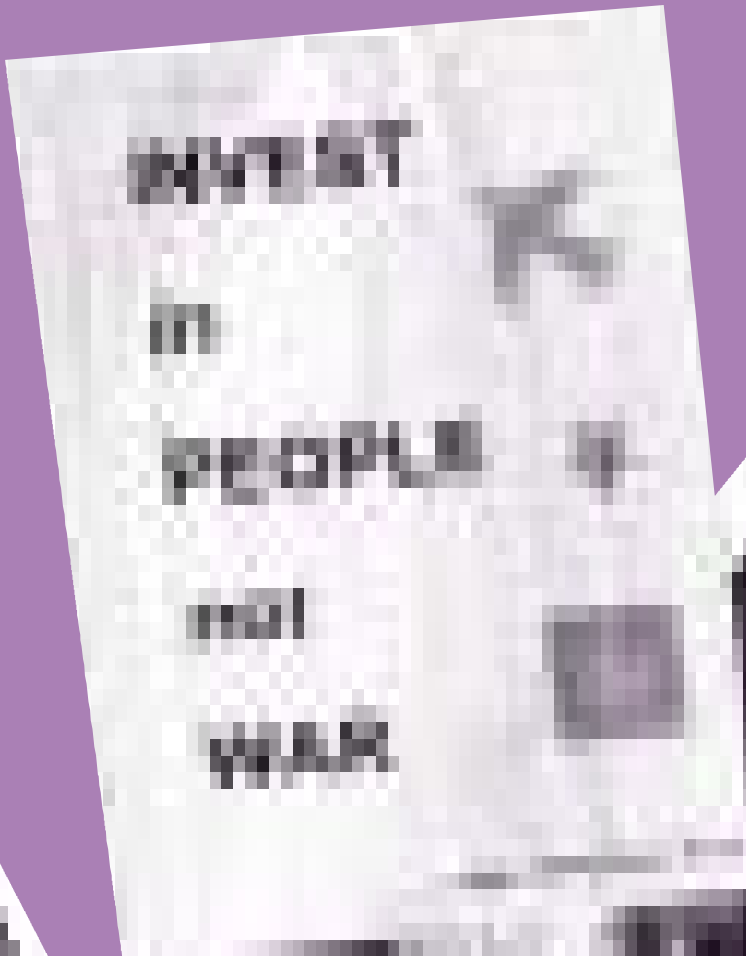


# CAATnews



## ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

ARMING THE FORGOTTEN  
TERROR ARMIES

SITE UNSEEN TOUR REPORT

EXPLOSIVE REMNANTS OF WAR

# clean investment update

# Contents

Site Unseen tour  
Pages 12–13



<b>In the news</b>	<b>3,4</b>
Arming the forgotten terror armies	
<b>Arms trade shorts</b>	<b>4-5</b>
<b>Campaigns</b>	<b>6</b>
BAE AGM alert and reporting back on protests at the DESO symposium	
<b>Book review</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Raging Against the Machine: 30 years of campaigning for global justice</i>	
<b>Clean investment</b>	<b>8-9</b>
Not-for-profit organisations still hold shares in arms companies	
<b>Parliamentary</b>	<b>10</b>
US asks UK government permission for 'Star Wars'	
<b>Explosive remnants of war</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Campaigns</b>	<b>12-13</b>
On the road with the 'Site Unseen' tour	
<b>Plus</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Fundraising</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Get active</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Campaigns diary</b>	



CAAT News  
Issue 177

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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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**TREAT** 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.



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## Editorial

We are well into our exhausting 2003 campaign calendar, so this edition looks back on visits to arms companies and demos galore! Local Campaigns Co-ordinator Chris Cole drove westward-ho to **BAE Systems in Bath, Bristol and Glascoed, Wales**. After finding the arms giant's offices in Bath sub-let just weeks earlier, CAAT's stalwart local contacts had more success in Bristol and Wales – their action was even scooped up by *Wales on Sunday*. Chris reports back on pages 12-13.

There is almost universal attention on important events in Iraq and the Middle East. But we take an important sidestep: what about other **UK arms sales around the world**, to regimes that routinely deploy internal violence? Clear government and EU rules are in place to stop such sales happening. With an expected backlash against arms sales expected to follow any conflict with Saddam Hussein, and a 'soft' UK arms embargo applied to Israel (see page 5), surely it is time to seriously review a wide range of military exports, says CAAT's Media Co-ordinator Richard Bingley (pages 3 and 4).

Our annual **Clean Investment Campaign** is now launched. CAAT research shows that charities, universities, NHS trusts, trade unions and political parties continue to hold shares in arms firms. On a positive note, there is now tangible momentum towards either partial or whole divestment (pages 8-9.) See the new CAAT website ([www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)) for full shareholder listings.

Internally, CAAT's Steering Committee is forming a three-year organisational plan for 2004-06. To find out how you can **add your important ideas and shape CAAT's future** please turn to page 7 – consultation ends on Thursday 1 May, 2003.

Finally, Martin Hogbin, who is organising attendees to the **BAE Systems AGM** on Tuesday 29 April, wants you to know that there are still places available! Phone him on 020-7281 0297 (Monday's, Wednesday's or Friday's) or email: [martin@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:martin@caat.demon.co.uk). CAAT needs you! ■

# Arming the forgotten terror armies

Sometimes the most simple things in life are the most difficult to achieve. For instance, national and European rules on military exports stipulate that an arms export license should not be granted: "if there is a clear risk that the proposed export might be used for internal repression."

'Repression' in its starkest forms includes torture, other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatments, non-judicial executions, disappearances, arbitrary detentions and other manifestations of state-sponsored brutality that are prohibited under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants.

Arms sales to Israel and Zimbabwe generated sharp anxieties around the corridors of Westminster. So much so that an unofficial arms ban has recently been placed on the former, while a strict EU-wide arms embargo was slapped on President Mugabe's regime three years ago.

But what of other administrations, which rely more on inflicting fear and violence to 'stabilise' their territories and enforce 'law and order', who for one reason or another, escape being placed in the goldfish bowl of global attention? Three countries detailed below – Russia, Algeria and Kenya – are merely a tip of an arms trade iceberg, which is fast sinking any remaining "ethical" foreign policy pretensions.

Since Russia restarted military incursions into its southern province of Chechnya in 1999, the UK has licensed £40m of military technology to the former superpower. Now 80,000 government troops are stationed there. Drunk, drugged, underpaid and so anarchic that even their own commanders lock themselves up at night, Russia's armed forces have been responsible for the death of up to 200,000 Chechen civilians, many summarily executed, following Russian military tactics to 'security sweep' Chechen town and cities of "terrorists".

Despite a clear breach of government arms guidelines, UK companies have supplied inter alia: imaging intensifiers and cameras, military utility vehicles, battle communications equipment, small

arms ammunition and components for pistols and combat aircraft parts. These alone may not go bang in the night. Nevertheless, they form part of a lethal concoction which helps identify a target, renders a target vulnerable and conspicuous, or makes it easier to hit a target – whether that 'target' is an innocent civilian or not.

Around 100,000 lives have been lost in Algeria since 1992, the result of crazed terror tactics practised by armed groups such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and a hard-line, genocidal and illegitimate FLN government, which aborted an election it was about to lose to the Islamic Salvation Front, and whose police, armed forces and paramilitaries have employed the tactic 'kill one to scare a thousand'.

In April 2002, 80 unarmed civilians protesting at the death of a schoolboy whilst in custody were shot dead by security forces, Amnesty reports. Eight months later, America's Assistant Secretary of State William Burns told reporters that: "Washington has much to learn from Algeria on ways to fight terrorism." The US vowed to provide Algeria with up-to-date weapons sales after Washington had blocked arms to Algeria during the nineties. Weeks later, Graham Hand, UK ambassador to Algeria, disclosed British policy had changed too: a UK Ministry of Defence delegation had visited the Algerian government to discuss the army's needs.

In Kenya, Amnesty International reported that "security officials committed violations with impunity" throughout 2002 and preceding years. Yet trade wonks at the DTI granted export licenses for military vehicles, small arms ammunition, weapons sights, stun grenades and general purpose machine gun parts over the past two years. Presumably this is to claw back some of the £30m of aid the UK Department for International Development allocates for Kenya each year.

As in the case of Russia and Algeria, the words "clear risk" and "internal repression" were presumably wiped off departmental white boards on the day certain officials

*Continued on Page 6*

# Arming the forgotten terror armies

*Continued from page 3*

nodded through licenses. Unless, to be fair, Whitehall officials have so many staff on the ground in such places that they can be absolutely sure UK-supplied equipment is mothballed, instead of being used for the purposes it was bought for.

Throughout 2000 and 2001, £83.5m of military equipment was licensed for China, £161m for Malaysia and £213m for Turkey – the latter has been censured for human rights abuses over forty times since 1996 by the European Court of Human Rights.

During the same timeframe, UK-made communications and stun grenades were bound for Colombia; small arms and surveillance equipment sold to Egypt; small arms and CS gas grenades to Saudi Arabia; jets, armoured cars and bomb guidance systems to Indonesia; 400 semi-automatic pistols and 140 machine guns to the Philippines; ammunition and military cameras to Peru; and military

vehicles and communications systems to Angola.

Despite applying pragmatic dexterity rather than the letter of arms control measures, seeds of reform have been sown by this government. In 1997 Labour roared into office and rapidly established a ban on exporting torture equipment. Ministers then overhauled laissez-faire export rules which had been a helpful servant to arms merchants since before the Second World War.

Another positive change was the introduction of a cosmetically-challenged “annual report on strategic exports” – a trade log of military equipment and dual-use equipment which gets licensed (or refused) to leave our shores every year, citing the national destination and broadly the type of equipment.

Certainly this is all a vast improvement on previous years. But ironically, since transparency has improved because of the annual report, Labour’s whole raft of

foreign policy has been dogged by burgeoning cynicism, because revelation after revelation has tumbled from its pages – which are fast becoming a Holy Grail for human rights activists.

That the government is finally telling us about British arms sales to regimes which treat the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights like a favourite dartboard is very much welcome.

But at the final reckoning, something should be done about it, rather than merely acknowledging that the worst elements of arms trading continue unabated. Especially when it is so simple to rein-in British companies. The complicated explanation could be that, to sell a small amount of their products to a small amount of potential clients is so clearly against government rules. Hardly rocket science. Then again, if it was, we would probably try to sell it. ■

*By Richard Bingley. This article first appeared in Tribune on Friday 14 March 2003*

## Remnants of an ethical foreign policy?

*London: 5 March 2003:* Anti-war campaigners led by the comedian Mark Thomas today left heaps of fertilizer on the doorstep of the Labour Party’s new headquarters in London.

The entrance to Labour’s Old Queen Street premises was strewn with silage as Mr Thomas remarked to a passing camera crew: “This is what the people of Britain think of the second UN Resolution, which despite the government’s claims, does not specifically call for war on Iraq.”

Bemused passers by watched as a rickety blue van heaped with sacks of dung chugged to a stop outside one of the most security-sensitive parts of Westminster.

Some witnesses claimed to be on their way to the Queen Elizabeth II Conference centre, which just fifty yards away, was hosting an annual Ministry of Defence symposium. “The protesters audacity certainly outranks the level of local security,” said one who wished to remain unnamed.





## ARMS TRADE SHORTS

## Arms monolith in pipeline

The Chief Executive of US-based arms and aerospace giant Boeing Co. recently hinted at ambitions to take over BAE Systems. Though BAE is half the size of Boeing, which has annual sales of around £34bn, any deal with UK-based BAE would be presented as a merger rather than an acquisition. This would protect national sensitivities claim industry journalists. On a tour of Europe – which includes UK defence ministers – Phil Condit, chief of Boeing, confirmed that “BAE was an interesting merger opportunity”. If granted permission, the amalgamation would create the world’s largest arms production monolith with unrivalled access to European and expanding US defence markets. Industry analysts assert that the commercial marriage is potentially hitch-free, as a quarter of BAE sales are currently generated in US markets. A source at BAE confirmed that the company did want to do a deal with Boeing, but other options included a series of joint ventures.

(*The Times*, 6 March 2003)

## Boycott French arms fair says US congressman

Republican Jim Saxton proposed a resolution to the House of Congress, which put pressure on US companies to pull out of this year’s Paris Air Show. He is furious at the lack of French support for the US over the issue of Iraq. The exhibition, scheduled for June 15-22 in Le Bourget, is the largest of its type in Europe this year. However, the US Aerospace Industries Association (AIA) denounced the plan of Mr Saxton, a member of the House Armed Services Committee. Far from impeding the French, they argued, it would remove highly competitive US military and aerospace products from the most important industry showcase of the year... presenting the French with unfettered industry *sacre bleu* on the asphalts of Le Bourget. (*Defense News*, 10 February 2003)

# Government introduces ‘soft’ ban on arms exports to Israel

After pressure from MPs and campaigners, the UK government has imposed an arms embargo on Israel say angry defence officials in Tel Aviv.

*Janes Defence Weekly* described the ban as a “soft embargo”, as some crucial parts were being delayed rather than officially stopped, to stave off diplomatic embarrassment. A senior Israeli Foreign Ministry official described the development as “a major cloud in our bilateral relations with Britain”.

The UK Foreign Office deny any change to arms sales policy asserting that they are committed to viewing each arms export license application on its own merit. However, sources close to government admit that ministers no longer believe Israeli assurances that UK-supplied equipment will not be used by Israeli Defence Force incursions into the occupied territories.

CAAT can reveal that the usually moderate Labour Friends of Israel political lobby group has expressed their chagrin to the Prime Minister’s office that a *de facto* ban is in place.

The government though is keen not to upset civil business ties between Britain and Israel, which have grown exponentially in recent years. Talk of an unoffi-

cial ban could also help distinguish the UK diplomatically from the more hard-line perceptions of America, which is beginning to lose commerce in parts of the Middle East.

However, Ministers must feel that they are trapped on a see-saw. They are keen not to be seen to do anything that might hinder an upcoming conflict against Saddam Hussein’s regime in Iraq.

Israel claims that up to 140 military items have had their delivery delayed since the second Palestinian uprising (intifada) in September 2000. Withholding crucial ejector seat parts for Israel Air Force F-4E Phantoms (pictured) is the latest and most important in a long line of official procrastination. The absence of such a small part, which effectively guarantees the safety of the pilot and is unavailable anywhere else in the world market, will gradually ground the fleet, claimed Israel’s Ministry of Defence.

UK-Israel relations deteriorated further in January as Israel’s new foreign minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, refused to allow

Palestinian leaders to attend a peace-building conference sponsored by the UK government in London.



## Ethical careers in science and technology

Scientists for Global Responsibility wants to give scientists and engineers a deeper understanding of the wider ethical dimensions of various careers in science and technology.

It has produced an introductory booklet, which looks at issues such as genetics, climate change, arms, and science funding. This is complemented by in-depth briefings on “Career choice and climate change”, “Cleaner technologies: a

positive choice” and “Career choice, ethics and animal experimentation”. Further briefings will be published during 2003 covering topics including nuclear issues, military involvement in science and technology, and how science is funded.

Downloadable copies are available from <[www.sgr.org.uk/ethics.html](http://www.sgr.org.uk/ethics.html)>. This link also gives contacts for further information on ethical careers.





# BAE Systems AGM

Tuesday 29 April 2003

Join the “fat cat” outside the Queen Elizabeth II Conference Centre and help make this years BAE AGM a public event. The dark and dirty deals of this business are made behind closed doors and we need to expose them to public scrutiny. The external protest will coincide with the formal procedures of the AGM and genuine shareholders will be made very aware of an alternative view to BAE’s trading ethos.

## Arms trade spring clean!

Cabinet ministers aren’t the only ones who need to exercise collective responsibility – CAAT activists do too! So please come along to BAE Systems’ AGM on Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> April for an arms trade Spring Clean! Come along as a shareholder and ask awkward questions of the directors of Europe’s largest arms exporting company. Contact Martin Hogbin on 020 7281 0297 or drop him an email at [martin@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:martin@caat.demon.co.uk).

Why not make a day of it and join Local Campaigns Coordinator Chris Cole during the afternoon when he visits two of BAE Systems’ London offices as part of his “Site Unseen” campaign. Two one hour vigils are planned between 2.00pm and 4.00pm. Call the CAAT office or visit the website for more information.



Photo: FoE

## Protest and arrests at state-sponsored arms rally

Cole poured fake blood over the steps of the conference centre entrance – “bloody footprints to go along with bloodied hands.”

Security and special branch officers immediately pounced. Both Martin and Chris were arrested, held for nine hours, and later released on bail to return in April to answer possible criminal damage charges.

Inside, BAE’s Sir Dick Evans spoke of the need for companies to be aware of the “shifting geopolitical sands” and the “re-alignment around different political axes”, in reference to the imminent conflict in Iraq. Given that BAE Systems (or its legacy companies) have marketed or sold arms to some of the modern (so-called) “axis of evil” states in the past, and now also sell more military technology to the US Pentagon than the British MoD, Mr Evans and other conference attendees will doubtless be watching the outcome of any potential conflict with bated breath.

CAAT’s Fanning the Flames campaign calls for the closure of the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO). As we are seemingly about to embark on a major bombing campaign, in which many innocent civilians will undoubtedly be killed – in order to disarm a dictator that we helped arm in the first place – it is the height of hypocrisy for DESO to continue promoting arms exports into many lethal regions.

*A free ‘Fanning The Flames’ campaign and action pack is available from the CAAT office.*

Photo: CAAT



Since last year, the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) has been advertising its annual symposium – a chance for those involved in the parallel arms sales universe to meet and discuss key markets and ‘opportunities’ for UK arms exporters. The date and venue of the gathering was strictly guarded; only ‘genuine’ DESO Partners were privy to full details. Nevertheless, CAAT obtained insider information and organised a dramatic protest.

## Bloody business

As delegates arrived to hear UK Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon and BAE Systems Chairman Sir Dick Evans speak of their “vision for the future”, CAAT co-ordinators Martin Hogbin and Chris

# The human factor

## Raging Against the Machine: 30 years of campaigning for global justice

ISBN 1 904456 02 2. Paperback £9.99. Publication date: 24 March 2003

This latest New Internationalist publication celebrates the 30th birthday of a self-confessed “radical magazine”, which has become an enduringly popular and important current affairs journal. NI wins its market by persistently focusing on the human angle in our global village, rather than neurotically analysing power politics, which we all thought was permanently banished at the end of the Cold War.

Although for some, the book is masked with an annoyingly tendentious title, it is littered with succinct, evocative news articles that literally make one “rage against” those responsible instead of an intangible “machine”. One reporter, John Pilger, travelled to East Timor almost twenty years after it was occupied by Indonesia during 1975. Described by a Portuguese commentator as a tiny “overseas province” that was “asleep at the end of the earth”, Pilger portrays a “land of crosses” where mass genocide went unrestrained by the international community. (The invasion itself was offered a green light by Washington who viewed the mainly catholic and animist territory as

a potential commie beachhead.) By 1983, a third of the population (200,000) had been exterminated. In 1989, Pilger records that the head of the Catholic Church wrote to the UN Secretary-General saying “We are dying as a people and as a Nation”. He received no reply. Another writer, Vanessa Baird too records in melancholic, matter-of-fact style, the impact of the arms trade in Somalia – AK47s are ubiquitous throughout her trip. Visiting Mogadishu in 1994, shortly after the US were repulsed, and UN peacekeepers were failing to establish law and order – due to intractable corruption, warlordism and international timidity – Baird draws in potent abstract references to highlight the difference changing international behaviour would have on the ground. She makes the connection between the world’s biggest arms suppliers (answer: US, UK, France, Russia and China – which together ‘own’ 86 per cent of the global arms market) and asks who, in this liberal interventionist world, are obliged to



guarantee international peace and security and ultimately sort this weapons-soaked anarchy out? She helpfully gives us the answer. Chief culprits are the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: US, UK, France, Russia and China. Powerful writing, which transfers readers into the fixated and sorrowful world of each writer, and ricochets through over 60 reports inside this haunting, compact book. ■

## Look to the future: CAAT's campaigns 2004–2006

### Background

In 2000 the CAAT Steering Committee decided to draw up a three-year plan. A thorough review of the organisation's work as well as consultation with supporters was undertaken. As a result CAAT's aims were modified to take account of a global, as distinct from national, arms industry. In summary, CAAT is now working for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries.

The review also agreed that three internal and three external “threads” would underlie CAAT's activity for the period 2001–2003. These are: ‘achieving tough government controls on arms exports’; ‘debunking the myth that arms

exports are good for the economy and for jobs’; ‘highlighting the companies’ responsibility’; ‘increasing the number of CAAT supporters’; ‘revitalising CAAT's local campaigning around the country’; and ‘achieving a higher public profile for CAAT and the arms trade’. Each of these is sub-divided into more detailed aims.

In addition, each year, there has been a public theme superimposed on these “threads”. In 2001 it was ‘children and the arms trade’; in 2002 ‘how taxpayers subsidise the arms trade’ and this year ‘how UK arms exports fuel conflict’.

### Looking forward

The Steering Committee has found the plan a useful aid to developing and monitoring CAAT's work, so it is looking

for something broadly similar for the next three years. Are there different “threads” which CAAT should highlight in the years ahead? Please let us know what you think.

### ■ TAKE ACTION

Please write to Ann Feltham at the office or email her at [ann@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:ann@caat.demon.co.uk) by 1st May 2003 with your ideas. These will then be considered by the Steering Committee which will produce a draft plan for the August/September issue of *CAAT News*. If you would like a copy of the full text of CAAT's aims and /or to see the detailed plan, including what happened for 2002, please ask for a copy.

# Clean investment on

**Exclusive CAAT research has revealed that shareholdings in arms companies are still held by many organisations in the not-for-profit sector, though there is now an underlying momentum towards divestment**

Charities, unions, local authorities, political parties and universities – known popularly as the ‘benevolent sector’ of the economy – still maintain shares in arms manufacturers despite widespread concerns about contradicting the aims of altruistic organisations and, for some establishments, their ability to deliver impartial education or act objectively.

Some are beginning to divest or to establish ‘ethical pools’. These are a percentage of investments kept separate from ethically challenged companies such as arms or cigarette manufacturers, which are monitored for performance by fund managers.

CAAT’s research also uncovered another troubling trend for arms companies. Because international arms trading has halved since the end of the Cold War, and global arms manufacturing dropped by a third, organisations are beginning to question the sense of spreading investments into beleaguered defence and aerospace markets. Europe’s largest arms company, UK-based BAE Systems, accounts for less than 0.5 per cent of the value of the FTSE All Share Index.

Arms investor refuseniks include Northumberland County Council and fund managers on the Isle of White. Both authorities’ tracking systems recognise that there are more fertile investments outside these under-performing markets.

## **The haves...**

The Labour Party’s Pension Fund is again the highest profile catch in CAAT’s clean investment net, retaining over twenty thousand shares in arms-giant BAE Systems and over forty thousand shares in military logistics and engine-maker Rolls Royce.

NALGO also reduced their BAE shareholdings from 154,830 to 88,830, perhaps reflecting loss of confidence due to the shares plummeting market value – down from £3.41 this time last year to around £1.13 at present.

Despite having withdrawn shares in major arms companies, the Anglican Church Commissioners held onto their one million shares in Smiths, an aerospace and defence group with military contracts for Israeli fighter jets. Although the Church is keen not to hold shares in arms manufacturers, it continues to hold in Smiths because less than 25 per cent of the company’s production is military – falling underneath a threshold strictly operated by Church of England fund managers. The Christian interdenominational Boys Brigade kept 6,600 BAE shares despite press attention last year.

Fund managers of local authority pension funds are increasingly beginning to trail-blaze small pools of ethical investments, which then have their financial performance monitored. Initial signs are positive at the London Borough of Croydon (where 2% of pension funds are ‘ethically managed’), the Royal Borough of Kingston on Thames (2%), Merseyside (0.5%) and county councils in Avon (2%), Derbyshire (1%), Hampshire (0.4%), Lancashire (2%) and Nottinghamshire (2%). Shropshire screens their entire pension fund for tobacco producers. CAAT supporters are applying pressure on county hall to also put arms companies on their ethical radar.

Overall CAAT research uncovered 78 UK local authorities holding shares in various arms companies. This included eight in Scotland, five in Wales and 25 in Greater London. Larger shareholdings, such as the Strathclyde Pension Fund (possessing over 3 million shares in all major UK arms Plc’s) and many town halls in London, including Islington, Lambeth and Southwark, are particularly perverse, as many of these councils face problems accommodating people displaced by conflict and the arms that easily reach dictators and war-zones.

## Overall CAAT research uncovered 78 UK local authorities holding shares in various arms companies

These figures are dwarfed, however, by the Co-operative Insurance Society, which holds around 22 million shares in the main UK-based public limited arms companies. For a sister company of the Co-op Bank, who are forensic and dedicated in their own attempts to be ‘ethically clean’, these figures will be of deep embarrassment. Campaigners also say the shareholdings directly undermine the insurance organisation, which publicly trades on, and benefits from, the Co-op legacy of social justice and improvement.

The Trade Union Congress (TUC) Superannuation Society reduced its shares in BAE from 495,540 to 99,000 but still holds 180,010 in Rolls Royce. Local authority unions UNISON and

Other public sector organisations with arms firm shareholdings include four NHS trusts in Bradford, Carlisle, East Cheshire and South London and Maudsley. The Universities’ Superannuation Scheme retained its unofficial title of ‘top not-for-profit sector arms investor’. The USS holds over sixteen million shares in BAE Systems alone, keeping around another 9.3 million in other arms companies including Alvis, Cobham, GKN, Rolls Royce, Smiths and VT Group (formerly Vosper Thornycroft).

Despite movements throughout higher education led by students and campaign groups forcing universities to stop arms investments, we know of at least eleven that continue to hold arms shares including Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow in Scotland,



# a roll!

Hope Valley Peace Group: clean investment campaigning Photo: CAAT



and Manchester, Liverpool, the Imperial College of Science (London University), Southampton and a smattering of Oxbridge colleges in England. Most of this information has been obtained by campaigners but many gaps remain.

Charities that continue to invest in arms are the Masonic Trust Company, with 4,500 BAE shares, and MENCAP City Foundation which has a small pool of around one thousand BAE shares. The largest charity arms investors are the RNLI (with 409,863

arms shares in total), the National Trust for Scotland (430,000), the Royal UK Beneficent Association (385,000) and the University College Hospital Charity based in London (39,000 BAE shares)

## ... and have nots!

The Great Ormond Street-based Leukaemia Research Fund last year divested of its 152,769 shares in BAE and is now clear of arms companies. So too is the Ribble Valley NHS Trust. These organisations join the Red Cross, the University of East Anglia, Christ Church College in Oxford, Selwyn College in Cambridge, and both Catholic and Anglican churches, which withdrew arms trade investments before this year. CAAT's Clean Investment Campaign now has examples across the not-for-profit sector board of action; whether we include ethically managed share pools or emphatic, decisive divestment from arms companies.

Persuading organisations to divest from arms exporting companies depends entirely on the work of individuals and groups. All the shareholdings and a new campaign pack are now available for those wanting to take action. The pack provides background information on the campaign and advice about obtaining information and working to change investment policies.

The Clean Investment Pack and figures are available at [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) or from the CAAT office. ■

## Share prices at time of going to press

	Share prices 07/03/02	Share prices 11/03/03
BAE Systems	£3.41	£1.13.25
Rolls Royce	£1.70	£0.70
GKN	£3.04.25	£1.61
Smiths	£7.22	£6.13.5
Cobham	£11.47.5	£9.76.5
VT Group	n/a	£1.74
Alvis	£1.48.5	£1.45.5



# Business with Algeria

Since 1992, when the military stepped in to cancel elections that looked likely to return an Islamist government, the people of Algeria have suffered greatly.

Many massacres of civilians took place, mostly blamed on the GIA, or Armed Islamic Group. However, according to a new report from Human Rights Watch ([www.hrw.org/reports/2003/algeria0203](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/algeria0203)), between 1992 and 1998 the Algerian security forces and their allies arrested and made “disappear” more than 7,000 people who remain unaccounted for to this day. These state-sponsored “disappearances” have now virtually stopped, but not one person accused of participating in an act of “disappearance” has been charged or brought to trial, and not one family of a “disappeared” person has been provided with concrete, verifiable information about the fate of their relative.

On 27th February, the same day the Human Rights Watch report was published, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw appeared before the Commons’ Quadripartite Committee on Strategic Exports. Wide-ranging questions from MPs from the Defence, Foreign Affairs, International Development and Trade & Industry

Committees included some on Algeria.

Mr Straw confirmed press reports that two Defence Export Services Organisation officials had recently visited Algiers to explore the scope for the UK to do business there. The Foreign Secretary said he wanted to see an improvement in Algeria’s human rights record, and denied the new willingness to sell military equipment was connected to the need for intelligence co-operation.

## ■ TAKE ACTION

Please write to your MP, House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA asking them to raise your concern about military sales to Algeria with the Foreign Secretary. Point out that even if the equipment supplied could not be directly used to repress the Algerian people, any sales from the UK would be seen as a message of approval for the Algerian government. The way to address terrorism is through upholding human rights, not through military support to a government which has yet to address the terror of the 1990’s.

# Secondary legislation

In July 2002 the new Export Control Act received Royal Assent and was passed into law. The Act was the culmination of a long process which started when Lord Justice Scott’s inquiry into the sale of military equipment to Iraq drew attention to the weaknesses in the previous legislation.

The 2002 Act will not enter into force until the detailed secondary legislation is approved. A Consultation Document on this has now been published by the Government which has asked for comments by 30th April.

## Controls on brokers not sufficient

CAAT’s biggest disappointment is that the draft Orders fail to live up to the 2001 Labour Party manifesto commitment to introduce “a licensing system to control the activities of arms brokers and traffickers wherever they are located”.

Full extra-territorial controls are limited to transfers a) to embargoed destinations, and b) of long range missiles and of equipment for which there is evidence of its use in torture, and this is inadequate. Destinations not subject to an embargo can be lucrative markets for arms brokers. There are many types of weapons beyond those listed which can cause great devastation or which can assist in the violation of human rights. Cluster bombs (pictured) are an example of the former; armoured personnel carriers of the latter.

Adopting the Orders as drafted will simply serve to move the brokers across the Channel or, if similar European Union-wide regulations of this kind are later brought into force, further afield. Full extra-territorial controls are essential to stop unscrupulous dealers and trafficking networks relocating and continuing their businesses with impunity.



# Hoon gives go-ahead for Ballistic Missile Defense

On 5th February, following his Department’s token consultation on the upgrade of Fylingdales for use within the US Ballistic Missile Defence system, Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon MP announced that he was “now satisfied that we have been able to take fully into account the views of all interested parties in coming to a decision. I am therefore today replying to the United States Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, conveying the Government’s agreement to the US request.” Almost as a justification, he followed this up by stating: “We are separately negotiating a technical memorandum of understanding to give British industry the best possible opportunities to

win work on the US programme.”

A Defence Committee report condemned the consultation process, stating that the Secretary of State had effectively prevented a public debate from taking place. The Committee could find no reason for the sudden urgency after the MoD had refused calls for debate over much of the past year.

The Fylingdales decision, though highly significant in terms of signalling support for the US project, actually relates to little concrete action. What is now needed is for campaigners to ensure that the government is not allowed to creep quietly into full involvement in the project.

# Explosive remnants of war

Few people realise that in many post-conflict areas, more civilians are killed by explosive remnants of war (ERW) than by landmines. And unlike anti-personnel mines, banned by the Ottawa Treaty since 1999, these other unexploded munitions are not covered by international humanitarian law.

Explosive remnants of war include cluster bombs – each containing around 200 submunitions, many of which fail to explode – as well as grenades, shells and rockets. ERW refers to both unexploded and abandoned ordnance. In Kosovo in 1999, between 7 and 11% of NATO bomblets failed to explode on impact. These insidious weapons are scattered over large areas, denying access to land and making vital everyday activities such as collecting wood or farming an unpredictable hazard or at worst impossible.

There are currently at least 84 countries around the world affected by ERW, including Afghanistan, Cambodia, Eritrea, Iraq, Kosovo and Sri Lanka. While anti-personnel mines are designed to incapacitate, ERW are more likely to kill. There are often multiple casualties in ERW incidents, and a large proportion of victims are boys and young men. Landmine Action's report on the effects of ERW in Sri Lanka, published in March 2003, shows that between January 2000 and October 2002, fifty per cent of ERW victims in the Jaffna Peninsula were children.

The escalating situation in Iraq makes it likely that cluster bombs will be used again. In April 2002 the US confirmed it has stockpiles of 111,033 CBU-87 unguided cluster bombs each containing 202 BLU-97 bomblets – the type most used against Iraq, Kuwait, Kosovo and Afghanistan, and which have proved exceptionally prone to failure. The total number of US submunitions of all types in stockpiles run to hundreds of millions.

## Kuwait

A new report by Landmine Action and the Centre for Research and Studies on Kuwait demonstrates the ongoing impact of ERW 12 years after Operation Desert Storm. At the end of the conflict almost 98% of Kuwait was affected by ERW. Between February 1991 and December 1992 there were 1,009 deaths and injuries from ERW (compared to 532 mine-related injuries in the same period). By the end of 2002 there had been 1,609 deaths and injuries – this among a population of 2.1 million.

Between 1991 and 1997 111,750 tons of unexploded ordnance were cleared and destroyed. Just the first two years of clearance cost an estimated US\$728 million. The Kuwaiti Ministry of Defence still receives 15-20 reports of mines and ERW every day.

Civilians are injured or killed by ERW during everyday economic activities like working in the fields. Deliberate interaction with ERW, such as dismantling a munition for scrap metal, also occurs out of necessity or social responsibility. ERW impedes post-conflict resettlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction, hampering peacebuilding and development.

Kuwait is a rich nation with resources to tackle ERW, yet still the problem persists. The majority of ERW-affected states are poor developing countries without funding for clearance, medical services and long term rehabilitation.

## Clear up campaign

This is why Landmine Action, which includes CAAT among its members, has launched its Clear Up campaign calling for new international humanitarian law to protect post-conflict communities from these devastating weapons.

"Although cluster bombs are not

designed to function as landmines, many fail to work on impact and can then explode at the slightest touch, which means they are having exactly the same indiscriminate effects as landmines," said Anne Quesney, International Campaign Co-ordinator.

Landmine Action has launched an international petition in partnership with The Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund calling on States Parties to the UN Convention on Conventional Weapons to agree urgently a legally binding protocol on ERW. Users of cluster bombs and other weapons that become ERW should be legally responsible for clearing them up, providing warnings to civilians and assistance to victims, as well as sharing information on weapons used.

In the meantime, Landmine Action is calling on governments to freeze the use of cluster bombs – including in Iraq – until this new international humanitarian law is in place.

To sign the petition, visit <[www.clearup.org](http://www.clearup.org)>. For further details about the campaign and Landmine Action's work, visit <[www.landmineaction.org](http://www.landmineaction.org)>. The Kuwait and Sri Lanka reports are available from Landmine Action, tel. 020 7820 0222 or e-mail [info@landmineaction.org](mailto:info@landmineaction.org)

## ■ TAKE ACTION

Governments buy and use cluster munitions, but they are, of course, manufactured by companies. A leading UK manufacturer is Insys. Please write to Brian Hibbert, Managing Director, Insys, Reddings Wood, Ampthill, Beds MK45 2HD. Tell him that you believe that the manufacture of cluster bombs, with their high level of civilian casualties, is unacceptable; ask him to stop his company's production.

# ‘Site Unseen’ tour – Bath,

By Chris Cole

## BAE Bath

BAE Systems’ office building in Bath is an obscure building in the heart of the city centre. On our arrival we discover that BAE – having operated there for over 18 years – have sub-letted their offices to a production company two months previously. Nevertheless, the work of that particular section continues, almost certainly at BAE Filton, where we were visiting later in the day. The Bath office had been working on “providing a range of services to maintain warship capability” as well as naval combat systems. This includes refurbishing RN submarines to sell to the Canadian Navy, upgrade work on Tomahawk cruise missiles and design work for Brunei patrol vessels.

As BAE were still nominally ‘present’ at least in ownership of the building, we had a short vigil, and were photographed by the local paper, the Bath Chronicle.

## BAE Filton (Bristol)

Numbers were much reduced for a cold and wet protest outside BAE’s massive Filton site, in the north of the city. BAE Systems and its ancestors have had a presence in Filton for a very long time – almost since the dawn of aviation. Whilst there is still a runway there, and Airbus – the civil aircraft manufacturer which is partly owned by BAE – continues to manufacture wings and fuselage sections for the airbus, military aircraft production/ servicing has ceased at Filton as far as we know. However, that doesn’t mean that Filton has stopped its connection with military work – far from it.

Filton is a bit of a nerve centre for BAE in the UK. Almost every component of its business has a presence at the site, with around 6,000 people employed by the company as a whole on the site. Much of the work that is undertaken in Bristol is research, project management and customer support. What greatly surprised me was the amount of naval and sea work



being undertaken at Filton – again not metal bashing but project and contract management. Just recently there has been a lot in the national press about the two new aircraft carriers, which the UK is ordering for £3bn. The contract was being fought for by BAE and Thales, and at the end of January, the government gave prime contractorship to BAE. The prime contract office is based at Filton. In addition the Prime Contractor Office for the Type 45 Destroyers, six of which are to be built at a cost of £4.3bn is run from Filton although the actual building work is being undertaken in shipyards on the Clyde, Barrow and the south coast.

Three other important things to say about BAE at Filton. Firstly, missiles. As I described previously, BAE’s missile division has been folded into a European joint company called MBDA,

and BAE is a majority partner. MBDA at Filton is involved in software and systems development for a whole host of missiles. We also understand that there is Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) research work already being undertaken by MBDA at Filton – Bush’s Son of Star War’s dream (nightmare) but we can’t absolutely confirm this.

Secondly, Filton is also home to one of four BAE ‘advanced technology centres’ – or specialist research labs which employ around 500 highly qualified scientists and engineers who are working on advanced and often classified military projects. We understand that the Filton laboratory is working on lasers, stealth and C4SRI (command, control, communications, computers, surveillance, reconnaissance, and intelligence). In addition, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) – pilotless planes – are going to be an important weapon of the future. BAE Filton is working with Northrop Grumman on UAV programme called ‘Watchkeeper’.

Last, but not least, Royal Ordnance, the arms and ammunition business within BAe has an office on the Filton site. We have had no joy finding out what they do there – again presumably its management rather than manufacture – and they have had a new “executive” suite of offices installed recently. In the evening a good meeting was held at the Quaker Meeting House in Bristol.



# Bristol and Glascoed



## BAE Glascoed

The following day, St David's Day, dawned dark and stormy and I feared the prospect of a good soaking at BAE's biggest factory in Wales. However, the day brightened and the sun even shone for what I'd have to say was the best 'Site Unseen' protest so far.

Around 50 people took part in the protest, with representatives from Gwent Peace and Justice, Penarth Christian CAAT, Cardiff Anarchist Network and Plaid Cymru all present. Some attendees took the part of Weapons Inspectors and demanded access to the site. When BAE security stonily refused, some inspectors went over the fence, only to be ejected by the police.

The Glascoed site is one of the Royal Ordnance factories and its presence in Usk



Some attendees demanded access to the site. When BAE security refused, some inspectors went over the fence, only to be ejected by the police

goes back many, many years. BAE Systems took over Royal Ordnance in 1987 and merged it with Marconi's Land Systems division to create Royal Ordnance Defence. ROD has 3,500 staff spread across 14 sites in the UK, the US and Europe. We understand that around 400 people work at RO Glascoed.

RO Glascoed's main activity is the filling, packing and supplying of finished munitions. Of course in the language of the 'defence' industry they are not bombs and shells but "lethal package technologies". In other words, several of the other RO and indeed BAE sites produce components or parts of weapons which are then shipped to Glascoed to be filled with explosives and fuses. Royal Ordnance signed an exclusive deal with the UK MOD in 1999 to supply ammunition – it's estimated that the company supplies around £100m of ammunition to the MoD each year – much if not most of that will pass through Glascoed. BAE also boasts on its website that it supplies munitions and small arms to more than 50 other countries although it refuses to name

the countries.

The type of weapons that are assembled at Glascoed include tank shells, mortar shells, small arms ammunition, missile and torpedo warheads (including Hellfire missiles used on the Apache Attack helicopters), depth charges and warheads for MLRS such as RAYO – a 'poor man's version' being jointly developed by BAE with Chile – it was this system that Pinochet was coming to see when he was arrested a couple of years ago).

There has been a great deal of concern about the use of depleted uranium ammunitions. An army medical report from 1997 stated that inhalation or ingestion of even small amounts of dust from exploded or burned depleted uranium could lead to cancer. DU is suspected to be a contributor to "Gulf War Syndrome". Glascoed assembled the 120mm Challenger 2 Tank shells including the Depleted Uranium Penetrator. DU is used because it is extremely dense and penetrates through armoured tanks. The problem is that tanks

usually explode and burn after that have been attacked – this causes the DU to burn and spread over a great distance and it can then be inhaled. Academic reports suggest that around 400 tonnes of DU was used in Iraq in the Gulf War of 1991 and about 40 tonnes in Yugoslavia. As far as we can tell all UK DU penetrators would have come through Glascoed. BAE now insists that they are no longer manufacturing DU penetrator for the Challenger tank.

Whilst some of the other RO sites are being threatened with closure, it seems that BAE sees a bright future for Glascoed. It says it is investing significant sums of money in the site to continue to produce "lethal, package technologies" for years to come.

Our public meeting in the evening went very well with local people planning a number of initiatives, including street stalls in Cardiff city centre, a further protest on Maundy Thursday and an investigation into the levels of safety surrounding the transportation of munitions to and from Glascoed site. ■





# Fundraising

It's been a busy few months for fundraising since the new year, in fact it's hard to believe that it is already April!

Firstly, I would like to thank those of you who have already volunteered to help CAAT at Workers Beer festivals this year. If some of you out there are still interested in helping out but have not yet contacted me, there is still time and I am still looking for volunteers, so please do get in touch soon. Call me at the office or email [joanna@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:joanna@caat.demon.co.uk).

For those of you who did not see the last article in CAAT News about workers beer, here is a quick recap.

You can volunteer at various music festivals over the spring and summer in beer tents run by Workers Beer. You must complete one shift per day of approximately six hours. For each hour you work, workers beer pays CAAT. The benefits for the volunteers are free entry to the festival, free travel to and from the festival and secure camping with showers and toilets not for the use of the general public. Places are popular but there is still time to apply. Festivals such as Glastonbury, Reading and Leeds are on offer, so if you are interested, get in touch today!

The London 10km run is creeping up on us. Are there anymore volunteers who would like to take part in the event? All

you have to do is have some good running shoes and run through the centre of London for 10km or 6 miles for those of you who prefer the good old-fashioned form of measuring distance! Please call or email me at the office if you would like a place. The date for the race is Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

If there are any road races taking place more local to you, for example the Great North Run, and you would like to participate for CAAT, please contact me at the office and we can book you a place and arrange your sponsor forms. Sponsored events really are a great and usually fun way to raise money, so please do not feel that running events have to be London exclusive.

In fact, if there are any other sponsored events you would like to undertake for CAAT, please contact me at the office so that we can discuss your ideas further.

I am also always keen to hear from people who would like to arrange a fundraising event for CAAT in their local area. Perhaps you are part of a music group or of a theatre company and have ideas how you can help CAAT. Do contact me if you would like to discuss ideas, I am always more than happy to hear from enthusiastic supporters.

We are still looking for people to help hand out CAAT information and have a

presence at various theatres across the country for the journalist and comedian Mark Thomas's stand up show. If you would like to help out, please call me at the office.

These are the dates and towns we still need help with: 28<sup>th</sup> April – Breacon, 30<sup>th</sup> April – Sheffield, 6<sup>th</sup> May – Barnet, 12<sup>th</sup> May – Whitehaven, 13<sup>th</sup> May – Swindon, 19<sup>th</sup> May – Exeter, 20<sup>th</sup> May – Falmouth, 21<sup>st</sup> May – Penzance, 22<sup>nd</sup> May – Bridgwater, 27<sup>th</sup> May – Winchester and 29<sup>th</sup> May Burnley.

Finally, I would like to thank a very kind supporter called Sally. Last year, as part of her art course in Wales, she designed and cast a small bronze "medal". The subject was to mark the bombing of Afghanistan which was happening whilst she was completing her project.

The piece was in an exhibition where it was spotted by a curator for the British Museum, Sally's piece was bought by the Museum where it is now on display in its permanent collection for political medals. She very kindly donated her fee to CAAT as she felt it was fitting and appropriate for the money to be used by a peace organisation.

Thank you very much to Sally and if you are ever in London, do try to go to the British Museum to see her piece. ■

Joanna Lamprell

Redesigned  
and relaunched  
[www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)



# get active!

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

## Local action

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

Email: [chris.cole@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:chris.cole@caat.demon.co.uk) tel: 020-7281 0297

## Letter-writing

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

Email: [ann@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:ann@caat.demon.co.uk) tel: 020-7281 0297

## Demonstrate!

CAAT demonstrations are peaceful, inclusive and fun. The more people who come, the more effective they are. Have a look at the Campaigns Diary on the back page, or contact Martin Hogbin, CAAT's National Campaigns Co-ordinator.

Email: [martin@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:martin@caat.demon.co.uk) tel: 020-7281 0297

## Make a donation

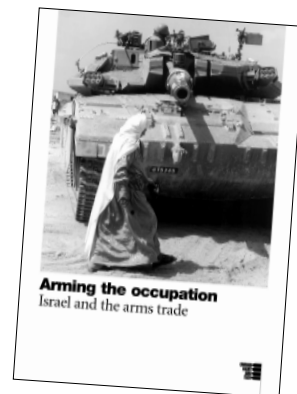
CAAT always needs your financial support. If you are able to make a donation, please send a cheque (payable to CAAT) now, to: **CAAT, Freepost, LON6486, London N4 3BR**. Alternatively, you can use the form on the back page to set up a standing order, giving CAAT an urgently needed regular income.

**Materials** CAAT publications available from the office

## Arming the Occupation

**Israel and the arms trade**

**£3.00** The report sets out the background to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, examines Israel's military industry and its relationships with those of other countries, describes the level of US military support and assesses UK arms export policy against its own guidelines and the facts-on-the-ground it would rather not have come to light.



**A full publications list is also available. Call 020-7281 0297 or email: [enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk)**

# New CAAT report

## Nurturing Turkey's War Machine

Turkey has an appalling human rights record and is in dire financial straits. Despite this it has been one of the world's major recipients of sophisticated arms for the past twenty years. The requirements Turkey makes of Western arms dealers (i.e. the transfer of technology and production capabilities) are leading to the build-up of Turkey's indigenous arm industry. The fruits of this are contributing to the massive Middle East arms build-up and are being offered in the wider global arms market.

'Nurturing Turkey's War Machine' provides an overview of Turkey's military expenditure, UK exports to Turkey and the effectiveness of UK and European export controls. The main focus of the report is the detail of Turkey's arms purchase deals, including how the deals are structured to promote Turkish industry. The report also itemises known exports and the reported use of imported military equipment in human rights violations in Turkey.

The report is available on [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk). If you would like a printed version, please send £3.00 to the office (cheques made payable to 'CAAT').



# Campaigns diary

**23 April** Site Unseen tour – Farnborough and Camberley

**29 April** BAE Systems AGM, London

**May 5** Site Unseen tour – Warton, Salmsbury and Blackburn

**9-12 September** Defence Systems & Equipment International (DSEi) arms fair, London Docklands

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

# DSEi-Enders

London Docklands, UK  
9-12 September, 2003

## Shut DSEi! Stop the arms trade!

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