainable, why does the government continue to support arms exports? This report provides much-needed and long-awaited analysis of the prime candidate for an answer – the very special relationship between the government and arms companies.

The report tracks the web of links that provide arms companies with influence within government: the revolving door of jobs-for-the-boys; the expansion of quangos and other 'advisory bodies'; the use of lobbying companies and influential Labour Peers; cash donations and sponsorship; and the rapidly expanding privatization of the military through Public Private Partnerships.

The report's information and analysis provides the means for understanding why the arms companies retain their power under the Labour government and, consequently, why the UK continues to export weapons around the world.

For copies of the report contact Patrick at the office.



Campaigns diary



9 December 2004 Anti-corruption day 10 January 2005 East London Against the Arms Fair (ELAFA) meeting, 7.30pm Garden Cafe, 7 Cundy Road, London E16 (ELAFA meetings will take place on the 2nd Monday of each month until the ExCel Arms Fair is cancelled) All welcome. 13-16 September 2005 ExCel Arms Fair? London. See www.caat.org.uk for more information on arms trade events throughout the year

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web www.caat.org.uk



FROM THE ARCHIVES FUELLING UP AT CAAT'S 1977 GATHERING

Photo:CAAT

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