

# CAATnews

## Shut DSEi!



# Contents



University  
action  
See page 12

DSEi call to action  
See pages 8–9

## In the news

Business as usual in the Strategic Export Controls Annual Report 2002

## Arms trade shorts

## Debate

Gideon Burrows on taxing the arms trade

## Call to action

DSEi 2003: Events information and dates for your diaries

## Parliamentary

Examining the proposals for a European-wide armaments research agency

## Local campaigns

Stop Week and Site Unseen news

## Plus

## Fundraising

## Get active

## Campaigns diary



CAATnews  
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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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3

4-5

6-7

8-9

10-11

12-13

14

15

16

# Editorial

With the dodgy dossier dominating the media's minds, it's important to get a big showing outside Europe's largest arms fair being held in London this September. CAAT's indefatigable national campaigns chief Martin Hogbin issues the call to action (pages 8–9) to oppose **Defence Systems Equipment International (DSEI)** with dates, times and locations for protests and actions.

The start of July saw the Foreign Office publish the **2002 Annual Report on Strategic Exports** (page 3), an alphabetical list of the 140-plus countries which the UK armed. CAAT's media unit make sense of yet another Whitehall dodgy dossier... the sad thing about this one is that it's all true.

A big hello goes to Zack Moss, CAAT's new research assistant who has hit the ground running this last month and still had time to conjure up a lucid piece warning us of the **proposals for an EU armaments agency** borne from the June EU leaders summit in Greece (page 6). It seems commercial defence giants are setting an agenda that are shaking the anti-military foundation stones of the Union to the core.

Guest columnist and arms trade author Gideon Burrows takes us through recent proposals for an **arms trade tax**, which have been met with emphatic scepticism by some campaigners, but cautious approval by others (page 6).

And a **sombre goodbye** goes to three CAAT staff members, Richard Bingley (Media Coordinator), Chris Cole (Local Campaigns Coordinator) and Joanna Lamprell (Fundraising). We wish them a spectacular future and thank them wholeheartedly for the amazing successes they have brought to CAAT.

Finally, have a peaceful and enjoyable summer. Please come back with your batteries re-charged ready to help protest against the DSEI arms fair. Don't also forget to check our upgraded website at [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) ■

Any comments about the magazine should be sent to [press@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:press@caat.demon.co.uk) or in the post to CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ

# Arms report released

The UK government recently released its Strategic Export Controls Annual Report 2002 and immediately faced criticism from NGOs and parliamentarians.

TAPOL, the Indonesian human rights campaign, were horrified at the huge jump in individual arms export licenses granted to Indonesia from £15.5m in 2001 to £41.5m last year. Equipment included aircraft cannons and bomb guidance systems. Concerns rose further after *Channel 4 News* said footage had been taken of UK-supplied military equipment in use by Indonesia's armed forces' in their May invasion of Aceh. Villagers told CH4 reporters that troops had so far killed around 200 civilians.

Despite being the world's most likely source of a nuclear arms exchange throughout 2002, India and Pakistan were both able to increase their arms purchases from UK companies. £118m worth of individual arms export licenses were granted to India, almost double from the previous year (£62.5m). And £15m of individual arms export licenses were destined for Pakistan, up slightly from 2001 (£14m), including missile technology and components for small arms, combat helicopter and aircraft. Although both countries spent most of last year on the cusp of declaring war on one-another (for sponsoring terrorism and tit-for-tat armed attacks in Kashmir), both share a common goal to become second-tier international arms exporters. Perhaps UK arms exporters are selling themselves out of a job?

Despite derisory human rights records, regional arms races and a strong chance weaponry will either be re-exported or diverted into WMD programmes, UK authorities sanctioned £500m worth of individual arms export licenses to Middle East and North African states. Israel's relatively small share of UK military equipment dropped from £22.5m in 2001 to £10m last year. UK arms sales to Algeria doubled from £5m in 2001 to £10.5m in 2002, with the FLN-led government in Algiers appearing to benefit from its vocal support of the US's 'War on Terrorism'.

Elsewhere in the region the Gulf state of Oman (£304m of individual arms export licenses), Saudi Arabia (£29m), Egypt (£27.5m), Turkey (£27.5m), Morocco (£20.5m), the UAE (£18.5m),

and Jordan (£17.5m) remain vital markets for UK arms. Though the UK exercises an arms embargo against Iran, £11m of dual-use products (technology that has either civilian or military potential) were sanctioned to arrive in the country last year. One batch included toxic chemical precursors, also permitted for dispatch to neighbouring Syria. The UK and US have publicly articulated concern towards both states for developing Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Louise Ellman, Labour MP for Liverpool Riverside, said she was "gravely concerned about hazardous exports to the Syria/Iran regimes", as the government publicly admit that they cannot check final destinations of exports once they have left the UK. "I'll be calling ministers urgently to see how UK officials can realistically monitor the end-use of military exports to Iran and Syria, especially chemical warfare agents," she told *CAAT News*.

Around £73m worth of individual arms export licenses were granted for HIV and poverty-racked sub-Saharan African countries; the bulk (£45.5m) to South Africa and not-insignificant portions to Botswana (£1m including sniper rifles), Equatorial Guinea (£1m), Eritrea (£1.5m), and the perennially-insensitive Kenyan military (£1m). Angola (from £8m in 2001 to £14m in 2002) and Nigeria (from £10m in 2001 to £7m in 2002) have consolidated themselves as important regional prospects for UK arms merchants.

## Worrying trend

A worrying trend for anti-arms campaigners has possibly emerged. In such places (for instance Nigeria and Angola) where civil war has largely evaporated, society stabilized, and which are at last experiencing the tentacles of economic investment, small arms racketeers – many, but not exclusively, from Former Warsaw Pact states and China – have begun to disappear. But only to be replaced by slick 'Western' executives promoting high-status and high-tech platforms predictably attached to generous, long-term credit lines. Something for debt and development campaigners to watch out for surely? ■  
*The Annual Report can be found at [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) or [www.fco.gov.uk](http://www.fco.gov.uk)*

# UK missile arm's Indian marriage



Europe's largest missile manufacturer, MBDA (part-owned by BAE Systems), has joined hands with Bharat Dynamics Ltd (BDL) in India for the production of anti-tank, surface-to-air and air-to-air missiles. The announcement was made at June's Paris Air Show, which was boycotted by the United States, and thus opened up opportunities for European companies to nudge eastwards for partnership deals. MBDA already has a supplier relationship to the Indian navy for air defence systems and will develop air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles for the Indian army. Later at the show the European Aeronautic Defence and Space Corporation (EADS), based in Spain, Germany and France, but with thousands of UK employees, signed a protocol with the Sukhoi Corporation, Russia's legendary Cold War jet manufacturer. Also involving Rosoboronexport, Russia's huge state-run arms export agency, the triumvirate aim to identify future joint operations including work on unmanned aerial vehicles. EADS, who co-own the missile manufacturer MBDA, also said its European subsidiary could find itself supplying missiles for Russia's Sukhoi air fleet.

*(Joint press release of EADS, Sukhoi, MBDA and Rosoboronexport, June 18th 2003)*

## India may cancel BAE deal

A plan by the Indian government to purchase 66 Advanced Jet Trainers may be shelved after the Indian defence minister George Fernandes told an Indian television channel the government was reviewing other possible suppliers. The deal between BAE Systems and India's air force has been in the offing for over 16 years. But a cheaper French/Russian bid was circulated among Indian government circles last year. However, during his interview, Fernandes repeated claims that BAE had been bribing officials to land the deal, though the company emphatically deny the allegations.

*(Sunday Times, 6/7/2003)*

## South Africa corruption?

*The Guardian* newspaper has reported that BAE Systems had "paid millions of pounds in secret commissions to obtain a huge UK taxpayer-backed contract to sell Hawk jets to South Africa."

The deal, signed in 1999 and underwritten by the UK Export Credits Guarantee Department to the tune of £1.5bn, could have led to up to £160m of kickbacks being paid if it mirrored "similar payments in the past" the newspaper claimed. The allegations follow a bleak period for BAE's public relations team, after it was disclosed from a court case in Jersey last year that the company

(then British Aerospace) had deposited up to £6m into a Qatar foreign minister's Jersey bank account following the Gulf State's acquisition of a £500m arms package including Hawk jets back in 1996.

BAE are also presently facing allegations of manipulating India's procurement of trainer jets by offering bribes.

Last month, *The Guardian* reported allegations that Joe Modise, defence minister at the time of the deal, intervened to prevent a rival Italian firm, Aermacchi, from winning the jet trainer contract. *The Guardian* claimed that Modise accepted the equivalent of around £200,000, some or all of which went into ANC party coffers for the 1999 election campaign.

But ANC spokesman Smuts Ngonyama refuted the allegations, saying:

"We never received money for the election from anyone who was linked to the arms deal." BAE too strenuously deny that there is any truth in *The Guardian* report. The UK government, under increasing pressure from parliamentarians and campaigners to investigate the payments more fully, has said tentatively that "due diligence procedures were followed."

## Customs investigation into UK-Ivory Coast jet deal

Two UK-produced fighter jets have ended up in one of Africa's worst ongoing war zones and triggered a Customs and Excise investigation.

The Strikemaster fighter planes, which had been used in air shows across Europe, were registered to UK owner Tom Moloney as civilian airplanes because they had been disarmed of their two machine guns and 3,000lb bombs or rockets which can be cradled by their wings. Mr Moloney then sold the aircraft to a buyer from Sheffield, Jurgen Morton Hall, who told Moloney he wanted the jets for film and display operations in South Africa. Morton Hall's client was a company called Strikemaster Films, which operate from a London address and are run by a former French special forces soldier Jean-Jacques Fuentes. Fuentes has recent flight experience with the Africa intervention force, Ecomog, in Sierra Leone. Questioned by *The Observer* newspaper, he claimed the planes would be used for reconnaissance and training pilots. The UK Department of Trade and Industry have called upon colleagues in Customs and Excise to investigate the transaction, and told *The Observer*: "These are clearly military aircraft which will be used for military operations and the seller should have obtained export licenses."

*(The Observer, 29/6/2003)*

## Indonesia action

Hawk aircraft and Scorpion armoured vehicles supplied by the UK to Indonesia are being used in action in Aceh. For more information see the last issue of CAAT News and the update on page 3 of this issue.

Please write to **Mike O'Brien MP, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London SW1A 2AH** calling on the UK government to:

- impose an embargo on the supply of military, security and police equipment to Indonesia, to include contracts agreed before the entry into force of the embargo and the revocation of all existing export licences;
- insist on the withdrawal from Aceh of all military equipment previously supplied by the UK to Indonesia;
- suspend all forms of co-operation with the Indonesian military and police special forces to include training, participation in seminars and conferences, joint exercises and senior level military exchanges.

# United Nations ambushes small arms dealers

The update meeting to a landmark 2001 United Nations Conference on Small Arms has been broadly welcomed as a "success" by the pressure group International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA). Officially titled the First Biennial Meeting of States, NGOs, International Governmental Organisations and National Governments met in New York to monitor the implementation of a Programme of Action to combat the spread of small arms adopted two years ago.

The conference started disappointingly for some on 7 July as an IANSA report found that "two years after a UN agreement to stop gun proliferation, few governments have made much progress." IANSA evaluated progress in 156 countries and drew on the work of over 100 local researchers. Included among their main concerns was that too few states established national contact points, reviewed existing lax legislation, and filed progress reports to the UN. "Progress has been particularly slow in countries in North Africa, the Middle East and parts of Asia" concluded the report.

But the tone from NGOs was more upbeat at the end of the conference. "We are on the way to government recognition that small arms proliferation is an international threat and misuse to human development that must be addressed globally and consistently," said Rebecca Peters, IANSA's director. One highlight of the meeting was a report from the UN Group of Experts on weapons monitoring, which deduced that an international tracing instrument for guns was achievable. Another significant outcome was an EU statement calling for a registry of arms brokers (IANSA aim to push for a universal register). Cross-fertilisation and commitment from other key International Governmental Organisations (such as

UNDP, WHO, UNIFEM and UNIDIR), which serve to emphasize strong links between disarmament, development and public health was also heartily welcomed.

Many challenges remain in place hindering meaningful attempts to make serious inroads into the death-toll of 500,000 people every year – or one human life lost every minute – from the business-end of a gun. IANSA were quick to point out that only eighty (less than half) member states submitted progress reports to the UN.

IANSA also called for enforceable global legal standards for small arms, that could help keep portable light

weapons and guns away from regimes prone to human rights abuses or regions emaciated by conflict.

In urging a further point that "national laws affect the small arms proliferation problems of its neighbours and even other regions," IANSA were pointedly drawing attention to both lax controls in countries where small arms cottage industries have cropped up (such as Darra region in Pakistan), and liberal firearms ownership laws in states such as Brazil, Switzerland and the US. (According to the 2001 Small Arms Survey: "there are more gun shops [in

the US] than McDonalds restaurants.") Estimates from the Geneva-based Survey show that the US produces and sells around \$2bn of small arms every year, thought to be around half of the value of the entire small arms export market. These industries obviously generate spill-over implications for human security elsewhere, no matter how tough border controls and international policing becomes.

With this in mind, IANSA are determined to break a myth among the international political community that most of the arms that do real damage are in some way illicit, 'grey market' or outright illegal. IANSA say that "we need better recognition that the legal and illegal markets are inter-related." Indeed, almost all firearms start out as being distributed legally in the first instance. But the 500 society organizations in over 100 countries – including CAAT –

that make up IANSA, working in tandem with the UN Department for Disarmament and other UN affiliate-bodies, are slowly pinning tangible obligations onto sovereign national governments. Roll on 2005! Sadly, for many, it can't come soon enough. ■

[www.iansa.org](http://www.iansa.org)

[www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/2003/IANSAconference.doc.htm](http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/2003/IANSAconference.doc.htm)



**Crushing illegal arms by heavy construction equipment in Rio de Janeiro last year**

Photo: Sergio Moraes/Reuters



Journalists work in the media centre as large screens at rear broadcast the press conference given by Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva on the first day of the 2003 G8 Summit in Evian Photo: Robert Pratta/Reuters

# Should there be a global tax on the arms trade?

By Gideon Burrows

At the G8 meeting of world leaders in June, campaigners weren't surprised to find that the eight most powerful men in the world failed between them to agree any concrete measures for tackling poverty or international security.

Indeed, apart from minor pledges to contribute to the global health fund for tackling HIV and Aids, it was only the Brazilian President 'Lula' da Silva who made a concrete and progressive proposal to tackle these two issues together.

He said there should be a global hunger fund which could help feed the poor around the world, and one way of paying for it could be to tax the international arms trade.

"This would prove advantageous from both an economic and an ethical standpoint," he said.

If this is the first time *CAAT News* readers have heard of the proposal, it is no surprise. The G8 leaders – from France, Germany, Italy, the US, the UK, Russia and Canada – didn't even bother to discuss it and barely any media reported it.

As campaigners, we are often accused of pursuing 'solutions' to the developing world's problems, without consulting those who are at the receiving end. For that reason we should give Lula's proposal the proper consideration it deserves – even if we then go on to reject it.

There are two ready benefits to the tax: first, that it could raise significant amounts of cash to provide food aid and funding for agricultural projects in the world's poorest countries. Secondly, that the extra cost involved in buying arms could help reduce the trade.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri), the total value of major conventional weapons systems in 2000 was US\$32.6 billion. In 2001, it was less at \$21.3 billion. The value was expected to increase again for 2002 because of rearmament after the Afghanistan conflict.

If a one percent levy was applied to those arms sales – £1.00 for every £100 of arms sold – millions could have been raised to fight poverty. In 2000, the arms trade tax would have raised \$326 million for the hunger fund. That's over £100 million more than the total cost of aid to Afghanistan during and following the conflict at the end of 2001.

If the tax level was set higher, even more could be raised to tackle hunger and it would be an even bigger deterrent to buying arms. How much more if the tax covered small arms, and not just major weapons systems?

The G8 countries are responsible for 85 per cent of all arms sales and since they earn most from the arms business, they should

# CAAT's campaigns 2004–2006

Steering Committee and staff started to prepare CAAT's plans for 2004 to 2006 by looking at the changes that have been taking place in military industry and the world at large. From this we noted one dominating area of concern that needs tackling, and a number of smaller ones.

The big focus will be on the globalisation of the arms industry and political structures. National arms industries no longer exist, having been replaced international military companies with staff and factories in many countries. Controls on the arms

trade are reflecting these changes and it appears these controls are being weakened. At the moment detailed plans are still being made, but areas CAAT will be concentrating on include the European Union, transatlantic relations - including a possible tie-up between BAES and a US company, and the links between Government and arms companies, as well as corruption and arms export subsidies.

The other key areas are:

- answering the questions around the impact of ending the arms trade;
- to work in coalitions to cover subjects

where several organisations have an interest such as Ballistic Missile Defence and cluster bombs;

- to develop the ever popular Clean Investment Campaign. CAAT will also look to respond to major events, such as the use by Indonesia of UK supplied weapons.
- The draft 2004-6 Plan should be available for comment by the end of August. Ask Ann at the office if you would like a copy – [ann@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:ann@caat.demon.co.uk)

pay the tax. But a way would have to be found of preventing them simply passing the cost onto the customer.

If the arms buying countries were made to pay, there might need to be some kind of threshold to protect poor countries, with relatively small arms budgets, from being unduly punished. For example, countries that spend a large amount on their military, compared with spending on education and health, and accounting for their population, could face a higher rate of tax than those with more balanced spending priorities. Mozambique, which spends almost half of its whole budget on the military, would face the high rate. So would the US and the UK, both of which have huge military budgets per capita.

However, at least to begin with, the value of the tax paid – or on which countries it is levied – is not what is most important. More significantly, the tax would impose a monitoring function on the arms business that it does not currently face.

There would need to be scrutiny committees, either at the national or international level, which would monitor weapons sales and levy the tax accordingly. Internationally, this could not be the World Bank or IMF, which are already regarded as biased against poor countries. But it could be organised through the United Nations (assisting in its currently legitimacy crisis), with the money passed directly to the UN Development Programme (UNDP).

At the national level, elected parliaments could be asked to set up cross party scrutiny committees to monitor arms exports and levy the tax on recipient countries, which it could then pass on to the UN for spending.

Crucially, such a structure would impose accountability on the arms trade that does not currently exist. There is no international monitoring of the arms business, and most countries have no open or accountable procedure for monitoring their own arms sales. In the UK, the government decides, in secret, which arms licenses to grant, and only tells Parliament and the public after they have been delivered.

The arms trade tax would not be without ethical dilemmas; many more than can be considered in one article. One is the

question of whether taxing the arms trade would be taking blood money to spend on feeding the poor. Don't we campaign against charities, local authorities and universities for taking money from arms firms? Another is whether, by virtue of being taxed, the arms trade would receive legitimacy.

These are difficult challenges. The crux of the matter is this: what are we willing to concede, ethically and politically, to end the arms trade. If we accept we can't end the business over night, could the arms trade tax be one progressive measure – alongside the EU Code of Conduct on arms exports – which will at least begin to curb the arms trade and make it more accountable? If at the same time millions are raised to help feed the starving, would that not be an argument in favour of the tax, rather than against it?

I, like most CAAT supporters, want to see a complete and total ban on the international arms trade. But in the meantime, is it not better that this terrible trade is forced to pay for some of the damage it causes?

I'm aware all of this leaves a number of unanswered questions. The tax would do nothing to tackle the illegal or semi-illegal trade in weapons. Nor does the above model account for political influences on arms buying countries, such as those imposed by the World Trade Organisation and the World Bank, nor the relationships between arms companies and their own governments.

Right now, the only thing I am sure about on this issue is that it should be discussed in an open and creative way. I hope CAAT supporters will join the debate. ■

## www.link

*Professor Anthony Clunies Ross, an economist at Strathclyde University, has written a paper on global taxes, including a tax on the arms trade, international currency speculation and air travel. It can be viewed at <http://www.new-rules.org/Docs/ACR-resources.pdf>*

# Help wave goodbye to London's arms bazaar

**Defence Systems & Equipment International (DSEi)  
6–12 September 2003  
London Docklands**

Across the country and across Europe people are mobilising for this year's Defence Equipment & Systems International (DSEi) protest. DSEi is Europe's largest arms fair and has coincided with the World Trade Organisation's next meeting in Cancun, Mexico. Many groups are calling for supporters to join CAAT in attendance of the DSEi protest in solidarity with anti-WTO protests and to highlight on the world stage the insidious effects that the international arms trade has on world communities, development and peace, whilst underpinning the corporate global giants.

A full program of events is planned to enable space for everybody to protest in their own way and within their own availability. (See DSEi events diary on facing page).

In 2001, the UK Government sponsored this arms fair to the tune of thousands of pounds, with official delegations attending

**Countries officially invited by the UK government to the last DSEi arms fair in 2001 included:** Bahrain, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Chile, China, Egypt, Ghana, India, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Korea, Kuwait, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Greece, Turkey, UAE, Venezuela and Vietnam.

**Countries invited by Spearhead Ltd, the company who are running DSEi, to the last arms fair:** Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bangladesh, Colombia, Ecuador, Israel, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, Russia, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, Ukraine and Uruguay.

from across the globe. Unsurprisingly, representatives from countries in areas of conflict featured highly amongst the attendees, yet equally apparent were the countries with huge development concerns that bolster their regimes with military equipment at the expense of the education, health and social welfare. This truly appears to be the meeting place the repressor, tyrant and aggressor.



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

See CAAT briefings on *The Economics of the Arms Trade*, *Arming the Occupation: Israel and the arms trade* and many more, to fully update your knowledge on the issues surrounding the DSEi arms fair.





With recent conflict in the Gulf still in many peoples minds, this year the shopping baskets of the armed forces across the globe will be wheeled around DSEi to acquire all the latest technology and killing power, so well advertised during the invasion of Iraq.

Behind the closed doors, lines of police and security fences, the trouble spots of the world and the 'world threats' of tomorrow are being armed with the full approval of a Labour government that promised so much in terms of "an ethical element to our foreign policy". The misery and suffering continues to be sidelined as a push for shareholder value drives the military production machine ever onwards.

#### A white ribbon for peace

You may have noticed a white ribbon fall out of your *CAAT News* this issue and wondered what it was for! The explanation is simple – if you are not attending the protest on Saturday 6th September against the Defence Services & Equipment International (DSEi) arms fair, I would like you to sign the ribbon and return it to me at the CAAT office – it will become part of a display of dissent against the DSEi arms fair outside the Ministry of Defence building in Whitehall. If you *are* attending, bring it along with you and add it to the display yourself!

We want to create a dramatic spectacle, so the more ribbons we have the better. Also, if you feel you can spare a coin to accompany the ribbon on its return journey, the CAAT funds will not groan so much when the final bills for the protest are totted up. (The ribbon would 'sellotape' nicely around a pound coin for instance – hey, it doesn't hurt to ask!) If you need more ribbons for friends, family or colleagues, please call the CAAT office and place your order. Return all ribbons to: DSEi Ribbons, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ. ■



## DSEi events diary

**Actions prior to DSEi will be taking place to highlight events**

### Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> September

"NO ARMS FAIR" PROCESSION

Central London, 12.00pm

Victoria Embankment to Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park (the Imperial war Museum) via the Houses of Parliament, Downing Street and the Ministry of Defence.

### Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> and Monday 8<sup>th</sup> September

DSEI COUNTER-CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOPS

St Annes Church Hall and TBA, 12.00pm

inc. Non-violent Direct Action Training

Speakers from Pressure Groups, NGO's and many others

CAAT newcomers welcome and Informal meeting @ 4.00pm

### Monday 8<sup>th</sup> September

CANDLE LIT PRAYER AND VIGIL

EXCEL Centre, 6.30pm

With local church and community

### Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> September

FACING THE ARMS TRADERS

Assemble 10.00am on recreation ground opposite Prince Regent DLR Station. Procession to Custom House DLR station (the nearest point to EXCEL). Speakers, Music and Protest. Bring your banners, bring your friends.

Early arrivers and flexi-time workers can meet opposite Customs House DLR station from 8.30am to welcome arms trade exhibitors as they arrive. A CAAT presence will be there.

### Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> September

STOP THE INDUSTRY – DIRECT ACTION DAY

Form an affinity group and plan your own form of action against the arms manufacturing industry. The CAAT Action Network will be planning their own action – if you would like to join them contact Martin.

STREET PARTY

RTS led Street Party. Venue to be advised.

### Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> September

VIGIL IN BLACK

A vigil at Customs House DLR station. Remembering September 11<sup>th</sup> victims and all victims of wars. Led by local churches.

### Friday 12<sup>th</sup> September

Benefit gig

**For more information:**

[martin@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:martin@caat.demon.co.uk)



Photo: Patrick Delaney



# EU heading towards militarisation

## The European Convention: towards a European armaments agency – the recent EU leaders' summit in Greece and implications for the arms trade

On June 20th, European Union (EU) leaders meeting in Thessaloniki, Greece, received the Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. Press coverage about the UK losing its sovereignty overshadowed discussions of the contents of the Treaty, which determines how the EU will be run after it expands to 25 member states. The Treaty will be finalised during an inter-governmental conference over the next year, which may re-open the content. Still, EU leaders have given their operational blessing to the European Security and Defence Policy, or ESDP, and an armaments research agency.

### European Armaments and Strategic Research Agency

On March 11th the European Commission released a communiqué entitled "Towards a [EU] defence equipment policy: Commission proposals." At the behest of the Greek Presidency, which held the EU presidency until July 1st, the Commission has drawn up proposals to establish the legal and regulatory framework to coordinate procurement and ensure that Europe's military industries remain competitive. As such, a European Agency for Armaments and Strategic Research, equivalent to the US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), will now be created.

The Agency's responsibility will be to promote harmonised procurement practices among member states, support research and development (R&D) in military technology, including space systems, and strengthen the military-industrial and technological base. The Agency will seek to support military R&D being financed from the EU budget. This has not been financed from the EU budget before because of a EU-wide ban that prevents Brussels spending its annual 3.7bn Euro research budget on military

R&D. The Commission is supposed to restrict its research subsidies to civil and dual-use projects, although according to officials it is getting around this obstacle by grouping 2004's defence projects under the umbrella term 'global security' and calling them 'test cases'. Each project will stand on three legs of support: EU money, national funding and company contributions. The test-case projects are scheduled to start on January 1st 2004 and will be assessed in 2007. If deemed to be successful, the list will be expanded with new projects or possibly folded into the newly operational armaments agency.

### Rationale for a European Agency

Since EU-wide military spending is thought unlikely to rise considerably because the European public will not readily accept it, firms take the view that procurement will have to be more efficient if equipment capability gaps identified by the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) process are to be filled. There is also a perception that to



remain internationally competitive the European market needs to be consolidated further, as there is still overcapacity. Nevertheless, the Commission has argued that because national military budgets and EU-wide military spending is much lower than in the US, it is impossible for indigenous companies to match US-style economies of scale necessary to generate R&D. At £103bn, the combined EU military budget is less than half that of the US at £235bn.

According to Michael Harrison, writing in *The Independent* on April 29th, the EU's annual budget for military equipment is £27.5bn whereas the US

spends £69bn. Mr Harrison also states that the US military research investment budget is eight times greater than Europe's. And in the field of space military research, US government spending is 15 times greater. Commission officials are worried that the EU is becoming dependent on the US for some technology and long-term basic military R&D should be publicly funded.

Besides, European firms have called on national governments to raise military spending. On April 28th the chief executive officers of Europe's three largest defence contractors – BAE Systems, EADS and Thales – called on governments to increase defence spending and close the transatlantic technology gap. But Jocelyn Mawdsley from the Bonn International Center for Conversion, writing in May's *ISIS European Security Review*, suggests that armaments policies oriented towards maintaining good government-defence industry relations have not had a good record in producing optimal military capacity or efficiently produced equipment.

### The Draft Treaty: promoting the military response to problems

Buried in Article 40 of Part One, which deals with specific provisions for implementing the common ESDP, is Article 40.3. This says: "Member States shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities."

It continues: "A European Armaments, Research and Military Capabilities Agency shall be established to identify operational requirements, to put forward measures to satisfy those requirements, to contribute to identifying and, where appropriate, implementing any measure needed to strengthen the industrial and technological base of the defence sector, to participate in defining a European capabilities and armaments policy, and to assist the [Commission] in evaluating the improvement of military capabilities."

*Continued on next page*

CAAT believes that an increase in resources provided to the military would be in contradiction with the EU's aims of peace and sustainable development, as it would divert resources from other areas of public spending-including the improvement of civilian instruments and mechanisms for conflict prevention and crisis management. ■

*Zackary Moss, Research Assistant*

- CAAT is extremely disappointed that out-dated military responses to problems have been enshrined in the European Convention. Please write to your MP, House of Commons, SW1A 0AA or via email (check <http://www.locata.co.uk/commons>) and ask him or her to raise your concerns about the European Convention and its endorsement of military solutions to problems with the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw. Say that you think an opportunity to produce a truly inspirational document with sustainable development at its core has been missed.
- You could also write to one or more of your MEPs. Their contact details can be found on [http://www.europarl.org.uk/uk\\_meps/MembersMain.htm](http://www.europarl.org.uk/uk_meps/MembersMain.htm)

# Join CAAT's Steering Committee!

The members of CAAT Steering Committee share responsibility for the running of the organisation. Meeting in London on four Saturday afternoons each year, the Committee spends about half its time considering CAAT's policy and campaigns with administrative matters occupying the rest.

The Committee is made up of representatives of some of CAAT's Sponsoring organisations and Networks, the staff and, now, eight Supporter representatives. These latter sit on the Committee for two years, four retiring each year. This year, however, because of an early resignation and an increase in numbers, there are six places available.

An active and effective Steering Committee is essential if CAAT is to be a vibrant and efficient organisation. Being a Supporter representative is an excellent way to become more involved in the campaign and to contribute your ideas. Please consider joining us.

- To become a Supporter representative you need to have been a CAAT supporter for more than 12 months, and to be nominated by two CAAT supporters each of more than a year's standing. The deadline for nominations is Wednesday 8th October. If more people are nominated than there are places, elections will be held later in the year. Send nominations to Ann at the CAAT office or email them her on [ann@caat.demon.co.uk](mailto:ann@caat.demon.co.uk). Please also contact Ann if you would like to discuss this further.
- CAAT is especially keen to find a new Treasurer. This does not require any special qualifications and does not necessitate any book-keeping. The Treasurer sits on Steering Committee and keeps an oversight on CAAT's monies. Again, contact Ann for more information.

## All change in the CAAT office

Completely by chance, three of the CAAT staff – Chris Cole, Richard Bingley and Joanna Lamprell – left in July.

A long-time anti-arms trade campaigner, Chris joined the CAAT staff as Local Campaigns Co-ordinator in August 2000 and has done a tremendous job revitalising local work around the country. He is moving to join one of the CAAT Sponsoring organisations, the Christian Fellowship of Reconciliation, as Director. In this capacity, he will continue his anti-arms trade work and we expect to be in frequent contact.

Richard became CAAT's Press Co-ordinator in April 2001 and has made CAAT a top choice for journalists looking for comment on, or information about, arms export stories. He was also responsible for the transformation of CAAT News to the

must-read magazine it is today. Setting up as a freelance researcher and writer, Richard's first commission is to write an India / Pakistan briefing for CAAT.

Joining CAAT as Fundraising Co-ordinator in February 2002, Joanna immediately made her mark as an invaluable member of staff, raising funds and working on events which have recruited many new supporters. Joanna's degree was in film studies and her dream job, raising money for new film script writers, came up. She couldn't refuse the job, but promises to keep in touch with and help CAAT.

### What happens next?

CAAT's seeking to replace the Fundraising Co-ordinator as soon as possible. However, to help CAAT's finances, and pending a final decision in October, recruitment for the other two

posts will take place towards the end of the year with a view to the new Local Campaigns Co-ordinator starting at the beginning of 2004 and the Press Co-ordinator in February or March. These posts will be advertised on CAAT's website and in *The Guardian*.

In the meantime, the remaining staff – full-timers Ian Prichard (research) and Ann Feltham (parliamentary, international, admin, etc) and part-timers Martin Hogbin (events, including DSEI) and Patrick Delaney (sales) – will be covering the office work. Our Research Assistant, Zackary Moss, will be helping with press requests for information and we will be assisted by volunteers and by Gideon Burrows, an ex-staff member and now a journalist. Gideon will edit *CAAT News*.



# Stop Week shuts arms trade

Dozens of events took place around the country to mark Stop the Arms Trade Week, from Edinburgh to Derry, to Liverpool and Manchester.

Events ranged from street stalls, protests at arms company offices, petition signing, prayer services and public meetings. Local opinion polls also proved popular to follow up the national poll that CAAT commissioned to co-incide with Stop Week.

If you, or your local group, undertook an event during Stop Week, please do let us know the details. And thanks to everyone who worked so hard on this years events.

## Balls to BAE

As CAAT undertook its 'Site Unseen' tour of BAE sites, our attention was also drawn to a company at our university in Southampton, writes *Samantha Wade*. BAE was one of the sponsors of our graduation ball. A small group of us joined some members of the community to highlight the issue. On the night of the ball we set up a "Balls to BAE" banner and placards outside the venue. In an attempt to fit in with attendees we wore smart dresses and earrings – and that was just one of the men! The only difference in our outfits was that they were covered in 'blood'.

Unfortunately, the student's union were unconcerned about our 'injuries', and the police were called. Despite the

**"The student's union appeared to be suitably embarrassed by our actions and it is hoped that with continued pressure they will support the idea of an ethical sponsorship policy"**

*Samantha Wade, former student at the University of Southampton*



presence of officers and a mobile CCTV unit, on the whole we got a good reaction from people. We gave out leaflets explaining our objections to the sponsorship and outlined the work of BAE. We also played a tape of the sounds of war and had a 'die in' on the steps of the Guildhall.

## Faslane Peace Camp's 21st birthday blockade of Rolls Royce

Early on Wednesday 11th June, a group of Faslane Peace Camp activists and friends successfully blockaded a Rolls-Royce plant in Derby for two and a half hours.

Eight people were arrested, mostly for Public Order offences. Activists used lock-ons and tubes to hold up traffic entering and leaving the site. Police were very eager to allow two large lorries making important deliveries to enter.

The seven arrested were held overnight for court next day. All were finally released, having been given strict bail conditions and ordered to appear at Derby Magistrates Court on 10 July for pleading.

Most will be pleading not guilty due to Rolls Royce's record of selling military equipment to oppressive regimes. And the fact that Rolls-Royce manufacture and maintain the reactors and cores for all British submarines, including the Vanguard class used to carry Trident nuclear weapons.

*Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, G84 8NT. Tel: 01436 820901; [www.faslanepeacecamp.org.uk](http://www.faslanepeacecamp.org.uk)*



## Bursting the arms trade bubble

*Tanya Tier* from Worthing Against War writes: We had a large (well, for us!) demo in the centre of town. Some dressed in suits and dark glasses and carried guns (representing the business people and politicians behind the arms trade), and we've also got George Bush, Tony Blair and their mate the Grim Reaper... We built some fine rockets, bazookas and guns as well as a load of helium balloons for people to 'Burst the arms bubble!' We got lots of signatures for the petitions and all the leaflets went. The centre of Worthing was very crowded. We got lots of mentions on *SplashFM* and are hoping for some press reports in the local paper.

## Farewell (sort of) Chris

Some of you will know that after three years as a paid staff-member I am moving on from CAAT to be the Director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I have really enjoyed my time on the staff and – in lots of ways – am sad to be leaving. However, I am not completely disappearing as I will continue to be involved (not least as the 'Site Unseen' tour continues until December!)

I want to say a very special 'thank you' to the Local Contacts and other local campaigners who continue to do really hard work promoting CAAT, raising awareness about the arms trade around the country, and focusing that on our decision makers. Without this regular, dedicated work, CAAT would not be the organisation that it is. ■

*Best wishes to all. Chris Cole*



# BAE Systems uncovered

The South-West leg of the 'Site Unseen' tour happily coincided with some lovely warm weather. During Stop the Arms Trade Week, Chris Cole and local CAAT supporters protested at six different BAE sites and held three public meetings. A short report follows.

## Friday 30th May: Yeovil, Bridgwater, Taunton

The first day of the South-West leg of the 'Site Unseen' tour saw a large crowd turn out for a protest on a boiling hot afternoon in Yeovil. As military helicopters buzzed over on test flights from the nearby Westland factory, members of the local Stop the War groups joined CAAT supporters and members of the Quaker meetings for a protest outside BAE subsidiary Aerosystems International (Aei). Several people were interviewed by different journalists thanks to the local press work of Annemieke Wigmore.

Aei, a company owned 50/50 by BAE and GKN, designs, develops and produces military level software systems, mainly for military aircraft, but also for other military programmes. The company's main customers are other military companies such as BAE Systems, Lockheed Martin and Boeing.

Aei also got one of the first post-Afghanistan war contracts to fit air-to-air refueling tankers with communications equipment.

Later we had a small protest at BAE's main explosives plant near Bridgwater, Somerset. The site is huge – over 400 acres – and has been producing explosives, soon to be part of shells, missiles and bombs. It now mainly manufactures RDX, TNT and HMX explosives, and employs about 150 people. Virtually all British bombs, shells and missiles used in the war in Iraq will have had explosives from Bridgwater in them.

A small but good public meeting was then held in Taunton in the evening.

## Monday 2nd June: Portsmouth, OIW, Titchfield and Southampton

Although BAE has several offices in Portsmouth, the main site is at the old airport, where some 3,000 people are employed. Besides running the payroll for the whole company, the Portsmouth site

also produces avionics equipment and command and control systems, as well as undertakes some of its customer support and services. A very small vigil was held at the site in the morning before we moved on to BAE Titchfield.

Titchfield is part of BAE's naval business and provides support and specialist services for UK and overseas naval customers, covering both maintenance and upgrade of warship capability. About a dozen people took part in the protest vigil.

Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond my control (a traffic jam caused by an accident in road works), I missed the ferry and never actually made it to the Isle of Wight.

The site on the Isle of Wight is an AMS site, 50 per cent owned by BAE systems and 50 per cent owned by Finmeccanica, an Italian military company. AMS is a major military electronics company, designing, manufacturing and supplying missiles, radar and command and control systems to military forces around the world. At Cowes, AMS produces military radar systems. The controversial air traffic controls system for Tanzania which receives so much coverage in December 2001 was produced at Cowes AMS.

There was an excellent public meeting in the evening at the Quaker Meeting House in Southampton.

## Tuesday 3rd June: Weymouth, Christchurch, Bournemouth

BAE's Weymouth site is in a very out-of-the-way industrial site. Almost as soon as we arrived, a manager came out to greet us and to remind us to stay off the company's property. She said that they had been looking forward to our arrival!

BAE runs the Astute nuclear submarine programme from Weymouth. Under a £2bn contract, it is undertaking the design, build and initial inservice support of three 7,800 tonne Astute Class Submarines for the Royal Navy.

The second protest of the day was held at BAE's Christchurch site where BAE has the Future Systems division, which develops new military capabilities. Future Systems leads activity on Missile Defence.

Once again, an excellent public meeting was held in Bournemouth. ■



Outside BAE's explosives branch at Bridgwater (above) and the Westland factory in Yeovil (below)



## Future Site Unseen dates

Site Unseen is on a pause over the summer but will continue in September:

### Monday 1st September

12.00pm–2.00pm: Protest at BAE Brough, Saltgrounds Road, Brough, HU15 1EQ

7.30pm: Public meeting at Hull Friends Meeting House, 4 Percy St., HU2 8HH

### Monday 22nd September

12.00pm–2.00pm: Protest at BAE's subsidiary on Loughborough University Campus

4.00pm–6.00pm: Protest at BAE Systems, Scudamore Road, Leicester, LE3 1UF

7.30pm: Public Meeting at Friends Meeting House, 16 Queens Road, Leicester LE2





# Fundraising

There is a lot of news for the fundraising page this month.

Firstly, CAAT had another successful tea tent at the Glastonbury festival, which not only made some money, but also provided a very good platform for CAAT to promote itself amongst sympathetic supporters. I hope that those of you who were at Glastonbury made it up to the Green field and saw us.

The second piece of news is that you can now buy CAAT t-shirts from the office for only £15 plus postage and packaging. The t-shirts have a great design ('Campaign Against Arms Trade' in Japanese, together with the CAAT logo – see photo), and all of the staff have grabbed one (and paid!) for themselves. There are a choice of colours: baby blue ladies fitted t-shirts and navy blue or maroon for the unisex t-shirts, which are a loose fit. The ladies t-shirts come in sizes S–L, whilst the unisex t-shirts come in sizes M–XL. So, what better way to support CAAT than buy a t-shirt to wear over these hot summer months! Not only will you be giving CAAT some financial assistance, but you will also be promoting the CAAT by wearing the t-shirt. All proceeds from the t-shirt sales go straight to CAAT and all t-shirts have of course been ethically produced. If you would like to buy one of our t-shirts, then please send a cheque made (payable to CAAT) for £15 for each t-shirt, to the usual address, stating what colour and size you would like.

## Self help

The next exciting way in which you can help CAAT is through our new competition. How would you like to be a character in Will Self's new novel? Will Self is currently working on a new book which will almost certainly follow many of his other books to the best sellers list. Will has teamed up with CAAT for an exciting new competition to offer one lucky winner the chance to have their name used as one of the characters in his new novel.

So, if you would like to see your name



appear in one of Britain's most famous authors' books, enter the competition now! Remember, not only will you see your name in print, but it will be encapsulated in his work of fiction forever more! You will also receive a signed copy of the novel and lucky runner-ups will also receive a free copy of the book.

If you would like to enter, all you have to do is send a cheque for £5.00 (made payable to CAAT) along with a postcard with your name, address, contact number and/or email address (marked Will Self competition) to the usual address.

You can enter the competition as many times as you like (£5.00 per entry). The closing date is 31 December 2003.

I would now like to take the opportunity to tell you about a long-time CAAT supporter who valiantly finished the London 10km road run for us on 11 Sunday July. Margaret completed the course in just 1 hour and 45 minutes, a fantastic feat considering Margaret is retired and has not taken part in long distance running before. Margaret has had

support from her local Quaker group, and if you would also like to make a donation towards Margaret's wonderful effort, then please send a cheque to CAAT marking it '10km run' on the back.

In a similar vein, CAAT also has a runner taking part in the New York Marathon for us in November this year. Ed Bradley has not competed in a marathon before, so it will be his first attempt. At just 20-years-old, it is a challenge but we are confident he will do it. We will of course keep you posted on his progress.

## And finally...

I would like to bid a fond farewell to CAAT. I am leaving the organisation for a new job, which will be quite a career change for me. I will miss my work at CAAT and I have thoroughly enjoyed my time with everyone involved in the organisation. I wish CAAT all the success in the future and will hopefully see many of you at the DSEi protest in September. ■

*Joanna Lamprell*

# 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

## The Political Influence of Arms Companies

Also available at [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)

This CAAT report is a first step towards understanding the breadth of the links between military companies and the UK government. It primarily provides information rather than analysis and focuses on three areas: a) Ministerial Support for Arms Deals; b) The Revolving Door; c) Government Advisory Bodies.

We are actively seeking more information from individuals and organizations to create a much more comprehensive picture of the links between the UK government and the major arms companies and an extended report is being worked on.

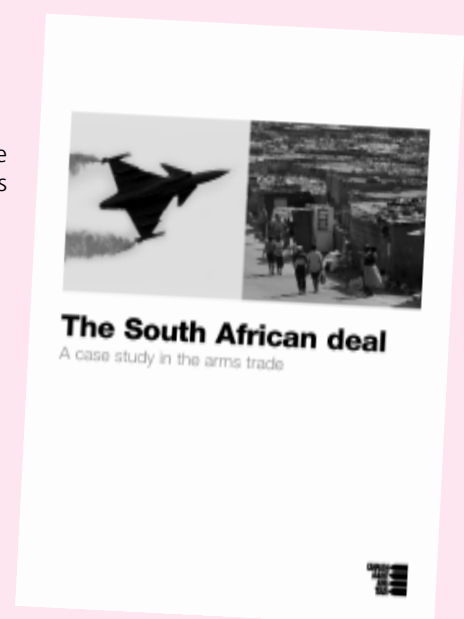
## New CAAT report

### The South African Deal

Available shortly in print (£3) and at [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)

The government of South Africa is currently purchasing warships and military aircraft to the value of \$4.8 billion from UK and other European suppliers. Some of the usual objections to arms-trade activities do not apply here. South Africa is a democracy, which is entitled to make its own choices. It is not at war or likely to be at war, and any military action outside its borders will take the form of peace-keeping in a troubled region. Nevertheless there are grounds for deep concern about the transaction and especially about the UK's part in it: South Africa urgently needs to spend money on the development of civil industry, water supplies, education, housing and health, above all on mitigation of the catastrophe that is AIDS. It faces no military threat and peace-keeping in Africa needs troops and light equipment, not warships, fighter planes and tanks.

The report examines the internal and external factors that led to the purchase of high-tech European equipment and considers whose interests were supported by the deal. It concludes that South Africa's decision to rearm was in part the result of sustained external pressure, culminating in a visit by Tony Blair to Pretoria in January 1999 which is said to have clinched the deal. London's motives (and doubtless Berlin's and Rome's) were those which have so long sustained the arms export trade. The jobs argument has little economic but considerable political validity. More important is the deep-seated conviction that a flourishing arms industry is a badge of national status.



# Campaigns diary

**1 September** 'Site Unseen' in Brough (call office for more details)

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

**22 September** 'Site Unseen' in Leicester (call office for more details)

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 2001. Photo by Patrick Delaney

**Pants to DSEi! See pages 8–9**

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