

# CAAT*news*



## 'Call the shots' campaign launch

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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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**Take the arms companies out of government. See pages 8-9** POLYP

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# BAE Systems AGM, 4 May, London

It's nearly that time of year again. Spring is in the air, and it's time to start thinking about the sticky questions that we want to put to the top dogs at BAE Systems at their Annual General Meeting.

BAE Systems is Europe's largest (and is rapidly becoming one of the world's biggest) arms companies. It maintains its dominating position not least because of its massive influence over the UK government. As our new report 'Who calls the shots?' makes clear (see pages 8 and 9), the boundary between the UK Government and arms companies – BAE Systems in particular – is extremely blurred. We can only assume that it is thanks to government collusion that BAE Systems continues to get away with selling weapons to repressive regimes and areas of conflict. For example, amid continuing allegations of fraud in connection with the UK-Saudi £20 billion Al Yamamah arms-for-oil deal, the



## Tony puts in a surprise appearance at last year's AGM

RICHIE ANDREW

Exports Credits Guarantee Department has told the Commons' Trade and Industry Committee that new anti-bribery rules were weakened at the behest of BAE Systems.

CAAT will be holding BAE Systems to account at its Annual General Meeting on Wednesday 4th May in

Central London. The new Chairman Dick Olver will be in the hot seat and CAAT will be interested to see how he justifies his company's trade.

If you're already a token shareholder you will hopefully have received a letter from us about the AGM. If you haven't, or if you are not currently a shareholder but would like to attend the AGM along with other CAAT supporters, please get in touch as soon as possible.

We also plan to have a presence outside the AGM. This will build on the success of last year's protest, which involved street theatre portraying Tony Blair in bed with the BAE Chairman.

Before the AGM there will be a CAAT briefing and get-together. If you would like to get involved or have any questions or ideas, please let us know so we can send you more information. In the meantime, keep your eye on our website and sign up to the Action Network email list. ANNA JONES

## New act, new figures: The 2005 Clean Investment campaign launch

It's time once again for CAAT to release lists of universities, local authorities, charities etc. that have shares in arms companies. Time too for individual campaigners to check the figures and write to their local authority or any other investor in which they have a particular interest.

This year has seen a major development for the campaign: the Freedom of Information Act. This came into force on the 1 January and looks as if it will provide us with a key tool for retrieving information regarding the investments of public bodies, especially where previous requests have been refused.

### Churches and Charities

Two large Church shareholdings have been sold – the Church of

England Fund's holding in Smiths Group and the United Reformed Church Trust's holding in GKN. Only a few smaller shareholders now remain in this sector. The news in the charitable sector isn't so positive with the RNLI and Charities Official Investment Fund retaining a large number of shares and new shareholdings showing up for the Leukaemia Research Fund and SCOPE Investment Portfolio.

### Why hold shares in BAE Systems?

Perhaps the most striking feature about the local authorities' shareholdings is their extreme variation. There are, for example, 12 local authorities that hold more than a million shares in BAE Systems. You would think this would mean they

were a 'must-have' investment, but there are also 30 local authorities that have no BAE Systems shares at all, despite not having a policy that excludes arms companies. If so many fund managers are avoiding BAE Systems on presumably financial grounds then you have to wonder why councillors are so worried about excluding it on ethical grounds.

The new lists of shareholdings are available on the CAAT website (and from the office). Other resources are available to help you get going, including a Clean Investment Pack, and if you're not sure where to start or what might be a good next step, do ring me in the office.

IAN PRICHARD

### **BAE Systems turns back on East...**

BAE Systems has said that it will not sell arms to China if the EU lifts its arms embargo, for fear of losing its US investments. "We can't do America and China and we want to preserve our business relationship with the US" said one official.

BAE's concerns have been echoed by the Defence Manufacturers Association, and are underlined by a statement from the Chair of the US Senate Foreign

Relations Committee that he would support restricted military sales to the EU if it lifted the embargo. The US is concerned that EU arms deals with China could aid a country that the US sees as a potential military rival. Washington, for example, is keen to stop sales of electronic equipment that China could use to jam US aircraft carriers deployed near Taiwan.

TIMES, 22/2/05

### **... and looks West as US Department of Defence becomes its biggest customer**

With its recent agreement to buy US-based United Defense Industries (UDI) for £2.1 billion BAE Systems' sights are firmly trained on the US. UDI's products include combat vehicles, the design of artillery systems, missile launchers and munitions. BAE chief executive Mike Turner hopes that funding will come UDI's way from the US Department

of Defence's massive budget: in recent years US budget priorities have shifted towards land-based military equipment.

The deal will make the US Department of Defence into BAE Systems' biggest customer – a position previously held by the Ministry of Defence in the UK.

BBC NEWS, 7/3/05

### **Arms continue to Somalia**

According to a UN team, weapons have continued to enter Somalia despite a UN ban on sales of weapons to the country, imposed after Somalia's government collapsed in 1992.

The UN team suggested that groups both inside and outside of Somalia are carrying out the deals. It stated that groups who have expressed their opposition to the transitional federal government (TFG) and its international supporters are now militarily strengthened and are well-organised and well-funded.

INTEGRATED REGIONAL INFORMATION NETWORKS,  
15/3/05

### **EU procurement not just for local people**

Nick Witney, chief executive of the European Defence Agency - the EU's new arms procurement group - has called for an end to the practice whereby contracts are handed to favoured local firms by national governments within the EU. Now that military units under EU command are a reality on the ground, Witney is calling for a code of conduct to introduce competition into arms deals, and for greater transparency in any exceptions to such a code.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 24/1/05

### **Rise in Russia's arms exports**

Preliminary figures for Russia's arms exports last year suggest that it may beat 2003's record for sales in post-Soviet times. The post-Soviet model relies on exports rather than domestic sales, and last year's sales of \$5.6 billion to \$5.7 billion were largely dependent on contracts with India and China.

Russia plans to open offices for arms deals in Belgium, Italy, Burma and Venezuela, and is apparently considering whether it should resume sales of military equipment to the Palestinian Authority.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 12/1/05; AP, 26/2/05

### **UK hypocrisy in gifts to Nepal**

A proposed UK 'gift' of military equipment to Nepal has been suspended after the King of Nepal dismissed the country's Prime Minister and government. The deal was to have taken place under the euphemistically-named Global Conflict Prevention Pool.

However, the Liberal Democrats pointed out that military equipment has been gifted to the Nepalese government (and export licences granted) over the last three years, despite regular Foreign Office reports concluding that both sides of the Nepalese dispute have committed widespread human rights abuses.

FCO PRESS OFFICE, 22/2/05; TIMES, 18/2/05

### **MoD sets up PFI office**

The Ministry of Defence has set up an office to oversee Private Finance Initiatives (PFIs) in the military. The office will oversee the 52 existing PFIs and the 17 PFIs that are currently in the procurement process, as well as assessing programmes as potential PFIs. Concerns have been raised that the unit is not based in the acquisition branch of the MoD, the Defence Procurement Agency.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 16/2/05

## Concern over arms trade spreads, but not from likely CAAT supporters

### Venezuela arms deals worry US

Venezuela has agreed to buy aircraft from Brazil, a move that fuels US concern after Venezuela's purchase of military equipment from Russia. The US Department of State has warned Moscow of a "potential destabilising effect on the hemisphere" and is concerned about the threat that Venezuela may pose to Colombia, the US's biggest ally in the region and the third largest recipient of its overseas aid. The US is already unhappy with Venezuela's attempt to divert its oil shipments to China, away from its traditional US market.

Analysts predict that Venezuela's recent deals will prompt Colombia to ask the US for more military support, with the potential of an arms race in the Andes. FINANCIAL TIMES, 15/2/05

### US nervous over Iran agreements

The US has raised concerns over an Austrian deal to supply rifles to the Iranian police, claiming that "the US opposes all arms transfers to state sponsors of terrorism".

The US is also concerned over a Russian agreement to ship enriched uranium fuel to Iran, clearing the way for Iran's first nuclear reactor to start operating next year.

Predictions have been made that the Russian uranium deal makes a US or Israeli attack on Iran's nuclear facilities likely sooner rather than later, to avoid fall-out from a fully operational facility.

VOICE OF AMERICA NEWS, 9/2/05; TELEGRAPH, 28/2/05

### Japan requests end to arms sales in Far East

Japan has asked Israel to stop selling weapons to countries in the Far East. The same request has also been made to Russia and the European Union. However, further details are lacking: apparently Japanese Foreign Minister Machimura made the request to his Israeli counterpart in a "general way without specifying any country in particular".

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, 16/1/05

### Israel questioned over arms to Georgia and the Ivory Coast

Japan isn't alone in making demands on Israel: Russia has asked it to stop selling arms to Georgia, and the French government has demanded information on Israeli companies selling arms to the Ivory Coast. The Russian request was based on concern over Israeli weapons falling into Chechen hands.

Israel did as asked, even though Israeli industry sources highlighted Russian refusal of an Israeli request not to sell anti-aircraft missiles to Syria, due to concern over weapons falling into Hezbollah hands.

Meanwhile, the French request indirectly places responsibility on the Israeli arms industry for the death of French soldiers in the Ivory Coast. The French say that drones and surveillance systems assisted the Ivory Coast air force in the attack in which the soldiers were killed. The French reprisal included the destruction of an Ivory Coast intelligence centre operated by Israeli systems.

HAARETZ, 20/2/05 AND 11/2/05

## Shorts in brief

### Job cuts

In January BAE Systems cut 1,400 jobs, blaming a fall in orders, while helicopter firm Agusta Westland cut 640 jobs just four days after an aircraft it designed was chosen for the US presidential fleet.

WWW.THISISMONEY.CO.UK, 27/1/05; FT, 1/2/05

### Iraq partners in crime?

A seminar held by the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) in January updated the UK arms industry on the situation in Iraq. The seminar revealed that Iraq has major military requirements, and budgets for these are immediately available.

DMA NEWS, JANUARY 2005

### Brazil cancels jet deal

Brazil has cancelled plans to spend \$700million on twelve new fighter planes from bidders including a British-Swedish consortium of BAE Systems and Saab. Brazil says that technological advances have rendered the aircraft obsolete.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 25/2/05

### Italian military spending continues to fall

Italy's 2005 military budget is just under one per cent of GDP, maintaining its decline over recent years. Spending on procurement alone is down by approximately 23 per cent on 2004.

DEFENSE NEWS, 7/2/05

### New report: The Impact of Guns on Women's Lives

Women are paying an increasingly heavy price for the unregulated multi-billion-dollar trade in small arms, according to a report issued on the eve of International Women's Day. The report by Amnesty International, IANSA and Oxfam International spells out the circumstances where women are most at risk from armed violence and examines a wide range of gun control measures around the world.

See [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org) or contact James Dyson on 07795 628 367.

# DSEi arms fair, 13-16 Sept 2005

London's Docklands will once again become a focus for anti-arms campaigners this September when the fourth Defence Systems and Equipment International (DSEi) takes place at the ExCel Exhibition Centre in East London. In 2003, DSEi was the biggest "tri-service defence exhibition" in the world, and military equipment was promoted to dozens of countries, many with appalling human rights records.

The DSEi official organisers, Spearhead Exhibitions (owned by Reed Elsevier), promise that DSEi

2005 will be bigger than last time, and that "products and services related to Homeland security, anti-terrorism, access control, and personal security" will be on display.

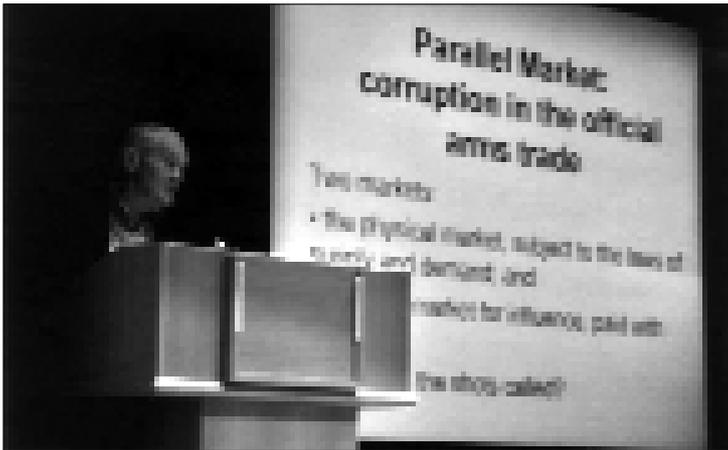
CAAT will be campaigning against the DSEi arms fair in various ways and we need your help. We will be holding information and training events around the country in the coming months and will be pressuring the organisers in the run up to the fair. We will be mobilising for a mass demonstration on the first day of the fair, as well as organising

a day for meeting, planning and discussion. We will be supporting nonviolent direct action at and around the fair itself, and we will be supporting the local community in the Docklands in their campaign against the fair.

Materials will be available in the coming weeks and we'll be posting information on the website. Get in touch if you'd like to host an information and training event in your area, or if you have questions or ideas about the campaign.

ANNA JONES

## CAAT Annual Lecture: a report



**Joe Roeber**

PATRICK DELANEY

Some 130 people gathered on 9th February to hear CAAT's third annual lecture given by journalist and political economist, Joe Roeber.

Joe described the corrupt market involving influence and bribes which runs parallel to the regular market of supply and demand. He explained how arms procurement is being inflated and distorted, contending that "the official arms trade is the most corrupt legal international trade in the world". His principal case was the 1999 South African Arms deal, and we were fortunate to have as chairperson Andrew Feinstein, a former ANC MP who resigned in protest at his government's refusal to allow his Parliamentary committee to fully investigate alleged corruption and mismanagement.

Joe Roeber described the arms trade as "hot-wired for corruption", so "reform was crucial". Some in the audience wanted to know how best to campaign against corruption, bearing in mind the secrecy, vague definitions and threats of litigation which make the subject very difficult to deal with.

This was an inspiring evening. In the tradition of CAAT's annual lecture it lifted the veil on a subject where there is misunderstanding or a downright disregard for the facts by those in power. We know that Joe is experiencing considerable difficulties in bringing his findings to a wider audience and hope that this lecture has helped in this regard. We thank him most warmly for giving the lecture. TONY KEMPSTER

## Letter

Armaments are no better than highly expensive clubs without ammunition, and ammunition has two give-away characteristics.

Ammunition has a distinctive smell. Sniffer dogs are routinely trained to identify the presence of ammunition. Countries and agencies that invested heavily in sniffer dogs could prevent the transfer of lethal products across their borders. They could also use the dogs to lead searches for ammunitions caches.

The other weakness of ammunition lies in the chemicals used in its production. Not only will the factory have a distinctive smell, so that a clandestine production unit will be open to discovery by the aforementioned sniffer dogs, but also, in order to produce ammunition, the manufacturer needs to obtain large quantities of certain chemicals. All it takes is for these chemicals to be put on a register, and people ordering large quantities of the precursor chemicals will attract attention.

I suggest that while continuing in exerting its present pressure on the arms trade, CAAT also begins to think and talk about the advantages of bearing down on the production, sale and transfer of ammunition.

RICHARD LAWSON  
CONGRESBURY

# Stop the Arms Trade Week, 4-12 June 2005

## Act locally to take the arms companies out of government

With the Call the Shots campaign (see pages 8 and 9) newly launched, Stop Week is a great opportunity for raising awareness in your local area about the immense influence that arms companies have over government decision-making. Imagine the impact the campaign could have if everyone who receives CAATnews were to take action locally during Stop Week!

Stop the Arms Trade Week falls shortly after the General Election, so is a perfect opportunity to contact your newly elected MP to tell them about the campaign and find out where he or she stands on the issue. The Call the Shots campaign pack contains a postcard to send to your

MP. Even better, could you collect postcards locally and then arrange to meet your MP, in a group if possible, to deliver them by hand?

Here are some other ideas for local action during Stop Week:

- Organise a stall in your high street, local library, community centre, university or church.
- Give out Call the Shots leaflets, collect petition signatures and ask people to sign a postcard to their MP.
- Hold a public meeting. The CAAT office may be able to provide a speaker.
- Organise a creative protest in a public place. The Call the Shots campaign pack contains lots of attention-grabbing ideas.

Don't forget to tell your local media about any exciting events you are planning – they are always interested if a story has a local angle. And whatever you plan we'd love to hear about it too. Please send any photos or stories to Beccie at the CAAT office ([beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk)).

You can order Stop Week materials, or general resources for a stall, from the CAAT office – phone or email Patrick ([patrick@caat.org.uk](mailto:patrick@caat.org.uk)).

And don't forget to order your free Call the Shots campaign pack, which contains lots of ideas for creative local campaigning. Extra stickers, postcards and leaflets are also available.

BECCIE D'CUNHA, LOCAL CAMPAIGNS CO-ORDINATOR

## Local campaigns news & views

### Greater Manchester Pension Fund

Manchester CAAT is planning peaceful protests at the local authorities responsible for the Greater Manchester Pension Fund. Dates for five are already decided (see below) and protests at the others will take place later in 2005. The aim is to inform council employees, council taxpayers and councillors that the Greater Manchester Pension Fund invests council tax and council employees' pension contributions in arms companies. All welcome, if only for a few minutes, on the dates and at the venues listed below. All protests will take place between 11.45am and 2pm.

Bolton – Tuesday 17 May, Bolton Town Hall steps, Victoria Square;  
Bury – Tuesday 24 May, Main entrance, Bury Town Hall, Knowsley Street;  
Manchester – Tuesday 7 June, Main Town Hall entrance, Albert Square;  
Oldham – Tuesday 5 July, Main Entrance, Oldham Civic Centre, West Street; Rochdale –

Tuesday 12 July, Main Entrance, Municipal Offices, Smith Street. For more on the campaign see the Manchester CAAT Clean Investment Campaign website at [www.endarmsprofits.org.uk](http://www.endarmsprofits.org.uk)

MIKE KAVANAGH, MANCHESTER CAAT

### Edinburgh CAAT news

The Edinburgh CAAT group is about to launch a petition on clean investment. This will focus on the investments in arms companies by Lothian Region Pension Fund, and will call on the fund to invest only in socially responsible businesses. This is a long-term campaign, with an aim of 20,000 signatures. We will use already existing links with networks of peace and justice groups, but will also make other links, and will include trade unions and pensioners' groups. The ideas picked up at the recent CAAT gathering have stimulated this revived clean investment project, and we welcome any suggestions to make it more effective.

DAVID TURNER, EDINBURGH CAAT

### Sheffield CAAT BAE Systems protest

The CAAT group in Sheffield is planning a peaceful protest at the BAE Systems plant at Brough on the Women's International Day of Peace, 24th May 2005. They are hoping to have a regular, periodic peaceful protest from that date onwards. Meet at Saltmarsh Road, Brough at 11.45am. Parking will be available and overnight accommodation could be provided near Pontefract.

For further details, contact Dennis on 01302 570698.

**Do let us know your news and views: are you planning anti-arms trade events or protests in your area that you want to publicise? Do you want to share some good campaigning ideas or news of recent action you or your group has taken? Please send any news or views to Beccie in the CAAT office or email [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk) and we'll try to include as much as we can.**

# LOCK THE REVOLVING DOOR

## Take the arms companies out of government, says Beccie D'Cunha

Arms companies wield immense influence and political power within government. They enjoy privileged access to decision-makers that the general public can only dream of. The 'revolving door' between arms companies and government, the countless military-related government 'advisory bodies', and the very existence of a government organisation (DESO) that is dedicated to selling arms exports and is run by an arms industry boss, are just three examples of corporate access to the heart of government.

This complex web of relationships between arms companies and the government undermines democracy. It distorts government policies into arms company wish-lists instead of serving the interests of the wider public.

CAAT's new campaign Call the Shots aims to unravel this web of relationships.

### Why campaign on this issue?

CAAT has been campaigning for a long time for an end to government support – both political and financial – for arms exports. When criticised about this support, the government brings out the same old excuses – that UK arms exports help to sustain jobs and a strong economy; that they help maintain a strong UK 'defence' industry that underpins our national security; and that they contribute to international peace and stability. However, these arguments no longer stand up to scrutiny. Several recent studies show that taxpayers are heavily subsidising arms exports; arms companies are increasingly stateless and they usually have to import components for the equipment they produce; and CAAT's Fanning the

Flames campaign showed that the UK has fuelled numerous conflicts through its arms exports.

It is vital that we confront the real reasons for the government's continued support for arms exports. CAAT believes a key reason is the disproportionate influence that arms companies have over the government.

It's time to stop arms companies calling the shots. If we want to end the export of weapons around the world, and the subsidising of these exports, we need to end the political influence of the arms industry.

### How will the campaign look?

The overall Call the Shots campaign aim is to 'take the arms companies out of government'. The campaign is divided into three distinct phases, each of which will focus on particular links that allow arms companies to access and influence the government:

Phase 1 – The 'revolving door'

Phase 2 – Advisory bodies

Phase 3 – DESO

These three 'links' are the most significant aspects of a wider political picture. Other links include the arms industry's use of lobbying companies; corporate donations and sponsorship; Labour Peers who have worked in the arms industry; and the use of arms companies in Public-Private Partnerships. Taken together, the cumulative impact of these on government decision-making is huge. They allow arms companies to call the shots on arms exports.

### Campaign Phase 1: The Revolving Door

The term 'revolving door' refers to the movement of employees between government and industry. In the context of





**CAAT's new campaign to take the arms companies out of government was launched on 9 March with a protest outside DESO's annual symposium in London.** CAAT

this campaign it is the movement of staff between the government, in particular the Ministry of Defence (MoD), and arms companies that is of concern.

Many senior MoD officials, ministers and members of the armed forces have moved into high-salaried jobs in the arms industry. In fact the numbers of MoD staff seeking employment in arms companies have been so high that they amount to a 'traffic' according to the advisory committee that regulates such moves. No other industry has attracted such a large number of high-ranking government staff. Likewise, a large number of senior arms company executives have moved into significant positions of power within the MoD.

There are several reasons why this is objectionable:

- Securing future employment – there is a danger that the hope of future employment with a particular company could influence the ministers and government officials while they are still in office.
- Access to official information – a former minister or civil servant could take advantage of official information obtained during their time in government to help their new employer.
- Privileged access to government – when a minister or government official leaves their employment, personal relationships are inevitably maintained. This means that after leaving public office they may still be able to use their 'contacts' to obtain preferential treatment or privileged access to government for their new employer.

Whether the movement of people is to or from government, the revolving door can lead to government arms export policy, and wider military or foreign policy, being skewed in favour of arms companies.

**What are we calling for?**

The first phase of the campaign aims to lock the revolving door. There are currently only token restrictions on the movement of ministers, civil servants and armed forces

staff to arms companies and these are often voluntary. The Call the Shots campaign is calling for stricter and mandatory restrictions on any movement of staff where there could be conflicts of interest. For example there should be longer waiting periods that cannot be overruled by the Prime Minister, and in some cases a complete ban. We are also calling for greater transparency – the deliberations of the advisory committee that regulates this movement should be made public for example.

**What can we hope to achieve?**

In the short-term the campaign aims to expose and stop some of these blatant abuses of public office. If we can lock the revolving door between the government and arms companies we will be cutting one of the key threads in this web of government-arms company relationships.

In the long-term we hope to bring about a change in the political climate which will undermine and sever this sordid relationship completely. Through each of the three campaign phases we will be raising awareness of the wider political influence that arms companies have. If we can successfully challenge this massive influence, we will be a huge step closer to reducing and eventually ending the arms trade.

**What can you do?**

Get involved in the campaign! Order a free campaign pack from the CAAT office or check out [www.calltheshots.org](http://www.calltheshots.org). The campaign pack contains more background information, ideas and resources for campaigning locally, CAAT's version of the Happy Families card game, and lots more. To read more about the issues, order a summary or full version of the 'Who Calls the Shots?' report from the CAAT office or download it from the CAAT website.

Call the shots. Take the arms companies out of government.

# Challenging military involvement in science and technology

On 19th January, Scientists for Global Responsibility (SGR) launched a groundbreaking new report 'Soldiers in the Laboratory: Military involvement in science and technology – and some alternatives' at the Houses of Parliament. The report was the outcome of a one-year research project examining the relationship between the military and science and technology in the UK since the end of the Cold War. Given that such investigation has hardly been carried out since that time, and with UK military spending rising as part of the 'War on Terror', a report such as this is very timely.

The report covers the involvement of the Ministry of Defence (MoD), military corporations and other agencies from the military sector in UK science, engineering and technology (SET). Despite many difficulties in obtaining data, which is itself of serious concern, the report nevertheless documents how this military involvement exists within research, development, teaching and science communication, and extends across disciplines from engineering and physical sciences, through the life sciences into the social sciences.

The scale of the influence is demonstrated by the fact that in 2003/04 nearly one third of public funding for research and development (approximately £2.6 billion) was spent by the MoD, while 40 per cent of government scientists and technologists work for the MoD. The graph further illustrates the dominant role of 'defence' research and development (R&D) spending by showing a comparison with other end uses in 2001/02 (the latest detailed figures available).

Furthermore, representatives from military corporations dominate the official advisory panels on both issues of military policy and of military SET. In addition, large numbers of new SET initiatives have been set up in recent years involving

UK universities in close collaboration with the military. The main ones of these are: Defence Technology Centres; Towers of Excellence; Defence and Aerospace Research Partnerships; and University Technology Centres.

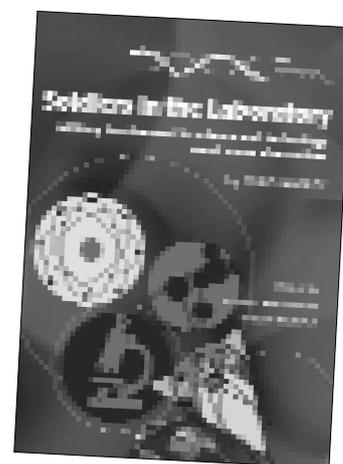
The report includes extensive background on both the science sector and military issues. In particular, it looks at how narrow commercial agendas within science and technology interact with the extensive bias within security thinking of 'superiority of military force' arguments, marginalising wider social and environmental concerns. One of the main arguments which the report presents is the need for general acceptance and implementation of a much broader concept of security needs, encompassing many of the pressing challenges facing the world today, such as climate change, environmental degradation and a range of health and poverty issues.

Four case studies are presented to highlight the relationship between the military and science: biological sciences; nanotechnology; Missile Defence; and new nuclear weapons.

The central recommendation of the report is that the government should reallocate a large fraction (between a third and a half in the near term) of the funding currently devoted to military R&D to civil R&D that contributes to peacebuilding, addressing environmental problems and alleviating poverty at a national and international level. Other recommendations argue for an end to any R&D focused on the development of new nuclear weapons; restrictions on military involvement with R&D of emerging technologies, such as nanotechnology; and much greater openness concerning the Ministry of Defence's involvement in science and technology. The report also calls for professional scientific and

engineering bodies to develop and implement stronger professional ethical codes in relation to the military, and encourages individual scientists and engineers to support attempts to reduce the military involvement in science and technology.

'Soldiers in the Laboratory' has received some very good coverage in the press (especially the science and technology press), and has attracted some notable supporters including Tam Dalyell MP (Father of the House of Commons), Dr Ian Gibson MP (Chair of House of Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology), and Bruce Kent. Professor Steven Rose of the Open University, speaking at the launch, described the report as "the most comprehensive document in this field in the last 35 years". STUART PARKINSON



*Soldiers in the Laboratory* was written by Dr Chris Langley, an independent science consultant, and edited by Dr Stuart Parkinson and Dr Phil Webber of SGR. Full copies of the 81-page report are available to purchase from both SGR and CAAT at a price of £12.50 plus 10 per cent P&P.

The report is also available as a free downloadable PDF document on the SGR website, see [www.sgr.org.uk](http://www.sgr.org.uk).

# CAAT Christian Network

## Origins

The CAAT Christian Network began in about 1989, when a small group of Christians within CAAT began meeting together. The group had three aims: to make the arms trade a real issue for churches; to work on getting the churches to disinvest from arms companies; and to make CAAT more well-known to church groups.

By 1994 the Network was well established and work began on a 'Call to Christian Conscience', which called on individual Christians to commit themselves to ending the arms trade. The Vatican published 'The International Arms Trade: an ethical reflection' which stated very clearly that arms can never be treated like any other goods. Also the Church of England's Board of Social Responsibility published 'Responsibility in Arms Transfer Policy' calling for a more responsible arms trade. While this was a step forward it was still disappointing, and members of the Network leafleted the synod calling for an end to the arms trade altogether. Also in 1994 the final message of the Synod of African Bishops issued a very strong call for an end to the arms trade: "With all our apostolic conviction, we turn to our brothers and sisters in the northern hemisphere – it is imperative that there be a stop to arms sales to groups in conflict in Africa". The Network has regularly referred to this call from our sisters and brothers overseas.

A focus on clean investment continued throughout the nineties as pressure was brought to bear on individual Catholic Dioceses and the Church of England Board of Finance, a major investor in GEC. The Network had a large presence at a GEC AGM and representatives met with Church commissioners to discuss their investments in GEC.

## Success

The Network has had a significant impact in pursuit of its aims. For example, in 1998 St Paul's Cathedral withdrew from a sponsorship deal

with major US arms company Lockheed Martin after protests by members of the Network. The proposed sale of Warton parish church to BAe Systems sparked a large campaign and the sale didn't go ahead. And a little-noticed resolution was passed at the Lambeth Conference calling on all Christians to "campaign against the international arms trade".

In November 2000 the Network received a letter out of blue from the Church of England saying that it had changed its investment policy to "that which we feel most Christians would find acceptable". The new policy stated that the Church of England "would not invest in any company that manufactures weapons platforms such as aircraft, naval vessels helicopters and tanks ... nor any company that manufactures weapons or weapons systems". After ten years of campaigning by the CAAT Christian Network, Pax Christi and many others, the Churches had almost completely disinvested from the arms trade.

## Call to conversion

In 2001 the Network began to build on the shift that had taken place. It produced a statement around which support could be built for Christian anti-arms trade campaigning. The 'Call to Conversion' was launched at a public meeting in April 2002. Speakers included Bishop Thomas McMahon, Jo Turay from Sierra Leone and Chris Cole. Over forty Church leaders signed the initial call, which was published as a letter in the Times. A pack was produced to accompany the statement and a large 'prayer protest' held in central London in Summer 2002 to coincide with the Farnborough Airshow. Today the work continues, as we approach this year's Day of Prayer on Sunday 12th June.

## The future

Recently the Network reviewed its work to look at the distinctive and

## Volunteer needed

All of this needs to be resourced and supported if it is to continue to happen!

The Network is strongest when it has a co-ordinator supported by a good core team of CAAT Christian supporters.

If you would be interested in this co-ordination role and could volunteer a day or so per week, please email [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk).

positive role that it could play. We believe that:

- It can maintain links with other Christian networks involved in work for peace and justice and ensure that an arms trade dimension is included in their work
- It can produce/commission liturgical and reflection material on the arms trade for use by Christian groups around the country
- It can provide accessible literature that will link arms trade issues to the life of the Christian community
- It can monitor and keep records of statements and positions taken by Church bodies on issues of the arms trade, ensure that they live up to positions taken and also encourage Church bodies to take positions when necessary
- It can provide a forum for ethical and theological thinking on the arms trade, ethical investment, ethical work and industry
- It can create opportunities for Christians to be involved in the broader campaigning and awareness raising work of CAAT.

PAT GAFFNEY & CHRIS COLE

**Day of Prayer leaflets and packs will be available to order from the CAAT office from around the end of April.**

# What does your MP think about DESO?

Some of you have already sent the CAAT office copies of letters with your MP's views on the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO), the part of the Ministry of Defence with 600 civil servants dedicated to promoting arms sales overseas.

If you haven't yet written to your current MP and parliamentary candidates to ask what they think about DESO, there's still time to do so before the General Election. Please write to your MP, House of

Commons, London SW1A 0AA and, if you have time, the prospective parliamentary candidates for your constituency asking what their views (as individuals, not the parties) are with regard to DESO. Your local library should be able to assist you with details of prospective candidates in your area.

Please send copies of any letters you receive back from MPs or candidates to Ann at the CAAT office.

ANN FELTHAM

## Commission for Africa

Tony Blair chaired the Commission for Africa and its report – <http://commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html> – is of interest. As well as calling for an International Arms Trade Treaty and extra-territorial controls on arms brokering, the report also says export credit agencies, such as the UK's Export Credits Guarantee

Department, should implement tough anti-corruption procedures.

Those who read the last issue of *CAATnews*, which reported that the UK government had been taken to court after watering down the ECGD's anti-bribery regulations, are permitted a wry smile. CAAT will be pressing for the reinstatement of strict procedures during a forthcoming consultation. ANN FELTHAM

## 'Tree of Life' weapons sculpture

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTIAN AID/DAVID ROSE



**Mozambican artists spent three months creating the 'Tree of Life' sculpture from weapons handed in to the organisation Transforming Arms into Tools in exchange for equipment such as sewing machines, bicycles, and building materials. The Tree was commissioned by Christian Aid and The British Museum.**

## Freedom of Information

CAAT is exploring avenues opened by the Freedom of Information Act, which came into force on 1st January. It is certainly helping us gather information from local authorities and others for the 2005 Clean Investment Campaign (see page 3), but we're having to refine most of our other requests. For instance, where we originally asked for what would have amounted to an impractical 60,000 pages, we are now seeking a list of the file titles as a first step. *Guardian* journalists have also made several Freedom of Information requests on arms export matters, including one for a copy of DESO's staff directory giving details of posts, email addresses and direct telephone numbers. The Ministry of Defence refused citing three reasons - the Data Protection Act, privacy in accordance with the Human Rights Act and the danger of harassment. The *Guardian* is raising the refusal with the Information Commissioner who arbitrates in such matters. ANN FELTHAM

# It's the military industrial complex, isn't it?

The new reports from CAAT (see pages 8 and 9) and from Scientists for Global Responsibility (see page 10) are a reminder that the 'military-industrial complex' is alive and well. But where did this term originate and what does it mean today?

The first use of the term 'military-industrial complex' is attributed to Dwight D. Eisenhower, the former US President in 1961: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

Eisenhower was concerned that coalitions of vested interests within the state and industry could lead to decisions being made that were in the interest of the coalition members and not necessarily in the interests of national security. Members of the coalition included members of the armed services, the civilian defence bureaucracy, the legislature, the arms manufacturers and their workers.

In the UK, the civilian defence bureaucracy includes civil servants in the Ministry of Defence (MoD), the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO), and the Export Credit Guarantees Department (ECGD).

The legislature in Britain would include Members of Parliament. Besides the Secretary of State for Defence and other Ministers, some backbench MPs and Peers have military interests through work with arms companies, or funding from unions with an interest in military manufacturing.

The academic Scharw (see 'further reading') has investigated the role of political links and uses the phrase 'military industrial congressional complex'. Congress is a legislature but is also responsible for deciding maintenance contracts for military hardware and services. Politicians in

Congress, and indeed in Westminster, may have a further interest through military bases or arms manufacturers in their constituencies.

Then there are the unions. Amicus, for example, has members in the arms industry. Unions work to protect what they see as their members' interests – such as their jobs.

Presumably the Science, Engineering and Technology researchers who receive funding for military-related work (see page 10) should also be considered part of the military-industrial complex.

While the military-industrial complex is thought of as a structure – a coalition – it can

also be considered as a process. CAAT's new report 'Who Calls the Shots?' looks at the process by which arms companies act to influence, or 'capture' government policy. The relationship between the military and the arms companies is not a normal business relationship. As Robert Higgs (see 'further reading') points out, the government is often the only buyer (although sales to foreign governments can be substantial); price is a relatively unimportant aspect of the sale; competition takes the form of technical and political rivalry to receive the initial research and development contract, and after the contract is awarded the supplier often becomes the sole supplier for the product and

on-going support. Also, the huge cost of military equipment means that business is erratic with a 'feast or famine' quality, so governments may subsidise business continuity through on-going research and development, loans, loan guarantees, government-supplied parts and equipment or services, tax breaks and strategic placement of contracts.

Higgs also points out that the extended process of negotiation for contracts means that competition as most businesses would understand it

is meaningless: far from awaiting government demands, contractors actively shape them. "Competition", Higgs adds, "whatever it meant at the start, becomes transformed into something akin to mutual back-scratching". As General James P. Mullins, former Commander of Air Force Logistics, once said: "it is not business as usual among independent parties. This is a family affair among terribly interdependent parties."

Your views on the military-industrial complex and its applicability today are welcome – email [editor@caat.org.uk](mailto:editor@caat.org.uk).

ANDREW WOOD

## Further reading

For Dwight D. Eisenhower's speech see <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/indust.html>

The Changing Military industrial Complex in the UK, J. Paul Dunne, Defence Economics 4

The New Deal and the Origins of the Military Industrial Complex by Scharw and J.A. Barunch, in 'Arms, Politics and the Economy: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives', edited by R.Higgs, Holmes and Meier.

# Fundraising

By Kathryn Busby

Organising an event for CAAT is an excellent way to help the campaign, as it raises both awareness and funds. Nicci MacLeod decided to do just that and on 24th February she held a night of live music in Bangor, raising £82.22 for CAAT. We'd like to thank Nicci for all her hard work and our thanks also go to the bands Slipstream, Illusions Faded and Handmade Noise and the event photographer Rob Eames, all of whom generously donated their time.

In Glasgow, Tom Davis is currently organising an evening of mellow acoustic and electronic music in aid of CAAT. The event will take place on Wednesday 20th April at Nice & Sleazy, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

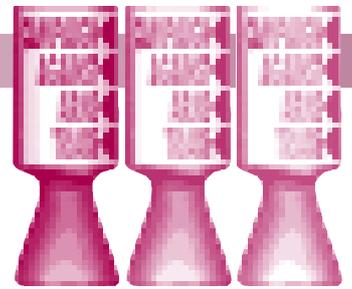
You may already have read the leaflet in this issue of CAATnews,

which asks every subscriber to help introduce new readers. Please take a few minutes to think if you know anyone who might like to receive the magazine; perhaps family members, friends or neighbours, work colleagues, or people you have met through other campaigns. If enough people take part, it could have the outstanding effect of doubling our readership virtually overnight!

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who took part in sponsored running events during 2004 and to encourage other supporters to join in this year. Laetitia Vail in the New York Marathon and our Flora Light Challengers secured sponsorship donations totalling nearly £3,500 and we are determined to build on this

achievement in 2005. If you would like to take the Marathon challenge and raise money for CAAT, or if you are interested in one of the shorter races, then please get in touch.

Finally, I am in the process of planning a CAAT fundraising event for September, shortly before the DSEi arms fair. It will aim to raise awareness of CAAT's campaign against DSEi, as well as generating some much-needed income. I am looking for a volunteer to come into the office and help organise this event. So if you have a bit of spare time during the week (on a fairly regular basis between now and September) and would like to get involved, please give me a call on 020 7281 0297 or email [kathryn@caat.org.uk](mailto:kathryn@caat.org.uk).



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## Campaign Against Arms Trade thrives on your participation. Some suggestions are below.

For more information on all of these contact the CAAT office on 020 7281 0297 or if you have any enquiries not covered below contact [enquiries@caat.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.org.uk)

### Subscribe to a CAAT email list

Sign up to receive the monthly CAAT bulletin with the latest news and events; to receive press releases; to join the list for the CAAT Action Network and find out about nonviolent direct action to stop the arms trade; or to find out when the latest CAATnews is on the website. Contact [enquiries@caat.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.org.uk) or visit [www.caat.org.uk/lists](http://www.caat.org.uk/lists)

### Make a donation

The donations of our supporters enable CAAT to struggle for a world without arms trading; without your help there would be no campaign. Support CAAT by sending us a cheque, setting up a regular standing order donation, or by taking part in a fundraising event. Contact Kathryn ([kathryn@caat.org.uk](mailto:kathryn@caat.org.uk)).

### Contact your MP

It is estimated that every letter written to a politician represents about 80 people who care but haven't got around to writing. If you would like to visit or write to your MP, contact the CAAT office to find out if your MP has shown an interest in arms trade issues.

On some issues it is also worth contacting your MEP. If you live in Northern Ireland, Scotland or Wales, you can also raise issues that have an impact on employment or the economy with your national representatives. Contact Ann ([ann@caat.org.uk](mailto:ann@caat.org.uk)).

### Campaign locally

CAAT has a network of local contacts and groups around the UK who take responsibility for promoting anti-arms trade activity and the work of CAAT in their area. Get in contact if you would like to know what is

## Farnborough Children in Need update

In the last issue of CAATnews, we asked readers to contact the BBC and express opposition to their inclusion of a trip to Farnborough International as part of a fundraising auction for the 2004 Children in Need appeal. We would like to thank everyone who has contacted them so far.

The BBC has responded to say that Farnborough International is a "legitimate recognised event". They "believe it is for members of the public themselves to take a view on whether any individual prize is something which they feel comfortable about donating money in order to win."

However, they add that the complaint has been drawn to the

attention of the Children in Need appeal's organisers and suggest that the comments they receive will help to inform the debate about future prizes.

The greater the number of comments the BBC receives, the more influence we will have in their debate. So, if you have not yet had the chance to make your views known, please do contact them.

You can call the BBC on 08700 100 222, write to BBC Complaints, PO Box 1922, Glasgow G2 3WT or send an email through their website [www.bbc.co.uk/complaints](http://www.bbc.co.uk/complaints)

For the BBC's full response, please email [kathryn@caat.org.uk](mailto:kathryn@caat.org.uk) or call the office on 020 7281 0297. KATHRYN BUSBY

happening in your area or if you are interested in becoming a local contact or setting up a group. All that's needed is a willingness to raise awareness of arms trade issues in any way that you feel is appropriate. Contact Beccie ([beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk)) for info, including the Local Campaigns Pack.

### Raise awareness

Organising a public meeting, using the local media and running a street stall have proved effective ways for CAAT groups to raise awareness of arms trade issues. CAAT can provide speakers for public meetings, materials for stalls and can also help with publicity.

Contact Anna ([action@caat.org.uk](mailto:action@caat.org.uk)) or Beccie ([beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk)). For media info contact [press@caat.org.uk](mailto:press@caat.org.uk).

### Research the arms companies

CAAT has produced a range of research on the UK's main arms companies. However, staff at the CAAT office are not able to track all arms company developments and would appreciate receiving any information you find. This can include anything from watching out

for information in your local press, to undertaking basic research in your local library, to approaching a company directly for information. Contact Ian ([ian@caat.org.uk](mailto:ian@caat.org.uk)).

### Protest against the arms trade

A protest can confront the arms trade and illustrate that many people do not think that the arms trade is an ordinary, acceptable business. In addition, a protest can generate a lot of publicity, which will raise awareness about the company and the arms trade in general. CAAT is a non-violent organisation and any protest organised under the name of CAAT needs to be non-violent (contact the office for the CAAT guidelines).

Contact Anna ([action@caat.org.uk](mailto:action@caat.org.uk)).

### Join the CAAT Christian Network

The Network raises arms trade issues within national church structures and local churches. Contact Beccie ([beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk)).

### Order a CAAT publication

CAAT produces briefings, reports and leaflets on a range of issues. Contact Patrick ([patrick@caat.org.uk](mailto:patrick@caat.org.uk)).

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# Campaigns diary

## 9 & 16 April 2005

Cancel the ExCel Arms Fair. 1pm-4pm – Musical protest outside the ExCel Centre, next to Custom House Docklands Light Railway Station. Contact East London Against the Arms Fair c/o C.I.U. Durning Hall, Earlham Grove, London E7 9AB

## 4 May 2005

BAE Systems AGM. See page 3.

## 4-12 June 2005

CAAT Stop the Arms Trade Week. See page 7.

## 12 June 2005

Arms trade Day of Prayer. See pages 7 and 11.

## 13-16 September 2005

ExCel Arms Fair (DSEi), London. See page 6.

## Weekly

Picket of Spearhead. DISARM DSEi hold a regular picket of Spearhead – organisers of the ExCel Arms fair (DSEi) – and would welcome people joining them. Please email [picket@dsei.org](mailto:picket@dsei.org) for details.

## Monthly

Second Monday of each month, 7.30pm – East London Against the Arms Fair meeting at the Garden Cafe, 7 Cundy Road, London E16. For further information about local campaigning against the arms fairs, contact East London Against the Arms Trade, c/o CIU, Durning Hall, Earlham Grove, London E7.

See [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) for more information on arms trade events

tel: 020 7281 0297  
fax: 020 7281 4369  
email: [enquiries@caat.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.org.uk)  
website: [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)

