

# CAAT*n*ews

## GOVERNMENT IN THE DOCK



Issue 206  
February–March 2008

£1.00

11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ  
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)

**CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST  
ARMS  
TRADE**



**Editor** Melanie Jarman  
editor@caat.org.uk

**Proofreader** John Moseley

**Design** Richie Andrew

**Contributors** Sally Campbell, Laura Cheeseman, Beccie D’Cunha, Ann Feltham, Sara Hall, Symon Hill, Ian Prichard, Robin Yu. Thanks to activists from Birmingham, Lancaster and Sheffield universities for their contributions.

**Legal consultant** Glen Reynolds

Thank you also to our dedicated team of CAATnews stuffers.

Printed by Russell Press on 100% recycled paper using only post consumer de-inked waste.

Copy deadline for the next issue is 10 March and we will be posting it the week beginning 23 March.

Content of most website references are also available in print – contact the CAAT office.

Contributors to CAATnews express their own opinions and do not necessarily reflect those of CAAT as an organisation. Contributors retain copyright of all work used.

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.

Campaign Against Arms Trade  
11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ  
Tel: 020 7281 0297  
Fax: 020 7281 4369  
Email: enquiries@caat.org.uk  
Web: www.caat.org.uk

If you use Charities Aid Foundation cheques and would like to help TREAT (Trust for Research and Education on Arms Trade), please send CAF cheques, payable to TREAT, to the office. Unlike CAAT, TREAT is a registered charity (No.328694) and will be able to use your donation for education and research.

**To receive this issue of CAATnews in large print please call 020 7281 0297**



**UCL students graduate from the university of war. See page 6**

<b>DESO – a victory?</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Arms trade shorts</b>	<b>4–5</b>
<b>University actions</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>CAAT around the UK</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Judicial Review</b>	<b>8–9</b>
<b>Review</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Reports</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Interview</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Cluster bombs</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Fundraising</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Get active</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Order form</b>	<b>16</b>

# DESO – how big a victory?

CAAT celebrated Prime Minister Gordon Brown's announcement at the end of July 2007 that the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) was to close (see *CAATnews* 204). However, right from the start, we faced criticism from some supporters who questioned whether we were being naïve. Would it be 'business as usual', but hidden within UK Trade and Investment (UKTI)? These questions have come up again with renewed vigour since the Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Secretary John Hutton MP gave further information about the changes in a statement to Parliament on 11th December.

Of course the Government, unfortunately, does not see the closure of DESO as a move towards the end of the arms industry. Indeed, John Hutton stressed that: 'The UK has a world class defence sector ... I am determined to ensure this success continues'. In all, the announcement seems worded to sound as positive as possible to the arms industry and to see off very vocal critics of the DESO closure, including those from Conservative and some Labour MPs. However, the announcements essentially confirm what CAAT had been told by the Cabinet Office (see *CAATnews* 205) and there is no reason to believe that the changes are anything other than good news for anti-arms trade campaigners.

## Position weakened

Whilst the Government will still be promoting arms exports, the industry's privileged position is, at the very least, weakened. The provisionally-named UKTI Defence and Security Group (DSG) will take over responsibility for the promotion of military exports on 1st April. Initially it will have 240 staff. This is far more than any of the other industry sector groups. CAAT was expecting this as it is, apparently, quite usual for whole groups to be



**Over 250 people encircled DESO's offices as part of CAAT's Shut DESO action day, October 2006** CAAT

moved when 'machinery of government' changes are made.

The DSG will, like all the other industry sector groups, be operating to UKTI strategic objectives and will be answerable to the UKTI Board. It will have a head who will report to the UKTI Chief Executive, a civil servant who, crucially, is not part of the military industrial policy circle. The DSG head will be of a lower civil service grade than the head of DESO. He/she will be further away from the ministers who decide arms export policy and, crucially, the Prime Minister, who used to be advised by the head of DESO. The changes also mean there will be a far greater separation between those promoting military exports and those making decisions about procurement for the UK's armed forces.

## Changes over time

As time passes, CAAT would hope and expect that the disproportionate allocation of resources to military exports will decline. The arms

companies will have to make their case for their share of UKTI resources against the claims of other industries, and are unlikely to find the latter particularly sympathetic to pleadings for greater support. This is particularly so as military equipment accounts for less than two per cent of the UK's visible exports and UK Defence Statistics show that 65,000 jobs (just 0.2 per cent of the national labour force) are sustained by them.

## More transparency

CAAT will be monitoring the changes and will report regularly in *CAATnews*. This should be assisted by a new commitment to greater transparency. In the past it was hard to find out exactly what assistance was being given by the UK armed forces to support arms sales. Now it will be spelt out in a Service Level Agreement (SLA) which is currently being negotiated between the Ministry of Defence and UKTI and is due to be published soon.

ANN FELTHAM

## Pakistan planes concern

After the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, the Chair of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee described as 'dangerously misguided' a Pentagon contract to Lockheed Martin for F-16 fighter planes to Pakistan. The Chair, Senator Joseph Biden said that, even though the contract was part of a deal approved by Congress in mid 2006, the timing sent 'the wrong message to the Pakistani generals, and the Pakistani people'.

DEFENSE NEWS, 7/1/08

## Thailand military budget

Thailand's military junta announced a budget increase request of \$9.3bn, to be presented to the next democratically elected government. Thailand's military budget had been capped at \$2.9bn annually since 1997 but while in power the military junta increased it by 66 per cent.

DEFENSE NEWS, 10/12/07

## Indian cancellation

The Indian Army has cancelled a helicopter deal with Eurocopter after complaints about the bidding process and allegations of illegal use of middlemen. India prohibits use of middlemen in military deals and allegations had been made that agents used by Eurocopter had links to an army general.

The decision is a blow to EADS – of which Eurocopter is a subsidiary – which plans to invest \$2.5bn in India over 15 years. *TIMES*, 7/12/07

## Bribery allegations in Japan

Japanese prosecutors raided the defence ministry last November after the arrest of a former senior bureaucrat Takemasa Moriya – nicknamed the 'defence emperor' – on suspicion of accepting bribes over military contracts.

The Japanese finance minister was also implicated in the scandal but denied any wrongdoing.

GUARDIAN, 30/11/07

## US-Morocco jet sale

The US Congress has been notified of the possible sale to Morocco of 24 Lockheed Martin jets and 24 Hawker Beechcraft trainer jets. The combined deal is worth \$2.6bn.

FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL, 1-7 JANUARY 2008

## Malaysia sub

Malaysia launched its first submarine last October, adding to what some analysts view as a naval arms race in the region. Singapore and Indonesia already have submarines and Thailand is said to be in discussions on submarines.

DEFENSE NEWS, 29/10/07

## Saudis buy Russian helicopters

Saudi Arabia is to buy Russian helicopters in a deal worth \$2.2bn. Analysts called the deal a breakthrough for Russia in the Arabian Gulf market and an attempt by the Saudis to win political support from Moscow over issues such as nuclear differences with Iran.

DEFENSE NEWS, 5/11/07

## South Korea exports up

South Korea's military exports reached a record \$1.1bn in the first nine months of 2007, driven by sales of its indigenous basic trainer and main battle tank. As of September 2007, military exports were four times higher than for the whole of the previous year. South Korea aims to become one of the world's top 10 weapons manufacturers by 2020.

DEFENSE NEWS, 5/11/07

## QinetiQ sale criticisms

A National Audit Office report into the sale of QinetiQ criticised former civil servants who saw massive personal gains as a result of incentive schemes they negotiated during the bidding process. For example, then chief executive and current Chair Sir John Chisholm enjoyed a 20,000 per cent return on his investment.

The report also criticised the Ministry of Defence for selling QinetiQ too cheaply to the private equity firm Carlyle, suggesting that there was too little competition in the bidding process.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 23/11/07; INDEPENDENT, 23/11/07

## Mercenary share drop

Sales in the mercenary company ArmorGroup fell by 41 per cent in the face of the departure of its chief executive, and fall-out from an incident involving another company, Blackwater, in which Iraqi civilians were killed.

As a result of the incident, US authorities are reviewing the use of private contractors in Iraq.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 28/11/07

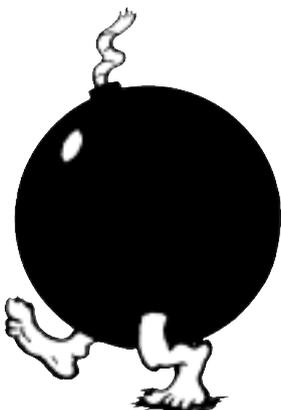
## UK National Defence Association

The UK National Defence Association (UKNDA) was launched last year, arguing that 'Defence is unrealistically low in the nation's list of priorities'. Given the association's call for an increase in military spending it may come as little surprise that three of its four patrons work for military suppliers. One, Lord Boyce, is a director of VT Group, a subcontractor on the T45 destroyer ship, which is two years late and £635m over budget. *Private Eye* suggested that the association's plea for extra money to alleviate 'stress and strain on our troops' was misplaced given that the Ministry of Defence pours billions into big-ticket items that enrich suppliers without helping troops on the ground. *PRIVATE EYE*, 23/11/07

## New warship joint venture

The proposed UK joint venture (JV) between BAE Systems and VT Group is looking for export opportunities in countries such as Greece and Libya, in addition to domestic programmes. The JV's predicted annual sales are in excess of £700m.

*JANE'S DEFENCE MONTHLY*, DECEMBER 07



## BAE in US

BAE Systems' involvement in the US market continues to grow. It has finalised a £220m purchase of US group MTC Technologies, which offers support and maintenance services to the US military, and has won a new multimillion-dollar US Army order to maintain Bradley vehicles in Iraq. This latest contract takes the total value of US Bradley maintenance contracts to £2.3bn since 2005.

Also, BAE Systems' US-based ship repair business may move into naval construction as part of a strategy to access US naval shipbuilding spending. This is forecast to reach \$18bn over the coming five years.

*GUARDIAN*, 27/12/07; *DAILY TELEGRAPH*, 3/1/08; *JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY*, 12/12/07

## India-BAE

India's Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) is in talks with BAE Systems to buy 57 Hawk advanced jet trainers.

*JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY*, 16/1/08

## BAE school sponsorship

BAE Systems has offered £400,000 in sponsorship for an academy in Barrow-in-Furness in Cumbria, where the company builds nuclear submarines. A local pressure group, Our Schools Are Not For Sale, raised concerns over sponsorship deals, saying: 'The sponsor will have almost total control of any new academy.' *GUARDIAN*, 11/12/07

## Saudi Arabia

Government – absolute monarchy

Head of State – King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud

Political parties – none

Human rights – "The British Government has a number of concerns about human rights in Saudi Arabia. These include the implementation of basic international human rights norms"

UK FCO

Population – 27,601,038 CIA

GDP, 2006 – \$343 billion (UK: \$2,430 billion) IISS

Military expenditure, 2006 – \$29 billion (UK: \$59 billion) CONSTANT 2005 PRICES, SIPRI

### Arms imports

Rank, 1977–2006 – 3rd (behind India and Japan) SIPRI

Main suppliers – US, UK and France DESO

Forecast spend for 2007 – \$4.4 billion CONSTANT 2003 PRICES, DESO

Arms imports from the UK (average 2002–2006) – £1,658 million DESO

### Major UK arms deals

Al Yamamah – Aircraft and warship deal signed in the 1980s, still ongoing and worth £40 billion to date.

Al Salam – Eurofighter Typhoon deal signed in 2007.

UK FCO – UK FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE; CIA – CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, WORLD FACTBOOK; IISS – INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, THE MILITARY BALANCE 2007; SIPRI – STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 2007; DESO – DEFENCE EXPORT SERVICES ORGANISATION, STRATEGIC MARKET ANALYSIS, 2006

# A term of action against BAE

## CAAT's Control BAE month of action last autumn saw students across the UK take action against BAE Systems

### Birmingham students make a case against BAE

Students from the People & Planet society disrupted a recruitment presentation by BAE staff on 6th November. Approximately 10 students entered the lecture theatre where the presentation was being held and gained access to the lectern to give a brief presentation on BAE's corruption and human rights abuses around the world. The students then stayed to hear BAE's own presentation and ask questions at the end.

The protest followed a demonstration at a Careers Fair on 24th October where students dressed as weapons inspectors cordoned off BAE's stall to 'gather evidence' against the company. They also gave out leaflets and held a mass 'die in'.

These protests are part of a wider campaign against the presence of arms companies on campus, and their widespread involvement in university research.

BIRMINGHAM STUDENT ACTIVIST

### Lancaster student's anti-BAE Halloween mischief

On 31st October, a group of Lancaster University students entered the Great Hall on campus in order to protest BAE Systems' presence at their careers fair. Two students gave out leaflets in the foyer. A further four students entered the hall and stood in front of BAE's stall with a banner reading 'Get a career in killing with BAE Systems'. They handed out leaflets and talked to students around the stall. The group then moved to one of the busiest parts of campus to hold a 'die-in' around a banner reading 'BAE Systems: a job to die for'. Many people stopped to ask about BAE and the protest. Two



**Delivering a damning account of BAE's record to staff and students** INDYMEDIA

students later re-entered the careers fair and dropped a banner from a balcony overlooking the fair. These actions mark the beginning of a campaign against the university's investment in BAE.

Lancaster University holds shares in BAE, and the Management School offers students the 'BAE Systems Certificate in Management', a course funded by, and run in conjunction with, the company.

LANCASTER STUDENT ACTIVIST

### Sheffield students disrupt BAE recruitment drive

Shortly after noon on 30th October, a group of activists entered the Yorkshire Autumn Graduate



**Inside the careers fair** INDYMEDIA

Recruitment Fair, unrolled two banners (reading 'get your bloody hands off our graduates' and 'study war no more') outside the Rolls-Royce stall, and began leafleting (which was banned inside the fair) until security turned up. At this point some activists began negotiating with them, while others snuck away and started leafleting outside the BAE and QinetiQ stalls. Leafleting carried on outside the fair until we ran out of leaflets.

This may not have been terribly dramatic, but it put the various death-dealers and profiteers present on the defensive and maybe it will have helped to change a few graduates' minds.

SHEFFIELD STUDENT ACTIVIST

### UCL students graduate from the university of war

At the end of last term the Disarm UCL campaign put on a fake graduation ceremony to protest against UCL's investment in arms companies (see picture on page 2). One student dressed as a military general handed out fake diplomas and toy guns to other students graduating in camouflage uniforms. The action definitely turned a few heads including that of the UCL Provost who happened to pass by. It was a fun action and got a lot of media coverage including the *Times Higher*, the *Independent*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Guardian's* Comment is Free website and the *New Statesman* website.

SARA HALL (INFO@DISARMUCL.COM)

For more coverage and pictures of these protests and others, see [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) or [www.indymedia.org.uk](http://www.indymedia.org.uk). To get involved in CAAT's Universities Network or to invite a CAAT speaker to your university, contact [tim@caat.org.uk](mailto:tim@caat.org.uk) or [andy@caat.org.uk](mailto:andy@caat.org.uk)

BECCIE D'CUNHA

# London CAAT 'opinionnaire'

During the Control BAE month of action last year, London CAAT set up a stall near Old Street station for a day to raise awareness about the campaign. We chose the location because it was outside the BAe/HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd) joint venture company offices. We also managed to garner some interest in our CAAT group.

An element of the event that raised a few laughs was an 'opinionnaire'. Passers-by were given the following five statements and were asked to indicate for each whether they thought they were 'likely', 'possible', 'unlikely' or 'impossible':

- Elvis Presley is still alive
- There is/was a Loch Ness monster
- BAE is innocent of all bribery charges
- The Apollo moon landings were faked
- Aliens have visited Earth

Of the respondents, more people thought it was impossible that BAE is innocent of all the charges of bribery being investigated in six different countries than thought it was impossible that aliens have visited Earth or that there is or was some kind of Loch Ness monster. Approximately 86 per cent of those who responded said that it was either unlikely or impossible that BAE



was innocent of all of the corruption charges.

Other statistics show – somewhat incredibly I feel – that twice as many people who took the time to complete the survey believe that it is likely that the moon landings were faked as believe that it is likely that BAE is innocent. More people thought it was unlikely that BAE was innocent than thought it was unlikely that Elvis is still alive!

It is clear that the British public has already judged BAE. Those who signed our petition are testament to the fact that the UK legal system should be allowed to run its course.

ROBIN YU (LONDONCAAT@RISEUP.NET)

**London CAAT stall** LONDON CAAT

## Dates for your diary

This year's **Stop the Arms Trade Week** will run from 1st–8th June. The Christian Network's **Day of Prayer** is Sunday 8th June.

Wherever you live, both are opportunities to take coordinated local action against the arms trade. Keep an eye out for more details in the next edition of *CAATnews* or contact [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk) or [christian@caat.org.uk](mailto:christian@caat.org.uk) to get involved.

## Photos

For photos of the various public meetings and to find out about upcoming follow-up events see [www.caat.org.uk/events/november\\_tour.php](http://www.caat.org.uk/events/november_tour.php). To find out if there is a CAAT group in your area please email [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk)

BECCIE D'CUNHA

## Control BAE speaking tour

The final stops on the Control BAE November speaking tour were a great success. 50 people attended the public meeting in Edinburgh to hear Kirstine Drew from UNICORN and a speaker from CAAT. The Newcastle meeting drew in 40 people to hear CAAT and Nick Hildyard from The Corner House. Both meetings raised vital awareness

of the campaign and generated interest in the local CAAT groups.

There have been many local CAAT group follow-up meetings since the speaking tour and lots of new people getting involved in the campaign both locally and nationally. An exciting outcome of the Cardiff public meeting was the formation of a new Cardiff CAAT group!

# In court

**The Judicial Review challenging the Government's December 2006 decision to stop the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) investigation into BAE Systems' Al Yamamah arms deal with Saudi Arabia is scheduled to be heard in the High Court in the next few weeks – on Thursday 14th and Friday 15th February. Ann Feltham gives some background to this very important case.**

## The grounds

The SFO had stated that its decision was based on the grounds that continuing the corruption investigation would damage relations with Saudi Arabia, and hence the UK's national security, as Saudi Arabia was threatening to withdraw co-operation on anti-terrorism matters. The grounds for our Judicial Review have focussed on the UK's obligations under the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Anti-Bribery Convention, which the UK signed in 1997. Article 5 of the Convention expressly forbids the termination of corruption investigations for reasons other than the merits of the case, explicitly ruling out the effect of any inquiries on relations with other states.

Lawyers for the two organisations mounting the legal case (CAAT and social justice researchers The Corner House) were in court on 21st December and 17th January arguing with the government's legal team as to how the Judicial Review should be handled. On 17th January, Lord Justice Moses, hearing the arguments, indicated that our lawyers might wish to frame an additional ground of challenge that the SFO has no power to drop an investigation in response to a threat. Moses also cited the separation of powers between the government and the judiciary, and said that Ministers should not express an opinion as to whether a prosecution should go ahead.

## Tony Blair's role

Documents produced at the December hearing reveal the very central role that then Prime Minister Tony Blair had played in halting the investigation.

At the beginning of December 2006, the SFO was considering whether it should invite BAE to agree a plea bargain, whereby officials from the company might consider entering a guilty plea to corruption on a limited basis, if the wider investigation was stopped. On 5th December, then Attorney General Lord Goldsmith said he had no objections to this. But then a member of his staff called the SFO on the same evening suggesting that no

action be taken until Tony Blair had been briefed. The following day the SFO was told that the Prime Minister did wish to make representations and that action should be held off until he returned from an overseas visit.

On 8th December, Tony Blair wrote to Lord Goldsmith asking him to stop the investigation. He said he was concerned 'not least because of the critical difficulty' presented to the negotiations for the sale of the BAE Eurofighter Typhoons, as well as a 'real and immediate risk of a collapse in UK/Saudi security, intelligence and diplomatic cooperation'. The Prime Minister said these were 'extremely difficult and delicate issues', but he knew that, constitutionally, 'any intervention you make ... must be your decision alone'.

Tony Blair and Lord Goldsmith met on 11th December, but it does not appear that the latter was yet convinced that the investigation should be stopped. According to the official note of the meeting he said that, while he could see the force of the Prime Minister's points, he was concerned that halting the investigation would send a bad message about the credibility of the law in this area, and look like giving in to threats. Tony Blair told him 'higher considerations were at stake' and also vetoed the plea bargain proposal, as this would 'be unlikely to reduce the offence caused to the Saudi royal family'.

## BAE AGM

This year the Annual General Meeting of BAE Systems is on Wednesday 7th May. There will be a protest outside, whilst CAAT supporters who have a 'token' share in the company will be inside questioning the Board.

Full details will be in the next *CAATnews*, but put the date in your diary now. If you aren't already a 'token' shareholder and would like to be, please contact the CAAT office as soon as possible.



**CAAT protestors at BAE's AGM show that BAE has been placed above the law, May 2007** CAAT

Events were, however, moving fast. On the same day, the Attorney General's office asked the SFO for copies of the evidence – some twenty files. After a series of meetings on 12th and 13th December, involving combinations of the Attorney General and his staff, SFO staff and the UK ambassador to Saudi Arabia, the Director of the SFO Robert Wardle agreed on 14th December that the investigation was to cease on the grounds that it would not be in the public interest to continue it.

### Put the dates in your diary

It is likely that there will be a presence outside the court on 14th and 15th February when the Judicial Review is heard. Please watch the website [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) or call the office on 020 7281 0297 nearer the time for further information.

### New postcard

A copy of a new Control BAE postcard is enclosed with this issue of *CAATnews*. It includes a section that you can detach and send to Prime Minister Gordon Brown urging him to reopen the SFO inquiry. This does not have to wait for the outcome of the legal case.

### Freedom of Information – victory and a court date

In the last issue of *CAATnews* we mentioned that three Freedom of Information requests regarding arms sales to Saudi Arabia were due to be heard in front of the Information Tribunal. Now the Government has backed down on one of the requests, with the Export Credits Guarantee Department telling us that its exposure on the Al Yamamah project was £750 million at the time of our request in March 2005. This means that if the Saudi government had been overthrown or had, for any reason, refused to pay, UK taxpayers would have been liable for this amount.

The Government is not, however, moving on our other requests. Indeed, it is so determined that the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence documents concerned should not be made public, even though they are at least two decades old, that it is calling the UK Ambassador to Saudi Arabia as a witness. The dates for the hearings have now been set for 3rd to 10th March. Please contact Ann on [ann@caat.org.uk](mailto:ann@caat.org.uk) or on 020 7281 0297 if you would like more information.

## BAE spying

If you thought that BAE's public image couldn't get any worse, think again. The company has faced yet another public humiliation. Following a court order, BAE has been obliged to make a legal promise 'not to solicit, voluntarily receive or procure' any confidential documents belonging to CAAT.

This bizarre situation came about after CAAT took BAE to court when the company obtained a copy of CAAT's confidential legal advice. BAE then admitted to paying an agent to pass information on CAAT to BAE's Director of Security, Mike McGinty.

As legal action continued, so did BAE's admissions. The company has now confessed to having used two investigation agencies. The document that triggered the furore last year was passed to BAE by Ligne Deux Associates (although McGinty insists that he expected them to operate within the law). McGinty also admits that BAE earlier employed Evelyn Le Chene to do similar work. Claims that Le Chene was running spies in CAAT emerged in 2003, but this is the first time that BAE has acknowledged their involvement with her.

This is a significant result. BAE has owned up to long-standing allegations and shown how far it will go in its (unsuccessful) attempts to defeat CAAT. And it has been forced to make a grovelling and unprecedented promise.

The irony is that CAAT is an open and public organisation with very little secret information (legal documents aside) that could benefit BAE. We want Mike McGinty to know what we're doing.

So we've offered him a subscription to *CAATnews*. Hope you're enjoying it, Mike! SYMON HILL

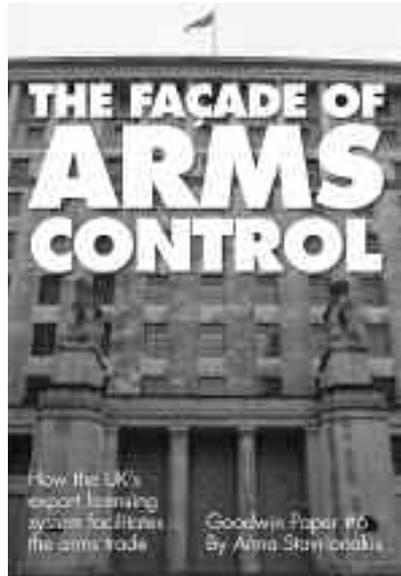
# Looking behind the licences

## **The Façade of Arms Control: How the UK's export licensing systems facilitates the arms trade**

**Anna Stavrianakis, February 2008, £3**

Before UK arms leave the country they have to be licensed. That means the government assesses each request for an export and decides whether or not it should happen. The government claims it has a rigorous and responsible system that explicitly considers such factors as the destination country's respect for human rights and the preservation of regional peace, security and stability. Meanwhile UK arms are routinely exported to Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey, Indonesia, China and Taiwan, India and Pakistan and the US, and financial and political support for arms exports continues unabated. The contrast between the government's presentation of its policy and the reality on the ground could not be starker. When arms are aggressively promoted to Saudi Arabia, what has happened to the consideration for human rights? If regional peace and security are assessed in the policy, imagine the contortions that are required to promote and sell arms to both India and Pakistan.

Rather than just bemoan the situation, in her booklet *The Façade of Arms Control* Anna Stavrianakis steps back to consider the structures, mechanisms and perceptions behind it. The scene is set by an overview of the UK's involvement in the arms trade followed by a brief analysis of the current arms export licensing process. Stavrianakis considers the vague wording of the export licensing guidelines and the issues around their interpretation and implementation, the power of 'national defence' terminology, the influence of arms companies on the government, and the weak role of pro-control actors relative to those



promoting arms exports. She strikingly concludes that 'the licensing process is a ritualised activity that functions to create the appearance of restraint rather than significantly restrict the arms trade.'

Much has been written about the contradictions between UK presentation and practice over arms exports. A little has been written about the apparent discord between the government's promotion of an international arms trade treaty and its stated intent to remain one of the world's largest arm's exporters. However, almost nothing has been written about the specifics of how these are reconciled within government: Stavrianakis' work addresses this gap. Once it is clear why formal arms control measures are ineffective, it is possible to assess what they are for, and how we should respond to them.

The booklet tackles a potentially complex question in a clear, succinct manner, assisted by the use of examples that are likely to be familiar to many CAAT supporters. It is an ideal publication for anyone who has struggled to understand or reconcile the wide variety of government, campaign organisation and media pronouncements on the issue of arms control. IAN PRICHARD

*The Façade of Arms Control* is available to order via the website [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) or by phoning the CAAT office on 020 7281 0297

### **Anna Stavrianakis**

is an Economic and Social Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of International Relations at the University of Sussex. She got her PhD – on non-governmental organisation (NGO) activity in relation to the UK arms trade – from Bristol University in 2007. Her main areas of research and teaching interest are the arms trade and military globalisation, NGOs and global civil society. She currently serves on the CAAT Steering Committee.



# Celebrating success – and hoping for more!

Last November's CAAT National Gathering kicked off with a whistle-stop review of 2007. It had been a year full of campaign successes. CAAT staff and others presented the highlights of the year, in particular Reed Elsevier's announcement that it was dumping the arms fairs part of its business; the imminent closure of DESO (the government's arms sales unit); and the legal ruling allowing CAAT to take the government to court over its decision to drop the corruption inquiry into BAE-Saudi arms deals.

This was followed by an introduction to the Control BAE campaign by Beccie D'Cunha and Ann Feltham and a presentation by key-note speaker Paul Ingram, Senior Analyst at the British American

Security Information Council (BASIC), on how the government's position on the arms trade has changed over the years. Paul asserted that the era of arms companies getting disproportionate support and subsidies from government may be coming to an end. He spoke of the significance of DESO's closure to the future of the UK arms trade, the massive impact that CAAT's DESO campaigning had had, and how important, in particular, the flood of postcards to the Chief Secretary of the Treasury had been in bringing about Gordon Brown's decision to shut the department.

We then had questions and discussion followed by knowledge workshops on topics such as 'What's driving the arms trade? Exploding the

myths', 'Campaigning post-DESO' and 'Corporate Mercenaries', as well as skills workshops such as 'Local Media: Getting the arms trade covered', 'New-media campaigning – using the web as a force for change' and 'Effective local campaigning: how to sustain a healthy local CAAT group'.

It was one of the most exciting CAAT gatherings to date – around 100 people attended throughout the course of the day, many of whom were new to our work. The atmosphere was buzzing with the successes of 2007 and the anticipation of more excitement in 2008! Thanks to all who came along and contributed to the day.

BECCIE D'CUNHA

## Merseyside controversy

As celebrations begin for Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture, the city is also at the centre of a dispute involving arms dealers, democracy and unethical pensions.

The controversy revolves around Merseyside Pension Fund's refusal to withdraw from arms investments, despite being urged to do so by three out of the five councils in its area.

### Arms company shares

The Fund owns shares in companies including BAE, Rolls-Royce and Boeing. CAAT supporters in Merseyside have long campaigned for clean investment and the campaign reached a turning point in October. In a historic meeting, the Council voted unanimously to call on Merseyside Pension Fund to ditch its shares in arms companies.

Liverpool is, of course, only one council out of five covered by the Fund, which might easily have

argued that it was not representative. But there was more to come. Within a month of Liverpool's resolution, votes on similar motions had taken place at Knowsley and St Helen's. In both cases the vast majority of councillors supported an end to arms investments. It was now clear that if Merseyside Pension Fund were to be democratically accountable, it had little choice but to withdraw from arms companies.

### Democracy?

So activists who gathered outside the Pension Fund's meeting on 27th November were staggered when the Fund rejected the democratic wishes of elected councils by choosing not to act on their calls for arms divestment. 'The trustees of the Pension Board did not give the matter proper care and attention' said Mark Holt of Merseyside Stop the War Coalition.

Legal questions were raised by certain trustees, who suggested that ruling out arms shares might be illegal, despite the fact that campaigners had sent them detailed information demonstrating that this was not true. The argument that clean investment would be financially irresponsible is likewise not supported by evidence. For example, the *Financial Times* reported in 2005 that, of 1,000 funds surveyed, the second most profitable was an ethical fund that ruled out the arms trade.

While the Fund's decision is a setback, it will not stop the ongoing campaign for clean investment in Merseyside. People across the area have expressed outrage that decisions by elected representatives can take second place to the arms industry. As Mark Holt wondered, 'Is this how democracy works on the Pension Fund?'

SYMON HILL

# Radical Witness

Artist Jill Gibbon has been drawing the peace movement since a CAAT protest against DSEi in 2001. She spoke to CAATnews about her latest venture, the website Radical Witness

**CAATnews** How would you describe the Radical Witness website?

**Jill Gibbons** The website reverses war reportage, and official war art. Instead of documenting war, it documents the peace movement and an aspect of war that is often ignored - the arms trade. Instead of photography, which is the usual medium of reportage, it uses drawing and caricature. All of the drawings are made on location at blockades, marches, arms fairs and Annual General Meetings (AGMs). Whereas much war reportage has an aura of objectivity, the website is partisan. The drawings are not made from the sidelines but as part of actions. For this reason the website also includes drawings of police cells and vans.

Reportage photographers and artists are often described as witnesses in the sense of a detached observer. The title of the website, 'radical witness', is based on a different meaning of witness - a protest. It refers both to the actions depicted in the drawings, and to the site itself.

**CN** What motivated you to do the website?

**JG** I started drawing the peace movement at a CAAT protest against DSEi in 2001. By coincidence the date was September 11. Perhaps for this reason, the police were edgy and kept protestors in a car park for several hours. Although I had been involved in CND in the 1980s, this was my first protest for years. In the



JILL GIBBON

car park near DSEi, while the first images of the attacks on New York were broadcast around the world, I was re-inspired by the inventiveness and creativity of the peace movement. So, when George Bush declared his 'war on terrorism', I decided to document the response of the peace movement to the 'war'.

**CN** Where do you find your inspiration?

**JG** The main inspiration for the drawings is the peace movement. The drawings of protests attempt to depict the collective strength of activism by borrowing conventions from Soviet posters. Although Soviet posters have become associated with repression, they derive from a moment when ordinary people realised their power to effect change.

The drawings of the arms trade are inspired by the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA). Just as CIRCA parody the military with street theatre, the drawings caricature the arms trade. Stylistically, the main influence is George Grosz who ridiculed the dignity of the Weimar Republic by caricaturing its rituals.

**CN** What do you hope people will get from the website?

**JG** The Brazilian activist, Paulo Freire, described a state of 'domestication' where we are so oppressed by the daily grind that we forget our power and responsibility to act. The website is intended to remind us of the exhilaration of activism, for those moments when we wonder what's the point. As for the drawings of the arms trade, I hope they will make people laugh because laughter involves a shift of power.

**CN** Do you have any plans to develop the website?

**JG** In the short term, I will be adding more reportage to the site. Look out for drawings of the Troops Out demonstration on March 15th, the Surround the Base action at Aldermaston on March 24th, and the BAE Systems AGM in May. In the long term I'm planning an interactive version of the site that allows other activists to contribute reportage of actions.

See [www.radicalwitness.com](http://www.radicalwitness.com)

# Banning cluster bombs in 2008

**Cluster bombs, which have killed and injured thousands of civilians during the last 40 years, have recently been used in Chechnya, the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Lebanon. Laura Cheeseman, Campaigning Officer of the Cluster Munition Coalition, calls for action on these weapons.**

In August 2006 Israel dropped an estimated four million submunitions in southern Lebanon. Despite ongoing clearance efforts about one million submunitions still litter the ground, rendering large areas of agricultural land useless and killing and injuring people to this day. One of the victims is 11 year old Zahra Hussein Soufan. Zahra, like many children, was attracted by the small size and curious shape of the submunition that blew her hand off. She thought the submunition was a pencil case.

## Relics

Cluster bombs are relics of the Cold War era. They were not designed for the kind of warfare we see in today's world where fighting take place in or near areas still populated by civilians. Cluster bombs are dropped from aircraft or fired from the ground and are designed to break open in mid-air, releasing explosive submunitions and saturating areas that can be the size of several football fields. Anybody within that area, be they military or civilian, is very likely to be killed or seriously injured. As so many of the submunitions fail to work properly, huge quantities are left on the ground and, like landmines, remain a deadly threat long after a conflict is over.

## International treaty

Cluster bombs are going to be banned in 2008. By the end of the year, the 'Oslo Process' will see the

creation of an international treaty that will outlaw these weapons and also provide vital assistance to affected communities and cluster bomb survivors. Some 138 governments recently met as part of this process in Austria to discuss the future treaty and will meet again in New Zealand in February to continue discussions before it is negotiated in Dublin in May. Much

**Cluster bombs ... were not designed for the kind of warfare we see in today's world where fighting take place in or near areas still populated by civilians**

like the initiative that led to the prohibition of landmines in 1997, this process reflects a new model of international diplomacy, putting human security rather than national security at its core; it is inclusive of civil society and promotes involvement by affected countries and the survivors of cluster bomb explosions.

## Concerns and loopholes

Although a large number of countries support a treaty, there are still concerns. Whilst some countries such as the US, Russia and China are taking no action on this issue, other states are undermining the process. Many Western manufacturing states are calling for exemptions and loopholes that will weaken a future treaty and won't provide protection to civilians.

In March 2007 the UK, one of the world's major users of cluster munitions, withdrew two of its oldest cluster bomb types from service. It has kept its rocket-delivered cluster munitions, which it claims are more accurate than other types. The UK has also retained the Israeli-manufactured M85 bomblet, which the government claims does not pose

an excessive risk to civilians because it is fitted with self-destruct mechanisms. But these same munitions failed in huge numbers in Lebanon in 2006 when used by Israel. A recent report has documented failure rates on this occasion at around ten per cent – contradicting manufacturer's and government's claim that failure rates will be less than one per cent.

## Taking action

Gordon Brown announced in the Lord Mayor's speech in November last year that the UK would 'work internationally for a ban on the use, production, transfer and stockpiling

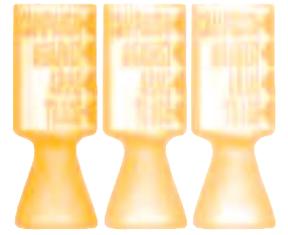
**Many Western manufacturing states are calling for exemptions and loopholes that will weaken a future treaty and won't provide protection to civilians**

of those cluster munitions that cause unacceptable harm to civilians.' Select Committee reports have also advised the UK government to withdraw cluster munitions from service. Mounting pressure from campaigners and parliamentarians provides real hopes that this rhetoric will soon be backed up by meaningful action.

19 April is the Global Day of Action to Ban Cluster Bombs. People across the world will be calling on governments to put the protection of civilians such as Zahra at the core of the treaty, not the protection of outdated and inhumane weapons.

For more on the work of the Cluster Munition Coalition see [www.stopclustermunitions.org](http://www.stopclustermunitions.org)

# Fundraising



## Workers Beer Company

Though the summer months may seem some time away, we are currently seeking volunteers to help us raise funds for the campaign by working in the Workers' Beer Company beer tents at this year's festivals.

The Workers Beer Company is a non-profit company set up by trades unionists in south London. It provides bar staff at many of the country's major music festivals, including Glastonbury, Leeds, Reading and the Metro Weekender. Volunteers from a wide range of NGOs, charities and trades unions work at a set hourly rate with all wages going to their

organisation. In return they get free travel and access to the festival and a number of free meals and drinks, as well as benefiting from being able to camp in the 'WBC Village', which offers above-average camping and showering facilities!

Last year's dedicated team of volunteers had a great time and raised a fantastic £3,400 for CAAT in the process, almost twice the previous year's total. Well done and a big thank you to them! Team Leader at Reading last year was Helen Moore, who is keen to encourage people to get involved with this scheme: 'My three days at Reading were a great experience.

Though we were all expected to put in our fair share of hard work, we had a fantastic time and knowing that we were raising money for CAAT made it all worthwhile. It's also a fun way of getting to know CAAT supporters from across the UK'.

We are looking for a team of friendly, reliable volunteers whom we can depend on come rain or shine (or mud!). If you are able to commit a weekend to help raise money for CAAT and would like the opportunity of saving yourself the ticket price of a top summer festival, please contact me on 020 7281 0297 or email [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@caat.org.uk). SALLY CAMPBELL

## Meet CAAT's new fundraiser, Sally Campbell

Originally from Northamptonshire, I moved to London five years ago after a short period working in a school in Weimar, Germany, where I was inspired by the energetic activism of local people in response to the invasion of Afghanistan. My experiences there led me to discover ways of becoming more politically active once I arrived back in the UK.

Since coming to London I have pursued a long held interest in social and political issues affecting women by volunteering on the National Domestic Violence Helpline at Refuge, as well as with the Fawcett Society. My work with Fawcett in particular has provided a useful insight into the world of campaigning both at a local and national level.

### Vital work

As a fundraiser in a hospital for the last four years I enjoyed meeting a huge variety of people as well as



working creatively within a small team. However, I was eager to make my political and social concerns part of my professional work by moving into a campaigning environment and I am delighted to have the opportunity to contribute to

CAAT's vital work. I joined the team just before Christmas and have already been struck by the commitment and dedication of the staff, volunteers and supporters, many of whom I hope to talk with and meet in the coming months.

### Supporters

We rely on our supporters not only to give a strong voice to CAAT's campaigns but also to help fund the background work that goes into those campaigns – whether by making donations as an individual or part of a group, or by organising local fundraising events, which are also a great way of raising awareness. I am keen to promote the idea that campaigning and fundraising can go hand in hand and would love to hear from any supporters with fundraising ideas of their own. I can be contacted by emailing [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@caat.org.uk) or by phoning 020 7281 0297.

# Campaign Against Arms Trade thrives on your participation

**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 Sally at [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@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 at [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 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 at [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 Beccie at [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk). For media info contact Symon at [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 at [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 [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 Alun Morinan at [christian@caat.org.uk](mailto:christian@caat.org.uk)

## Order a CAAT publication

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

## Bribing for Britain

### Bribing for Britain: Government Collusion in Arms Sales Corruption, by Tim Webb

The perfect companion to widespread media coverage around the termination of the Serious Fraud Office investigation into BAE Systems' deals with Saudi Arabia.

This accessible account pulls together the major events and players alongside key background, context and analysis.

Available on the CAAT website as a PDF file or use the order form overleaf.



# Subscribe now!

Subscription is voluntary, but we need your support. We suggest £26 waged, £14 low income and £35 for groups. Please give more if you are able, or less if not.

Name

Address

Postcode

Tel

Email

I enclose a cheque/postal order for £

I do not want to receive an acknowledgment

## Please give by standing order

It helps CAAT plan ahead more effectively and costs less to administer, so more money goes directly to campaigning. Just £3 a month makes a real difference.

Name

Bank address

Postcode

Sort code  Acc/no

Please pay: The Co-operative Bank Plc, 1 Islington High Street, London, N1 9TR (sort code 08 90 33) for the account of CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMS TRADE (account number 50503544) the sum of

pounds (£  )

starting on (dd/mm/yyyy)  and monthly/annually thereafter.

Signed

Fill in your name and address with the bankers order and return the whole form to CAAT, not your bank. Please make cheques payable to CAAT and send with this form to: CAAT, Freepost, LON6486, London N4 3BR.

If you DO NOT wish to receive CAATnews please tick here

CAAT use only.  
Please quote ref  
on all payments

# Order form

This is a selection of our recent materials. For a full list, contact the CAAT office or visit [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)  
PLEASE TICK BOX AND MARK QUANTITY REQUIRED

## Recent publications

- Study War No More: Military involvement in UK universities**, Nov 2007, by CAAT and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (£3.00) Quantity
- Bribing for Britain: Government Collusion in Arms Sales Corruption** (Goodwin Paper #5, Oct 2007) by Tim Webb (£3.00) Quantity
- A seriously funny attempt to get the Serious Fraud Office in the dock!** Sept 2007. Programme from gig at the Hammersmith Apollo, London on 23rd September (free) Quantity

## Campaign postcards

- NEW! Control BAE: Reopen the Saudi corruption inquiry postcard** (free) Quantity
- Corporate Mercenaries postcard** (free) Quantity
- Stop Arming Israel postcard** (free) Quantity

## Other resources

- NEW! T-shirts** Black with small white logo (women's fitted: small, medium or large; unisex: medium, large or extra large) (£10) Quantity
- Recruiting postcard** (free) Quantity
- Greeting cards** Three doves of peace or Tree of Peace (see page 15) (£5 for 10 cards & envelopes + 50p postage & packing) Quantity
- Introduction to CAAT** (free) Quantity
- NEW! The Facade of Arms Control**, February 2008, by Anna Stavrianakis (£3) Quantity

WE DON'T WANT ANYONE TO BE PREVENTED FROM GETTING INVOLVED BY THE COST OF MATERIALS, SO MANY OF OUR RESOURCES ARE FREE. HOWEVER, IF YOU ARE ABLE TO MAKE A DONATION TOWARDS THE COSTS OF PRODUCING AND SENDING OUR RESOURCES, IT WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

Please make cheques payable to CAAT.

Name

Address

Postcode

Email

Telephone

Would you like to receive our monthly email bulletin?  
Yes  No

Please return this form to:

CAAT  
11 Goodwin Street  
London N4 3HQ

