

CAATnews

Working with trade unions to stop the arms trade

Campaigning in union

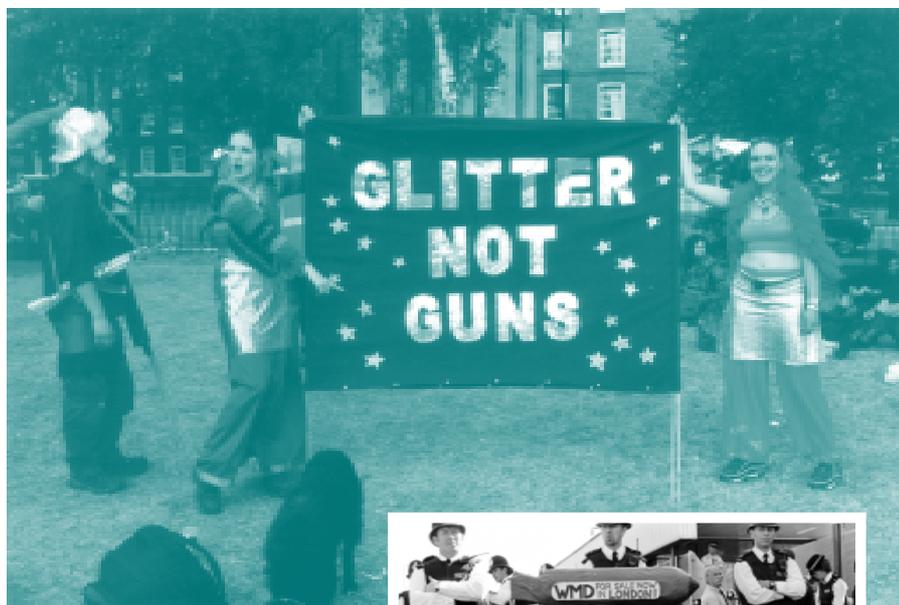


DSEi: full arms fair coverage inside with Mark Thomas and Will Self

Plus: Those BAE Systems corruption allegations in full

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Main photo: Patrick Delaney/Inset: Richie Andrew



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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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Hawking for India

The UK government propped up its own arms industry in order to secure an arms deal with India. *Ian Prichard reports*

After two decades of trying, BAE Systems appears to have finally secured the sale of 66 Hawk jets to India. Tony Blair's government has been pushing the sale ever since it came into power, through the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) and also by frequent direct interventions by Ministers, which continued even as India and Pakistan were on the brink of war. But, in July this year, it appeared the government's willingness to put our money where its mouth is reached new heights. It decided to waste up to £1 billion of public money by purchasing BAE Systems Hawk jets for the UK armed forces, at least in part to support the sale of Hawks to India.

The MoD Hawk purchase

In October 2001 BAE Systems made an unsolicited proposal to supply Hawks to the MoD. The proposal was opposed by both the Treasury and reportedly, MoD officials. The Treasury estimated that an open competition for the fighter trainers would save the taxpayer around £1 billion, a figure reached by comparing BAE Systems' proposal with a wider training package which included the provision of the aircraft. However, Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon appeared desperate to secure the contract for BAE Systems, perhaps as a crutch to support his floundering career, and he had backing from the Trade and Industry Secretary Patricia Hewitt and Tony Blair.

Acutely aware of the cabinet rift, BAE Systems put subtlety to one side and announced if it wasn't given the contract by July 31st 2003, it would make 470 workers at its Hull Brough plant redundant. The tactic was surprisingly effective, with newspapers widely reporting the number of jobs and the deadline. No one seemed concerned that the £1 billion cost of the BAE Systems package amounted to over £2 million for each of the 470 jobs under threat. That money could have been ploughed into creating very many more jobs, in something infinitely more productive.

The day before the July deadline, the government followed its instincts, handing BAE Systems a £800m contract for 20 Hawk 128-trainer jets, with an option for a further 24 aircraft.

Motivation for the MoD purchase

In June 2003, while the MoD was still considering BAE Systems' proposal, it stated that a number of criteria would be taken into account: 'including economic, industrial and potential export factors, as well as value for money for the taxpayer and the need to ensure that their proposal meets our capability requirement.' However, given the government's willingness to pay £1 billion over the odds and avert open competition, only the 'industrial' and 'export' criteria appear to have been meaningful.

Export factors – There are many indications of the importance of exports in the decision. It was reported that DESO told ministers that the Hawk's marketability abroad would be devastated if it was not chosen by the MoD. Patricia Hewitt greeted the Hawk selection by stating that it had 'significant export potential'. Whitehall sources reported that Mr Hoon 'wrote immediately after the decision to George Fernandes, his Indian opposite number, urging him to buy the Hawks rather than a reportedly cheaper plane.'

Perhaps most tellingly, the announcement of the India deal was greeted with delight by Geoff Hoon and his allies, as a vindication of the purchase of the Hawk for the MoD. It was as if the controversial purchase of Hawks by the MoD was suddenly made legitimate by the even more controversial sale of the same weaponry into an area of tension and conflict.

Industry factors – This criterion can be, and is, used by the government to justify almost anything, but its basis is at best dated. The UK does not have anything close to an independent military industrial base. A quarter of a million military industry jobs have been lost over the past 10 years. BAE Systems, the UK arms industry's supposed champion, and beneficiary of the Hawk deals, has the majority of its shares owned outside the UK. It employs the bulk of its workforce

overseas, sells less than 20 percent of its equipment to the UK and even aspires to be a US company.

While placing a gun to the head of 470 workers was significant in obtaining the MoD Hawk deal, BAE Systems' interest in UK jobs and the UK military industrial base goes no further than obtaining contracts. Few, if any, jobs will be created in the UK by the India deal, not least because nearly two thirds of the aircraft will be built in Bangalore.

Industry influence – The industry criterion has more relevance if it refers to the influence of the arms industry on the UK government. Despite recent debacles over Astute submarines and Nimrod aircraft, and the emerging embarrassment of the aircraft carrier contract, BAE Systems appears to be able to make the government's decisions for it. If BAE Systems' ministerial friends cannot come up with the goods, the company weighs in by touting threats of job losses through the media. To the UK government, it makes for an irresistible combination.

Propping-up and promoting arms sales

As a former MoD Director of Contracts has stated, the MoD's Hawk decision confirms that 'the defence budget is to be used to prop up Britain's defence industry and promote further arms exports.' What remains at issue is why what is left of the defence industry should be propped up, and why arms exports should be promoted. ■

From the Editor

I'm pleased to be back at CAAT editing *CAAT News* while the organisation works towards recruiting a new Press Co-ordinator. Thanks to everyone who has contributed to this issue.

CAAT would like to extend congratulations and best wishes to Rachel Harford, former *CAAT News* editor and press officer, who had a baby girl, Isobella, on Saturday 13th September.

Any comments about or submissions for the magazine should be sent to CaatNews@ngomedia.org.uk, or posted to CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

Gideon Burrows

Photo: Oxford Indymedia



"This is not an arms fair" – activists infiltrate DSEi and clamber onto a tank

This is not an arms fair

This was the ludicrous PR line put out by Defence Systems Equipment International, the UK's biggest ever weapons supermarket, during the controversial exhibition in September. Defence analyst Paul Beaver, who was recruited by the exhibition organisers to put out this line, perhaps ought to have a quiet word with his former colleagues on Janes Defence Weekly.

"Israel Military Industries (IMI) has revealed a new infantry weapon system that combines a fire-control system with advanced rifle grenade munition," reported the 17 September issue of Janes. "The system, dubbed Refa'im, was unveiled at the 9-12 September exhibition in London." *JDW, 17/9/03*

Lording it over the arms trade

The revolving door, between government and the arms industry, continues to turn. Former Labour defence minister, (Lord) George Robertson, who is about to step down as general secretary of Nato, is to become non-executive director at arms firm Smiths Group.

Smiths is a major arms supplier to Robertson's former department, the Ministry of Defence. The firm came under the public gaze earlier this year when it was revealed that the company makes the military electronics used in Apache attack helicopters, sold by America to Israel, and subsequently used in Palestine. And who 'updated' UK arms export criteria so the equipment could be exported? Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, Robertson's former ministerial colleague.

As Keith Orrell-Jones, chairman of Smiths Group said of the Lord: "His experience in government and in international affairs will be of great benefit to the company as it continues to expand in global markets." *FT, 11/9/03*

Iran seeks arms markets

Syria, accused of being an 'axis of evil' state by George Bush, was controversially invited to shop for arms at DSEi. Axis compatriot Iran may not have been invited, but Iranian arms firms are certainly looking for an 'in' to the global arms market. Two Iranian defence firms, Ammunition Industries Group, 'a leading ammunition manufacturer in Iran', and Defence Industries Organization, 'sheltering your troop, your pocket too', both took out adverts in the Janes Defence Weekly distributed at the arms fair.

Meanwhile, Syria is upgrading a brigade of main battle tanks (MBTs), and have acquired some 1500 anti-tank guided missiles. In 1998, a subsidiary of Italian arms firm Finmeccanica signed a contract worth an estimated \$200m to upgrade Syria's MBTs. *JDW, 10/9/03; JDW 6/8/03*

Weapons that care

The world's largest ammunition maker, Alliant Techsystems, has shown how much it cares by developing the world's first environmentally friendly, lead free bullets. A US\$5 million contract for the bullets was awarded by the US military, which hopes to remove all lead from its bullets during the next ten years.

"We want to develop one bullet that will work all the time. One that can kill you or that you can shoot a target with, but that's not an environmental hazard," said a US army spokesperson. *Environmental Data Interactive Exchange (Edie) www.edie.net, 5/9/03*

New arms for Iraq

Despite the fact that US and UK forces have seized thousands of AK47 rifles from resistance forces in Iraq, the country (currently run by the US) wants brand new ones to arm its military. More than

34,000 new AK47s are to be imported. No winner has yet been chosen to meet the contract, the Pentagon said. Whoever the 'winner' is, it's likely to be a Western arms firm, as the cycle of arming Iraq begins again. Meanwhile, Unicef has reported that more than 1,000 children have been injured by cluster and other unexploded munitions since the end of the invasion of Iraq. *Times, 9/8/03*

Arms sales 'fuel terrorism'

Rich nations are fuelling terrorism by hawking their weapons to poor countries and waging wars 'at the slightest excuse', according to the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad.

Speaking at a peace conference in the Malaysia capital, Kuala Lumpur, Dr Mohamad said developing nations were under huge pressure from rich countries to buy weapons even as the West criticised them for doing so. In the same week, Malaysia signed a \$900m deal to buy fighter jets from Russia.

BBC News Online, 9/8/03

Arms industry jobs shortage

So much for the UK arms industry's continued cry that banning arms exports would lead to British job losses. In fact, there's a national shortage in military ship building. Vosper Thornycroft, which is building new UK Royal Navy ships, has said it is worried that it will have to find another 1,000 people to complete the job. *JDW, 3/9/03*

Building to Spec

Arms manufacturers now appear to be designing weapons systems specifically so that arms buyers qualify for help buying them from the Western governments. Czech firm Aero Vodochody is working to define the precise make up of its L-159 light combat trainer. If more than 50 percent of the plane is built from US made components, then buying countries – like Egypt and Israel – qualify for US government help to acquire them under the US's foreign military financing (FMF) scheme. The Czech firm would also be able to call on US embassies around the world to act as L-159 advocates, promoting the sale of the aircraft. *Flight International, 26/8/03*

A little slush with the truth?



As the UK's biggest arms company, BAE Systems is no stranger to controversy. Not only does the company, formerly British Aerospace, have a history of arming repressive regimes like Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Zimbabwe, but its past is chequered with allegations of corruption, secret payments and the sale of electro-shock batons.¹

The latest scandal to hit BAE has all the ingredients of an over-the-top espionage novel, with allegations of bribery, secret payments, mistresses, prostitutes and even brass-plate companies set up to pass sweetener payments to arms buyers.

On September 11th, as hundreds of protesters were gathered outside the DSEi arms fair, at which BAE Systems was a major exhibitor, *The Guardian* newspaper laid out the latest allegations against the mother of all UK arms firms.²

A confidential letter from the head of the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) to the Ministry of Defence, written in 2001 and seen by the paper's journalists, alleged a possible major fraud operation involving BAE Systems in relation to the gigantic Al Yamamah arms deal with Saudi Arabia. According to the SFO letter, the company is alleged to have operated a £20m 'slush fund' designed to bribe Saudi officials.

"From the SFO documents and other legal files, *The Guardian* has been able to put together a picture of a covert BAE operation allegedly stretching over 15 years," the news story said.

Allegations included that BAE has paid for a £150,000 house of a young woman, allegedly to please a Saudi royal, and that BAE had provided sweeteners to Saudis, including prostitutes, sports cars, cup final tickets and gambling trips.

"In one 20-month period at the height of the lucrative arms deliveries, files record BAE handing over more than £8m to a front organisation called Robert Lee International set up by BAE to 'entertain' top Saudis," the report said. "The arms firm is alleged to have paid more than £20m in total since the late 1980s"

The SFO letter appealed to the MoD's fraud squad to investigate the payments, which later said it had conducted "initial and supplementary inquiries" but had decided not to pursue the matter.

BAE Systems failed to deny the specific allegations, but issued a short statement on the day of *The Guardian* report.

"BAE Systems operates rigorously within the law of both the UK and the countries in which it operates. BAE Systems vigorously rejects allegations of wrong doing," it said.

Later Mike Turner, chief executive of BAE, said: "They are

old allegations and they are old hat.

They are history. Everything we do is legal and that is all I am prepared to say. Whatever the law is we are legal."

CAAT supporters can read more about the allegations and view the documents in full at www.guardian.co.uk/armstrade.

Under fire

As if that week wasn't bad enough for BAE Systems – yet more allegations arose in the *Independent on Sunday* before the week was out.³

According to the paper, BAE Systems has said it sells civil material, such as navigation equipment, to trouble spots like the Democratic Republic of Congo and Iran in order to gain a prime position to sell arms when UK arms export restrictions are lifted.

"Rolf Rue, BAE System's managing director for new strategic markets, said that when the political and economic environment of the countries is right, BAE wants to be in a position to sell defence products to areas such as the Congo and Iran," the story said.

In keeping with BAE Systems' attitude to arms sales around the world, any customer is a good customer, as long as the UK government permits it – and of course, BAE Systems has not a little bit of influence in UK arms export policy (see page 3).

Plane wrong

And so, despite the allegations, BAE Systems is free to continue to be the arms quartermaster for some of the world's most controversial and repressive states. As if the £15bn Al Yamamah arms deal with Saudi Arabia – a documented human rights abuser – was not enough, there could be yet more deals in the pipeline between BAE and the Kingdom.

The company is said to now be in talks with the Saudi government to extend the controversial contract. According to the *Sunday Times*, discussions between the MoD, BAE Systems and the Saudis are progressing well.⁴ The new deal could see BAE making substantial improvements to the Kingdom's fleet of fighter-bombers, as well as extending BAE's servicing of the Saudi armed forces. ■

1 <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/action/camp/saudi/repression.shtml>

2 *The Guardian*, 11 September 2003

3 *Independent on Sunday*, 14 September 2003

4 *Sunday Times*, 14 September 2003

Those BAE Systems corruption allegations in full

September 2003 – Saudi Arabia

Alleged to have operated a £20m 'slush fund' to pay for hotel bills, cars, prostitutes and even houses for Saudis and their associates.

July 2003 – India

Indian defence minister, George Fernandes, is quoted as saying: "I am afraid that the AJT (Advanced Jet Trainer) may wait for another two or five years because the Americans have

said that British Aerospace... are bribing people, including the people in India"

June 2003 – South Africa

Allegations that 'BAE Systems paid millions of pounds in secret commissions' to win a South African Hawk jet contract.

June 2003 – Qatar

In Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber, the ruler's cousin, was paid a £7m commission into a secret Jersey trust.

The Serious Fraud Office traced the payment to BAE Systems and a deal to sell Piranha armoured cars, originally brokered by Michael Portillo, then Tory defence secretary, now on BAE's board.

December 2001 – Czech Republic

Allegations that documents demonstrated the 'US has accused Britain's biggest weapons company, BAE Systems, and its British government sponsor of "corrupt practice" over an aircraft deal with the Czech Republic.

July 1988 – Saudi Arabia

Just weeks after the signing of the infamous Al Yamamah deal between the British government and the Saudis, in which British Aerospace was a major player, allegations emerged of sweetener payments totalling £600m being made to the Saudi royal family.

Unions deliver strength

Working with trade unions should be central to the campaign, writes *Mike Kavanagh*

CAAT's Clean Investment Campaign has for a number of years exposed the arms company investments of charities, churches, local authorities and health trusts. What each has in common is a broad public membership, the stated aim of improving public welfare and the pursuit of the social good. Those aims are diminished if they hold investments in companies which export arms.

Trade unions also fit within this broad category, and could give considerable support to CAAT if we could persuade them of our arguments. Trade unions are already broadly supportive of campaigns on similar issues. The Communications Workers Union (CWU), for example, discussed globalisation and world poverty at its conference this year, and, like CAAT, is affiliated to the Trade Justice Movement.

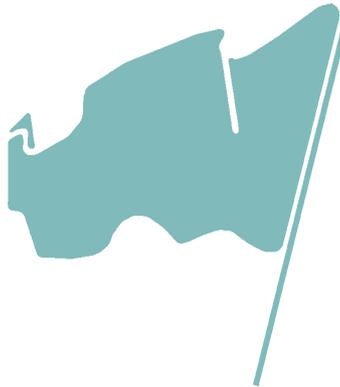
The website of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw) features information on the campaign group Action for Southern Africa, which works for peace, democracy and development in the country. The Graphical, Paper and Media Union (GPMU) has online campaigns, including War on Want, the Sweatshop Campaign and the Stop the War Coalition.

We should be bringing CAAT's aims to the attention of all unions, gaining their support for an end to the arms trade. If you are a member of a trade union, your help would be greatly appreciated.

We have already written to over 20 trade unions, asking for details of their investments. Their responses did not provide a clear picture of their shareholdings, or of a commitment to ethically responsible investment. As a trade union member, you have a right to such information and could help produce a picture of the level of trade union investments. At the same time you could call for the disposal of any shares that support the export of arms, and for the introduction of an ethical policy which excludes arms investments.

Please write to your trade union asking them about any arms company shares held in:

General funds – trade unions can hold some of their general funds in shares. These may include shares in either UK or overseas arms companies, unless a specific decision to exclude such investments has been made.



Pension funds – trade unions will have a staff pension scheme for their own employees. Its trustees are responsible for determining if ethical, social and

environmental issues – such as excluding investments in arms companies – are taken into account when investment decisions are made. The pension fund should have a Statement of Investment Principles (SIP) which includes how ethical considerations influence investment decisions. As well as asking for details of any investments in arms companies you could ask for a copy of this Statement.

CAAT would be pleased to receive any information provided by your trade union on these issues. This would clarify and extend CAAT's current knowledge of trade union investment in the arms trade and inform future Clean Investment Campaign planning. ■

- Information on arms companies and the Clean Investment Campaign can be found on the CAAT website – www.caat.org.uk.
- Further information about the trade union campaign can be obtained from Mike Kavanagh via the office or email mikekavanagh@caat.demon.co.uk
- CAAT welcomes your suggestions on how to work with trade unions on this issue.

Take action Does your pension fund support the arms trade?

If you belong to a trade union and are also a member of a local government pension fund, your fund will almost certainly have arms investments.

As a local government worker and a trade union member, my work to promote public welfare is undermined by my pension fund's arms investments at the cost of the welfare of people around the world blighted by conflict, regional tension, human rights abuses or poverty.

CAAT and its supporters have, for a number of years, been contacting local authority pension funds calling for them to end arms trade investments. The Greater Manchester Pension Fund admitted last year it had investments in British and American companies involved in arms exports.

'Free for all?'; a report on ethical investment and international trade published by public sector union

Unison, calls for ethical international trade.

"We must strive harder to stop the trade in arms and weapons of destruction, which has already led to the deaths of millions of people," it concludes.

As a Unison member, I have called upon local branches to call for the end of arms investments in local authority pension funds as a national policy. All trade union members in local government could demand this in writing from their union or at branch meetings.

Furthermore Unison and other local government trade unions have representatives on pension fund committees. Resolutions to mandate such representatives to oppose arms investments by their fund could be made at local branches. ■

Mike Kavanagh

Perspectives on DSEi 2003

Police searches made us non-violent 'terrorists', writes *Mark Thomas*

At a CAAT press conference, just days before DSEi, a BBC journalist looking at the itinerary for the week's protests asked: "I see that Tuesday is a day of non-violent direct action, but Wednesday is billed as a day of direct action; does that mean that Wednesday's activities will be violent?"



The arms dealers would have been delighted at the prospect of violence outside the arms fair, or as they would describe it "a legitimate business opportunity". Had it kicked off dealers would have been straight in there, handing out business cards and flogging assault rifles via Jordan, labelled as machine parts. Surely the journalist should have been asking that question to the fair's exhibitors. Were they going to have a non violent day?

Media interest in violent protest is a hardy perennial, but by the end of the week the focus had shifted to policing at the arms fair - there had been no violence among protesters. Why was it, many asked including Home Secretary David Blunkett in a rare low testosterone moment, that the police were using section 44 of the Terrorism Act 2000 to stop and search protesters?

Not surprisingly, despite the wide scale use of the Terrorism Act, no terrorists were found amongst the activists. I am guessing here, but rule number one for terrorists has to be to keep a low profile. That's not easily done in a Carnival Against the Death Fair, shimmying next to a colourfully painted samba dancer, surrounded by a million quid's worth of cops. I know of no instance when terrorists have dressed as cosmic peace fairies, either for work or leisure.

It was a bad week for the arms trade. Spearhead, the arms fair organisers, claimed that no cluster bombs would be on display, yet on the first day this was proved to be untrue. *The Guardian* revealed BAE Systems' slush fund to bribe Saudis. *The Mirror* ran the story of how over half the arms exhibited at the fair were illegally there, as they didn't have the correct licenses. All this created the spectacle of police arresting peace campaigners, while the real criminals inside went unpunished.

Protesters with inflatable dinghies delayed warships arriving for the fair, buses full of arms dealers were stopped and blocked. On the Wednesday, the Docklands Light Railway (the most popular form of transport to the fair) was rendered useless by activists locking themselves to trains, roads were blocked with push-bikes and cars.

Arms dealers were taunted, politely questioned and showered with confetti, each piece having a slogan on it like "If we didn't do it someone else would" or "Get a proper job". And the million quid police force? They didn't even manage to stop protesters getting into the fair itself. This year's DSEi belonged to the activists. ■

A version of this article first appeared in the New Statesman.

Tony Blair avoided controversy by not attending, writes *Will Self*

One of my favourite cartoons of all time was published in the New Yorker. It showed Athena introducing another Greek god to Zeus with the immortal line: 'I believe you know Mars, God of Defence...'



At DSEi the tin gods of 'defence' were free to go on pedalling their death metal, all protected by security paid for by the Government, with sales demonstrations laid on courtesy of our own armed forces. American to Israeli, Israeli to Arab, Arab to African and so-bloody-on...

Anyone who stops to give the matter serious thought soon understands that far from being essential for jobs, British arms exports are petrol poured on a global bonfire. While British soldiers faced death on a daily basis in the benighted streets of Basra, and the search for those elusive Weapons of Mass Destruction went on, and on, and on, tangible weapons of assured effectiveness were on sale in our capital city.



London Mayor Ken Livingstone was bang on target when he said he'd rather the fair didn't go ahead, but that he was powerless to stop it. Our own God of Defence, Geoff Hoon, is also pretty powerless at the moment, what with all those leaked memos stuck like hand-crafted daggers between his ample shoulder blades.

So isn't it convenient that he was sent down to Docklands to give the welcoming address at DSEi, while the Prime Minister stayed well out of the firing line? God of Defence? God of scapegoats more like. ■

Win your name in print

Will Self is currently working on a new book, likely to follow most of his other works into the best seller list. He's offered one lucky CAAT supporter the opportunity to have their name used for a character in his new novel. Simply send your name, address and contact email or telephone number, along with a cheque for £5.00 per entry, to the usual address. First name drawn from the hat after 31 December 2003 wins the prize and a signed copy of the book. First three runners up will also received a signed copy.

Dealing with DSEi



Martin Hogbin reports on CAAT's biggest ever anti-arms trade event

Even in the months before the DSEi arms fair took place at London Docklands, murmurs in the peace movement were that this was to be the biggest anti-arms trade event ever to take place in the UK. We were not disappointed.

Pre-show actions and lobbying, street-protests, non-violent blockades and various direct actions brought the arms fair to a standstill. Even before the week of DSEi, activists blockaded the venue, preventing tanks from being delivered, and staged office occupations of arms companies and the show's organisers.

One resounding memory will remain as CAAT begins preparations to halt DSEi 2005. An arms dealer, bright red in the face, rushing along the pavement (because his train had been stopped by protesters) towards DSEi, screaming at the top of his voice: "Because of you lot, I'm three hours late for the show. Three hours!"

Saturday 6th

More than 1,000 anti-arms trade protesters gathered on London's Embankment to begin a short march against the DSEi arms fair. An array of people, from all walks of life, with colourful flags, outrageous costumes, home-made placards, whistles and drums made the walk. It called at the Ministry of Defence to pin white ribbons for peace on the fence, before passing Downing Street and Parliament. At a small park in Waterloo, two samba bands – from London and Sheffield – entertained the crowds, before a series of inspiring and moving speakers rallied demonstrators. The media showed great interest in the protests and the arms fair, beginning a week of relentless live interviews by CAAT representatives.

Sunday 7th

Saw the first day of an anti-arms trade conference, organised by the autonomous Disarm DSEi collective. Inside the Convergence Centre close to the arms fair, activists plotted and planned direct actions to bring the fair to a halt.

Monday 8th

While CAAT continued press interviews, activists occupied the offices of BAE Systems on Pall Mall – along with a full samba band. In the evening, more than 200 people

attended a silent peace vigil, organised by East London Against the Arms Fair, on the dockside close to where DSEi was due to open the next day.

Tuesday 9th

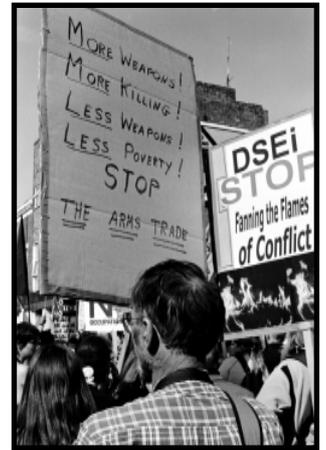
Arms dealers, journalists and protesters arrived for the fair early. Around 1,500 people gathered for a short march from a nearby park to one of the entrances to the arms fair, with a huge cardboard pink tank leading the way. An impromptu rally blocked the fair's main entrance road for two hours, while protesters listened to speakers. After lunch, which many enjoyed at The Garden Café, a local Christian community café supporting the protests, activists staged non-violent blockades of the entrances to the fair. Police began arresting people if they refused to move out of the road.

Wednesday 10th

The day began with trains being brought to a halt. With roads blockaded, the Docklands Light Railway out of action (because activists had chained themselves to it) and another local train line closed, arms dealers were seriously delayed from getting to DSEi. In fact, blockades were so effective that other activists were prevented from getting to blockades they had planned. Meanwhile, a Critical Mass bike ride, which began in central London, edged its way closer to help disrupt the fair.

Mid morning and two mass blockades were staged, at both main entrances. For hours all the main roads to DSEi were blocked, and many of the trains. In the hot sun, samba bands kept the protesters entertained, while Veggies (the kitchen collective from Nottingham) was on hand with cheap grub. Meanwhile, in central London, arms company offices were being occupied and the fountains at the famous Trafalgar Square were dyed red, symbolising the blood of lives lost due to the arms trade.

In the afternoon, activists gathered for a street party on the main roundabout leading to the DSEi arms fair. Police were heavy



Photos on these pages by Richie Andrew (<http://richie.gn.apc.org>); Patrick Delaney; and Adam Maddison



handed at clearing protesters, but the crowds – many dressed in costumes – managed to bring traffic to and from the fair to a standstill.

Thursday 11th

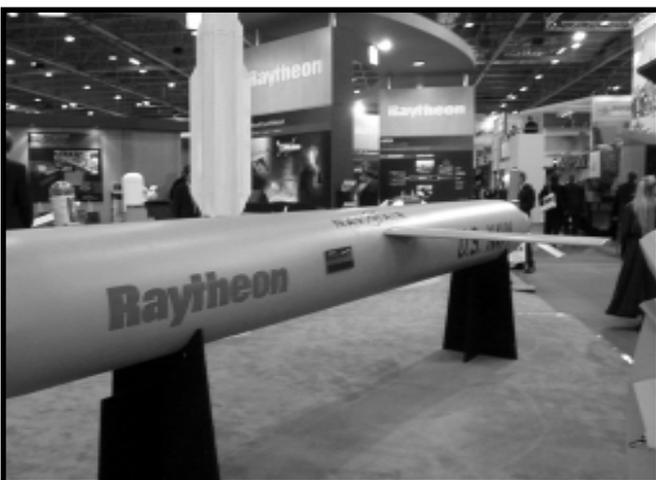
Train blockades continued throughout the day, seriously disrupting traffic to the arms fair. In London, Women in Black staged a peace vigil event, which was well attended by protesters and police alike.

In the evening, hundreds of protesters gathered outside the Royal Lancaster Hotel as arms delegates arrived for their slap-up gala dinner. While protesters shared the food they had brought, another Critical Mass managed to blockade the roads, a job later continued by police. Arms dealers had to leave their posh cars in side streets, and walk past the protesters.

Friday 12th

The last day of the arms fair, but the protests continued. At London Docklands, yet more people blockaded trains, while a group of activists ambushed a bus load of DSEi delegates at their hotel, chaining themselves to the axle.

A year-and-a-half ago, when the first plans for action against DSEi 2003 were being laid, CAAT's main hopes were to increase media attention for the issues, to cost the event so much in security that it would make them reconsider future events, and to provide space for everybody to take part, and protest, in their own way. We firmly believe all three of these aims were fulfilled, thanks to the hard work and dedication of campaigners around CAAT and the Disarm DSEi group. Well done everyone. ■



Those DSEi scandals in full

Arrest total

131 arrests of activists during the DSEi protests, mostly for breach-of-the-peace, and obstructing roads and trains.



Arrest at DSEi. PHOTO: RICHIE ANDREW

Scandal #1

Ahead of the DSEi arms fair, *The Guardian* reported that Spearhead had asked arms companies not to bring cluster munitions to the fair, as they were not "suitable for the UK market". But these controversial and horrific weapons WERE on show at DSEi, as *The Guardian* later reported. Israeli Military Industry were promoting cluster munitions on their stall, but simply called them something else.

Scandal #2

Syria, Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Turkey, the United States, Colombia, India and Pakistan were among the controversial countries invited to shop for arms at DSEi, by the show's organisers or by the Government.



Scandal #3

Police used anti-terrorism legislation to stop and search people going to the protests, even though the legislation was not designed to stifle peaceful protest. Human rights group Liberty is taking the case to court, and Home Secretary David Blunkett gave the Metropolitan Police a ticking-off for using terrorism legislation in this way. (Anyone who was stopped under Terrorism legislation at DSEi should call Liberty on 020 7403 3888, or visit www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk).

Scandal #4

The Mirror newspaper revealed that dozens of the arms firms exhibiting at the fair had not obtained firearms licenses to display their weapons. The Metropolitan Police wrote to the show's organisers, the Government and handed out letters to exhibitors warning them about the missing licenses. The Government overruled the police's concerns about the show and insisted no action be taken against companies breaking the law. Full details are available from CAAT.



Back-peddling over Indonesia

The UK Foreign Office has quietly changed its approach to the use of UK arms by Indonesian forces in Aceh.

The UK government has relaxed its restrictions on the use of UK-supplied equipment to Indonesia, even though the country's military has stepped up activities in the province of Aceh, CAAT has learned.

A letter from the Foreign Office to a CAAT supporter revealed a dramatic, but very quiet, change in our government's attitude towards Indonesia's use of British military hardware.

Before August 2002, Indonesia had made promises, to the UK Foreign Office, that British supplied Hawk aircraft and Scorpion armoured vehicles would not be deployed in Aceh, and pledged advance warning of any possible deployment.

That month Indonesia informed the UK government they would deploy the equipment in Aceh, but that it would not be used offensively or in violation of human rights.

But one year on, there have been

reports Hawks have been flown in an intimidatory fashion over residential areas in Aceh and that the Scorpions were protecting Indonesian army supply routes.

Criterion two of the UK government's Consolidated Criteria on arms exports says that, before granting an export licence, consideration should be given as to whether "there is a clear risk the proposed export might be used for internal repression" or "there is evidence of the use of this or similar equipment by the proposed end user".

In response to the reports, and given the Indonesian military's brutal record in East Timor, the UK government should have done all it could to prevent their use of Hawks and Scorpions in Aceh. It should have immediately implemented an arms embargo on Indonesia and revoked all extant licences, thereby preventing the export of spare parts.

Far from doing this, we now know that the UK government instead complied with Indonesia's request to remove geographical limitations on the use of the

equipment. Today the UK is still refusing to impose an arms embargo, saying simply that it is investigating reports of misuse of the equipment. ■

Please write to your MP (House of Commons, London SW1A 2AH) asking them to urge the Foreign Secretary 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.

European Social Forum

CAAT has been monitoring and opposing a number of developments at EU level that are making life easier for the arms companies. These include allowing, for the first time, EU research and development money to be spent on military projects.

As well as encouraging supporters to write to their MPs and MEPs on these issues, CAAT is working with similar organisations in other European countries to oppose these developments.

Several organisations are currently collaborating on a seminar, which it hopes will be held during the European Social Forum (ESF) taking place in Paris from 12–16 November 2003. This will cover the security relationship between Europe and the US, the European military industry and the European arms trade with southern countries. It is open to all. ■
Visit www.fse-esf.org for more information

The work against DSEi 2005 begins

CAAT was disappointed to learn that Spearhead Exhibitions Ltd are already planning for the next DSEi, which is billed to take place again in London Docklands from 13–16 September 2005.

Local campaigning, protests and actions severely disrupted the running of the show this year, but before the event even took place CAAT was working with parliamentarians to highlight the arms fair, and to call for its cancellation.

Thanks to work with politicians, since DSEi 2003 it has been revealed:

- Of the 62 countries invited to shop for arms at DSEi by the Government, six refused to come. They were: Hungary, Mexico, New Zealand, Poland, Russia and Syria.
- The Ministry of Defence kept no 'central record' of which members of its own staff attended the exhibition.
- According to police estimates, the event cost the UK taxpayer at least £1.73 million in policing.

A number of questions remain unanswered. CAAT will be pursuing these issues with the government ahead of DSEi 2005:

- What criminal charges are to be brought against companies exhibiting weapons at DSEi 2003, which didn't have a license to display them?
- Why did the government over-rule the police, who expressed concern about many of the arms companies not having licenses to display weapons?
- Will the Government force Spearhead Exhibitions Ltd, rather than the British taxpayer, to pick up the colossal policing bill for DSEi 2005?

CAAT supporters wishing to help in our campaign against the next DSEi arms fair should contact the office for advice about approaching your MP and ministers.

Stop cluster bombs

This year's Landmine Action Week, is to draw attention to the horrific impact of cluster bombs and other explosive remnants of war ERW. Campaign group Landmine Action is to step up its Clear Up! Campaign during the week with a drive to collect thousands of signatures on a petition to ban these horrific weapons.

The petition urges countries signed up to the UN Convention on Conventional Weapons to urgently agree new international humanitarian law on ERW. It also calls for users of weapons that can create ERW to be made legally responsible for clearing them up after use, and for a freeze on the manufacture, trade and use of cluster bombs until new international humanitarian law is in place to deal effectively with their consequences.

With a variety of events being held nationwide, CAAT is supporting the campaign to raise awareness and gather signatures for the petition ahead of the next UN Convention meeting in Geneva at the end of November.

Please register your support today by signing the petition at www.clearup.org. To find out more about Landmine Action

Week or to order an action pack or get blank petitions, telephone 020 7820 0222 or email info@landmineaction.org

Pyramid of shoes to highlight limb loss thanks to landmines

On Saturday 1st November, to mark the start of Landmine Action Week, Handicap International is holding an awareness raising event in London's Trafalgar Square.

Central to the event will be the construction of a pyramid of shoes, with each shoe symbolising lives and limbs lost as a consequence of landmines. This event has been staged in Paris and other cities across Europe over the last 9 years. A variety of exhibitions and entertainment will be on offer and experts will be on hand to talk about demining, mine-risk education and the fitting of prosthetic limbs.

■ Handicap International needs volunteers for various tasks during the day. Those able to help will also be invited to a post-event get together. Please contact the Events Office on 0870 7743737.



Jesurasa Arokiyaraj, 12, from Jaffna in Sri Lanka, was collecting firewood with his brother Mahistan, 16, when they found a grenade: "We did not know what it was at the time although we had received risk education." Mahistan was trying to remove the pin when smoke started coming out and then all of a sudden it exploded. He was killed instantly from his abdominal injuries.
Rosy Cave/Landmine Action

DSEi – read all about it!

The protests against DSEi put the arms trade at the top of the news agenda.

The following media outlets all did stories about the arms fair, most featuring interviews with CAAT.

Print and online media

The Guardian
The Independent
The Times
Financial Times
The Telegraph
The Mirror
Metro
Evening Standard
The Wharf (local paper)
The Newham Recorder (local paper)
This is Local London (local website)
Bath Chronicle
New Statesman
London Jewish News



Kingston Guardian
Red Pepper
Morning Star
Islamic Republic News Agency
Guardian Unlimited
Ekklesia (Christian website)
BBC News Online
Indymedia
Peace News
Norway Times
Barnett Press
Jewish Chronicle
The Scotsman

Broadcast media

Today Programme
Scotland Today
BBC Five Live
BBC Local London TV
BBC National news
BBC Local London radio
Australian Broadcasting
Al Jazeera

Arab News Channel
Egyptian TV station
German TV
Austrian radio programme
Press Association
ITV local news
Channel 4 news
Sky News
Shine FM

Southern Counties Radio
Radio Dublin
Resonance FM
Indymedia FM
Russian News Agency,
Navosti
Associated Press
BBC Asian Network
BBC World Service
IRN
LBC London
BBC Manchester
ITN
CNN





Final leg of exposing the arms trade tour

Victory for Hull jobs, but not for peace

BAE Systems' Brough plant in Hull has won a lucrative Ministry of Defence contract to build Hawk Aircraft. The win was not all good news *writes Geoff Collier*, who joined protests as part of CAAT's Site Unseen tour of 40 BAE Systems sites across the country.

Following the news of Brough winning the MoD Hawk contract, a small group of protesters gathered locally on Monday 1st September to protest against the arms trade, of which BAE Systems is an important player.

The group of 20 protesters, drawn from Hull, Sheffield and Keighley, demonstrated for two hours, before hosting an evening meeting at the local Friends Meeting House to take the debate further.

At the protests we were forced to reject accusations that we were undermining local jobs. The reality of BAE Systems is a commitment to the great many ways there are to kill people with high tech weaponry. It isn't the peace movement that threatened all these local jobs in the first place, it was the gigantic transnational company that BAE Systems has become.

Though BAE Systems is the UK's biggest armaments manufacturer, it has more workers abroad than in Britain. The real victory for local jobs will be when BAE is committed to peace and civilian projects, and not selling them off as it has recently. Blair and BAE Systems are dedicated to war, we are dedicated to peace. In time we will be listened to.

Loughborough and Leicester

After two weeks of late summer sunshine, the heavens opened over Loughborough on September 22nd, *writes Chris Cole*. CAAT supporters and members of Loughborough University People and Planet united for the Loughborough leg of the Site Unseen tour.

BAE Systems has a major presence on Loughborough University and is a lead partner in the newly formed Systems Engineering Innovation Centre (see www.seic-loughborough.com for more

details). Although we were only a small group and very wet, our presence attracted attention both from the local police and university security staff. According to the University, when fully operational in January 2004, the centre will house "top research scientists and engineers working on the latest innovations, process and services." With BAE Systems as the main industry partner, we all know what that means.

Later that day Leicester CAAT supporters, members of the local Stop the War Coalition, together with people from the local Buddhist centre protested outside the BAE factory in central Leicester. BAE Leicester is part of the BAE's C4iSR division (Command & Control, Communications, Computing, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance). Specific projects undertaken at the site include work on FIST (Future Integrated Soldier Technology) which is trying to create the 'cyber soldier' of the future; work on the Unmanned Aerial vehicle programme called Watchkeeper; and small arms work transferred from the small arms factory at Nottingham when it closed.

In the evening a well attended public meeting was held at the Friends Meeting House. Long time CAAT supporters mixed and exchanged contact details with

newcomers drawn in by the recent DSEI protests. Having put the Loughborough and Leicester BAE sites 'on the map', future action is certain.

Site Unseen goes north

The Site Unseen tour of BAE Systems sites moves north this Autumn, with visits to Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow, before moving to the South-East for the final leg of the exposing the arms trade campaign. We hope to see you at some of the following protests, or local meetings.

Monday 13 October

11am-12.30pm: protest at BAE Dunfermline (AMS)

2pm-3pm: protest at BAE Edinburgh (Crewe Toll)

4.30pm-6pm: Protest at BAE Edinburgh (South Gyle)

7.30pm: Public Meeting at Edinburgh Friends Meeting House

Tuesday 14th October

11am-12.30pm: Protest at BAE Glasgow (Scotstoun)

3pm-4.30pm: Protest at BAE Glasgow (Govan)

7.30pm: Public Meeting at Renfield St Stephens

Wednesday 15th October

2pm-3pm Protest at BAE Bellingham (Northumberland)

4.30pm-6pm: Protest at BAE Birtley (Co. Durham)

7.45pm: Public Meeting at Newcastle Friends Meeting House

Monday 10th November

11am-12.30pm: Protest at BAE Towcester (Northampton)

3pm-4.30pm: Protest at BAE Kidderminster

7.30pm: Public meeting at Bull St Meeting House, Birmingham (TBC)

Thursday 20th November

10am-12.00pm: Protest at BAE Basildon
2pm-3.30pm: Protest at BAE Chelmsford (AMS)

4.30-6pm: Protest at BAE Great Barrow (Chelmsford)

7.30pm: Public Meeting, Meeting House, Chelmsford

Site Unseen

During 2003, Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) is organising protests at 40 sites belonging to BAE Systems or its subsidiaries, to mark the 40th birthday of former local campaigns co-ordinator Chris Cole. In addition there will be local public meetings across the country to raise awareness about the arms trade and how we can work together, at national and at local levels, to end it.

For full details of the campaign, and a full timetable of forthcoming visits see www.caat.org.uk, email siteunseen@caat.demon.co.uk, or call us on 020 7281 0297

Navigating the peace

The Atlas of War and Peace

By Dan Smith, Earthscan, UK 2003

Nicholas Spykman, a renowned American geopolitician, once claimed "Geography does not argue, it just is." Politics and debate is what people do, lakes and mountains simply exist as the forms around which our lives are shaped.

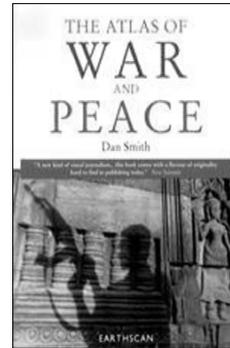
Fair enough, until you come to issues like the sea separating Northern Ireland from the rest of Britain. Is it, as Halford Mackinder, the grandfather of modern geography, argued "an inland waterway" or is it a natural barrier? Geography is rarely anything but political, a fact this book demonstrates masterfully.

Using smart but clear graphics and neat text boxes, the book begins by laying out the causes, means and consequences of war. Much is devoted to a useful analysis of major conflicts in five regions of the

world, giving broad explanations but also drawing out finer and more complex points.

In the Sudan section, a map shows the unequivocal connection between conflict and oil. Major oil fields, major government military bases and gatherings of rebel forces are plotted, revealing concentric rings of government forces protecting oil wells, surrounded by rebels. Juxtaposed is a map of the same area, but this time showing oil and gas concessions to various international corporations. Simply geography, yet a powerfully argued political point.

Dan Smith does not sit on the fence. He maps the horrors while avoiding the hackneyed mud-slinging which can detract attention from the daily atrocities



that are permitted throughout the world. While maintaining a level of involvement that prevents a too clinical and detached analysis, the tone remains cool rather than gratuitous, exploitative or plain gory.

Sadly, but predictably, only one chapter is concerned with peace-building. Contrary to Spykman, we are forced to

conclude that geography isn't "just is". The world is actually full of war, not peace. The reader is left with a sense of the unfinished, an uneven account of war and peace. It is a subtle but truly instructive book. ■

Catherine Mahony

Something funny happened on the way to the arms fair

Win a new book of arms trade comics

The arms trade may not be funny, but a new book of comic strips about it certainly is. Renowned Anarchist cartoonist Donald Rooum has published the latest comic book in his Wildcat series, and it is all about the arms trade. It even features a bomb named DSEi on the front cover!

The book is £3.00 from Freedom Press (020 7247 9249), but we've got one copy to give away. Simply send your name, address and (if you can) a donation to the usual address. Mark your envelope 'I want to laugh at the arms trade'.

Closing date is 1 November 2003.





Fundraising

Before I update you on the latest fundraising news, please allow me to introduce myself.

My name is Kathryn Busby and I am CAAT's new fundraising co-ordinator. I am delighted to have joined the team and look forward to building on Joanna's success. If you have any fundraising ideas or opportunities, or even a quick query on how to raise vital cash for CAAT, please do get in touch. I look forward to hearing from you.

DSEi Appeal news

Thank you to everyone who has already responded to our latest fundraising appeal, based around the campaign against the DSEi arms fair.

You can read about CAAT's campaign to close DSEi in this issue. I'm sure you'll agree the protests, actions and accompanying lobbying work were effective, both in putting the arms trade at the top of the news agenda, and in severely disrupting the arms bazaar itself.

Effective and encouraging work like the CAAT DSEi campaign depends directly on the generosity of our supporters. If you have not yet had a chance to respond to our DSEi appeal, please do consider making a donation.

Running for CAAT

As featured in the enclosed leaflet, supporter Edward Bradley will be running this year's New York City Marathon to raise money for CAAT. The run, on 2nd November, will be Edward's first marathon. I'm happy to report his training has been going well and he's just about ready to fly out to New York for the big day. You can show your support and sponsor Edward by completing the form on the back of the leaflet and sending it, with a cheque made payable to CAAT, to the normal address. If your CAAT News came without a leaflet, simply mark the back of your cheque NY Marathon. I'd also like to congratulate two CAAT supporters, Debra and Sue, who each

raised money in events this summer. Debra braved the Flora Women's Light Challenge Fun Run on 15th September, and Sue completed the Brunswick Square Mile Road Race on 6th July while carrying a model B52 Bomber! Thanks to Debra and Sue for their support.

Stylish CAAT t-shirts on sale

Finally, a reminder in the run up to the Winter gift giving season, that you can now buy your new CAAT t-shirt from the office for only £15.00. Choose from a baby-blue ladies fitted t-shirt (sizes S-L), or a navy blue or maroon unisex t-shirt (sizes M-XL). Please send your order, with a cheque payable to CAAT, to the usual address. Don't forget to state the colour and size you want.

Here's looking forward to working with CAAT staff and supporters over the coming months to increase support for our vital work. ■

Kathryn Busby

Camping against the arms trade

Better late than never... a few photos from the beautiful CAAT tea tent at this year's Glastonbury Festival. A big thank you to everyone involved.



get active!

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

Materials CAAT publications available from the office

New CAAT postcard

Available for distribution locally

Following the Iraq conflict, CAAT has been very successful in highlighting the fact that the UK armed Saddam in the first place. Our campaign postcard outlines six questions about the arms trade.

Thousands of these post-cards have been distributed at demonstrations and other events against the war, and have helped CAAT to gain many new supporters.

Now we're asking CAAT supporters to help distribute these cards locally. Could you take 100 or more to hand out at relevant local events? They're free from the office, but we estimate it costs about £4.00 in printing, postage and packing to produce 100. If you can make a donation, it would help us to produce more campaign materials.

Good luck, and thanks for your help increasing support for the campaign.

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 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 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 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.

New report

DSEi 2003: international arms market

Available in print (£3.00) and at www.caat.org.uk

During protests against Defence Systems Equipment International (DSEi) at the beginning of September, the event's organisers began putting out the line to journalists that DSEi was not an arms fair. Even the show's daily newsletter on Wednesday 13th September made this claim, while illustrating the article with pictures of fighter aircraft, a military communications system and a warship.

Thanks to months of dedicated research, CAAT was able to quickly and easily dismiss the claim for the spin it was. On the eve of DSEi, CAAT published our ground-breaking report on the arms fair illustrating in detail some of the worst arms companies selling weapons at the fair, and highlighting concerns about some of the arms buyers. Hundreds of journalists were either sent the report, or accessed it over the web – and *The Guardian*, *The Mirror* and the BBC all featured data from it.

With entries on more than 25 arms companies, briefings on more than 10 arms buying countries and data on issues from cluster munitions to corruption, landmines to globalization, this DSEi report will now serve as a vital background document to inform the work of all arms trade campaigners, or to simply to help build your knowledge on the trade.



Campaigns diary

October 19–26 One World Week – www.oneworldweek.org

October–November 'Site Unseen' visits Edinburgh, Glasgow, Newcastle, Essex (see p.12)

November 3–9 Landmine Action Week – www.clearup.org

November 12–16 European Social Forum, Paris – www.fse-esf.org

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web www.caat.org.uk



Photo by Richie Andrew

DSEi report back See pages 8–9

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