

# CAATnews

## LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY STARTS HERE



**NEXT RENDEZVOUS: FARNBOROUGH 2004**

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Photo: Richie Andrew

Hands up if you're against the arms trade.  
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**CAATnews**  
Issue 184

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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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# Arms for a new Empire

The people of the United Kingdom are being committed by their political masters to the expenditure of around £35 billion on three additions to their armament.

First, we shall soon start building two enormous aircraft carriers, at 60,000 tonnes “the biggest and most powerful warships ever constructed in the UK”. The MoD and the companies concerned (primarily BAE Systems and the Anglo-French Thales) are still haggling over the price, but the original £2.9bn is likely to rise to £4 or even £5bn. That is just for development and construction; in-service costs will add another £7bn.

Second, to go with the ships, we shall be buying 150 of the US-designed Joint Strike Fighters (the Lockheed X-35s) at a probable cost of £10bn. We have already committed £2bn to this colossal American project in the hope of winning work-share for British companies.

Third, we shall be acquiring a dozen of so air tankers – super-jumbos modified for the mid-air re-fuelling of warplanes. These will be Airbuses supplied by the European consortium in which BAE Systems has a 20 per cent stake. They will be provided under a complicated “private finance initiative” scheme, which means that the taxpayer will contribute £13bn over 27 years – half a billion a year for a whole generation – for planes that will remain private property.

This is not CAAT’s core business, except in so far as there may be export spin-offs. There are indeed expected to be such spin-offs, but they are not the main point. Even the huge financial cost is not the most serious feature – though it would be easy to reckon the benefits that could accrue if the money were spent in different ways – on the health service, for example, or the railways or the universities. The most important question is: what is this armament for?

Obviously not for “defence” in any reasonable sense of that term. There is no longer a Soviet Union and, despite what the tabloids might wish, we are not going to war with France, or Brussels. As for the

“war on terror”, it is surely clear by now that this is a matter for police and intelligence and that battering distant peoples does no good at all. Strike planes cannot be used against enemies who are scattered around the bedsits and boarding-houses of the West. These ships and planes are explicitly designed for “power projection and flexible global reach” – in other words for distant military adventures of the Iraq kind, or worse. The new equipment is expected to be ready for use by 2012–2015, and 2015 is the date that US strategists, even before Bush, had pencilled in for a probable war against “a near-peer competitor” – presumably China

but just possibly Europe. Do the British people want to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in an armageddon such as that?

At present, hardly anyone is asking such a question. Most MPs are interested solely in the fat jobs that may accrue to some of their constituents, at the expense of everyone else. Yet the question is a very urgent one, and that brings us to a curious paradox. On 15 February 2003 there was by far the biggest anti-war demo in history, yet there has been little follow-up and the peace movement is now in disarray. The leaders of Stop the War made the mistake of thinking that the mass turn-out of “2/15” could be translated into support for far-left politics. There is no chance of that, nor can the British people be won over to outright pacifism; the memories and myths of World War II are far too potent. What is needed is for the scattered fragments of the peace movement to come together in a movement against military imperialism – including the insidious kind that calls itself “liberal” or “humanitarian” – and against the arms production that provides its muscle. CND still has a national organisation and has shown welcome signs of discarding exclusive pre-occupation with things nuclear, so it should probably take the leading role. But the movement will need to reach out beyond the traditional boundaries. ■

*Chris Wrigley*



## Indonesia Judicial Review fails

Previous issues of *CAAT News* we have reported on the progress of a judicial review of the UK Government’s continued sale of military equipment to Indonesia. Indonesian human rights activist Aguswandi contended the “clear risk of use for internal repression” test spelt out in the EU criteria had been replaced by an “evidence of actual misuse” test when licence decisions were considered; that the FCO and DTI failed to consider material considerations (such as human rights abuses in Aceh); and that the Government’s behaviour was irrational – given the evidence Ministers had available and the criteria they have to follow, granting licences for Indonesia was irrational.

On 17 February permission for the case to proceed was refused on the papers. The application for permission was then renewed at an oral hearing on 29 March at the High Court, and was again refused.

Mr Justice Leveson put a different interpretation on the content of the correspondence, and said there was insufficient evidence the government was applying the incorrect test. He said that there was insufficient evidence on the specific licenses granted since the deterioration of the situation in Aceh, for the Court to be in a position to judge whether the Government was reaching a wrong conclusion when applying the test. As we could not provide evidence of specific decisions taken at specific times, and the evidence the Minister considered (because it’s secret) he concluded that as the Government said it was behaving lawfully, it must therefore be behaving lawfully!

This means any judicial challenge to decisions on how the arms exports criteria are applied is virtually impossible because the information the Judge decided was needed – details of specific licence applications, and what the Minister had in front of her when making the decision – is secret.

Unfettered discretion has therefore effectively been given to the Secretary of State in how they apply the criteria.

However, Mr Justice Leveson did say if there were any demonstrable evidence that UK equipment had been used to commit specific human rights abuses in breach of assurances provided by the Indonesian Government, this would be decisive in law, implying a case could be brought if such evidence came to light. A heavy but not insurmountable burden of proof is therefore placed on us if we want to bring such cases. ■

*Nicholas Gilby*

## Iraqis allowed lethal weapons...

As of 9 April 2004 the US has dropped its ban on allowing the Iraqi military to receive lethal military equipment. (When we say 'receive', we mean have imported for use by Iraqis rather than having large explosive devices dropped on them from a great height.) Apparently with no sense of irony the US administration felt the anniversary of the fall of Baghdad was the appropriate time to put US arms back in the hand of the Iraqi army and police, presumably so they can use them on other Iraqis. However, there is no need for concern because exports will only be approved if the President (of the US) determines them to be "in the national interest of the United States".

(AFP, 9 Apr 2004)

## ... the contracts to prove it

On 28 April 2004 the DoD's daily contract bulletin included two awards from the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. Kiesler Police Supply and Taos Industries received contracts for \$36million and \$34 million respectively to supply "weapons, ammunition and weapons related products for Iraq".

(DoD contract bulletin 28 April 2004)

## International Financiers Against Arms Trade

The HSBC corporate social responsibility report for 2003 contains the words "we have no appetite for lending for the manufacture and sale of military hardware". They fall short of making any ethical commitments, and without giving any reasons they state "we decided some time ago to withdraw from this type of business". Maybe the figures didn't add up, maybe the possible bad publicity would have got in the way of the latest marketing campaign. Perhaps if you have an account with them you might want to write and ask. (HSBC Corporate Social Responsibility report 2003)



## BAE Systems ship launched into opposite bank

It's bad luck if you need two attempts at breaking the bottle of champagne on the hull of a ship for its inaugural launch. The new 16,000 tonne, BAES built Royal Navy amphibious landing vessel has proved this to be more than just some nonsensical seafaring superstition. When the bottle finally smashed the ship was launched and it "shot across the river... and crunched into the opposite bank". According to BAES the dented ship had only "superficial" damage.

(AFP, 9 April 2004)

## BAE Systems opens Bahrain office

No reports of smashing champagne bottles for this inauguration, but Prince Andrew turned up to open BAE Systems first office in Bahrain. The office will oversee the company's operations in Bahrain including the contract with the Bahrain Defence Force for the establishment of its Flying Training School. The school will use the British made Slingsby Aviation Firefly and BAE Systems' Hawk Advanced Jet Trainer. The traditional plaque unveiling took place on 3 April 2004.

(www.ameinfo.com, 4 April 2004)

## Whistle blown on Raytheon's military work at Derry site

The ongoing campaign to force on the world's largest arms companies out of Derry received a real boost when former workers approached a local newspaper with evidence that military work was carried out in the city. The *Derry News* has signed statements from former workers stating that "they personally worked on technology for the MoD and the US Defense Department, and on guidance and monitoring technology for missile systems".

The local council in the past has hidden behind claims that they had assurances from Raytheon that no military work would be undertaken in Derry. Earlier this year the Foyle Ethical Investment Campaign (FEIC) lobbied the council leading to a motion being passed saying that Raytheon would no longer be

welcome in the city if it was proved that these assurances were being broken. The reports that "the bulk of all Raytheon's work in Derry was military related" has led to further calls for information from the company. Hopefully they will be run out of town soon.

(Derry News, 22 April 2004)

## Colombia to order 24 attack aircraft

Not satisfied with military aid and handouts from the US Colombia have re-issued a tender to buy 24 light attack aircraft. The initial plan to purchase was in 2002 but budget cuts meant a rethink and funds were diverted to modernising existing Colombian aircraft. Currently Embraer's Super Tucano is the favourite to win the contract, it is already in service with the Brazilian Air Force and the fact that it is operating successfully in similar conditions to those in Colombia helps the Brazilian firms chances. Even though it would probably be the cheapest option, the competition is from Raytheon, in the US, and they will no doubt have the support of their government in offering the AT-6B Texas II. With a name like that how can it fail to get the backing of the Whitehouse and Pentagon, and of course the annual \$500 million in aid given to Colombia could well influence the final decision. The final order is expected to be placed by the end of the year. The AT-6B is the new attack version of the T-6A, used in the US as a trainer, and it has no sales to date. It is expected to be displayed at this year's Farnborough Airshow, so book your tickets now. (JDW, 28 April 2004)

## China lobbies EU on arms embargo

Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao recently visited Europe and lobbied for an end to the EU arms embargo on China. The EU are currently reviewing the embargo which has been in place since the Tiananmen Square massacre. It appears that the French are onside and keen to lift restrictions, and Tony Blair may be as well. One Chinese official was quoted as saying that Beijing was "encouraged" by Blair's stance on the issue. In public however Downing Street was less forthcoming: "It is under review, we are not commenting." Meanwhile in the US they were busy arresting people trying to sell military

# Private soldiers: unregulated and unaccountable

It has been almost impossible to pick up a newspaper lately that did not contain an article on the use of Private Military Companies in Iraq. And the word count on the subject really took off with allegations that employees of two companies, CACI International and Titan Corporation, were involved with interrogations at Abu Ghraib prison. There are many fears that this obviously lucrative market is largely unregulated and that in Iraq it is unclear they have to answer to any laws. Robert Baer, a former CIA agent quoted in *The Guardian* sums up the issue fairly clearly: "It's insanity." He went on to say: "These are rank amateurs and there is no legally binding laws on these guys as far as I could tell. Why did they let them in the prison?"



**A private military contractor on a road near Baghdad's airport in April 2004**

Photo: Ceerwan Aziz/Reuters

Amateur or not, and the companies would claim they provide a lot of skill and experience as many of their employees are ex-military, former police and security service employees, they are everywhere in Iraq. And the companies are doing well – for example, Titan Corp's first quarter profits are up and a merger with Lockheed Martin looks like it will

finally happen in the autumn. If all this sounds interesting then you to can get into the business – the latest news is that the highly profitable overseas operation of DynCorp (amongst other operations they destroy drug crops in Colombia and provide

security to Afghan president Hamid Karzai) has been put on the market by its parent company Computer Sciences Corporation. You will more than likely have to beat off competition from the likes of Raytheon and Northrop Grumman, and the price will be fairly steep. ■

(*Guardian*, 30 April 2004; *Washington Post*, 15 May 2004)

goods to China. Two South Koreans tried to divert military helicopter engines and thermal imaging equipment they claimed were for Malaysia to China. They face the possibility of life imprisonment and a \$2.5million fine.

(<http://news.scotsman.com/politics.cfm?id=536302004>; *Washington Times*, 11 May 2004)

## New ECGD procedures on bribery and corruption

The Export Credit Guarantee Department have a new checklist for companies to tick off when they are applying for credits. Lots of providing documentation, strengthened procedures and even a reminder that if ECGD receive any allegations of wrongdoing they will refer it to the relevant authorities for investigation. Mike O'Brien, Minister for Trade, said: "Bribery is not only wrong, it is bad for business. A culture of corruption is a disincentive to trade and investment and payment of bribes just makes the corrupt officials worse." Makes you wonder why bribes were ever paid; maybe because in the arms sales world a corrupt official can

often be your greatest asset.

Details of the new procedures can be found at [www.ecgd.gov.uk/home/pi\\_home.htm/policy\\_on\\_bribery\\_and\\_corruption](http://www.ecgd.gov.uk/home/pi_home.htm/policy_on_bribery_and_corruption) (ECGD Press Release)

## Cynical trade off

In a *Sunday Times* article it was revealed that the Government and GEC entered into what was described as a "cynical trade off" in 1999. GEC wanted approval for a merger with British Aerospace, but because of monopoly fears the government were reluctant to allow the two largest arms companies in the country at the time to merge. Martin Sixsmith, then director of communications at GEC, claimed that this all changed when it was announced that the Govan shipyard in Scotland was to close with the loss of 1,200 jobs. The announcement was made a month before the first elections to the Scottish Assembly. Mr Sixsmith wrote: "I was told by a senior executive that the company had received an extraordinary suggestion from the government: agree to buy Govan, save us from electoral disaster and we will help you with your defence deal." GEC announced an interest to buy the shipyard on polling day, Labour were

the largest single party in the assembly, and later that year the merger went ahead. <http://news.scotsman.com/latest.cfm?id=2900050>

## GKN to spin off Westland to raise acquisition warchest

Goldman Sachs have produced a 50 page research note laying out the reasons why GKN may sell off its helicopter business, and they predict the sale may come as early as this summer. AgustaWestland was formed 3 years ago by GKN and Finmeccanica, and GKN hold 50 per cent of the shares in the joint venture. It is speculated that Finmeccanica may be interested in buying GKN's holding. This could raise as much as £1.2 billion, which GKN could use to increase either its aerospace or automotive businesses. One possible acquisition target could be the aerostructures business of BAE Systems. In 2001 GKN bought a major aerostructures fabrication facility in the US from Boeing. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/money/main.jhtml?xml=/money/2004/05/14/cngkn14.xml&menuId=242&Sheet=/money/2004/05/14/ixcityhtml>

# New staff at CAAT!

## Beccie D'Cunha – Local Campaigns Coordinator

Hi! I'm Beccie and I've just started working part-time as CAAT's local campaigns co-ordinator.

A little bit about me... Before starting this job I was campaigns co-ordinator at SPEAK, a prayer and campaign network of students and young adults. I co-ordinated SPEAK's trade justice and arms trade campaigns. SPEAK's arms trade campaign is calling for an end to government support and promotion of the arms trade. For years I have had a big interest in campaigning about the arms trade and in peace issues, so I was really excited to find out about this job with CAAT. My biggest passion is for Israel-Palestine – I go out as often as I can and try to raise awareness over here about the effects of the occupation. I have recently got back from a short trip to the region. I am also really interested in using mediation and exploring non-violence locally. So it's great to be working part-time as I can focus more on all of this now.

As local campaigns co-ordinator I am here to support local contacts around the UK and develop the national popular campaign.

Please do get in contact with me on [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk) or 020 7281 0297 if you have any questions related to local

campaigning, or if I can support or help you in any way.

I look forward to meeting some of you over the next months and years... ■ *Beccie D'Cunha*

## Andrew Wood – Media Coordinator

I come to Campaign Against Arms Trade from the environment movement where I've worked as a campaigner and a press officer. Recently I've undertaken some media support work for two ploughshares activists known as the 'B-52 Two' – Phillip Pritchard and Toby Olditch who tried to disable a B-52 bomber at Fairford immediately prior to the attack on Iraq in March last year.


The media team at CAAT currently consists of myself, as co-ordinator, Richie Andrew, our graphic design volunteer, and Kat Barton, our media assistant.

I oversee our media work, liaise with the press, etc. Richie produces *CAAT News*, as well as many of the banners you've seen on CAAT demonstrations. Kat Barton was instrumental in setting up the photo-opportunity for this year's BAE Systems AGM. A lot of the credit for that goes to her, including finding the actors, the props, the love songs and so much else. ■ *Andrew Wood*

# WHOSE RULES RULE?

## 04

## The IMF and World Bank anniversary debate





60 Glorious or Notorious Years  
What future for the IMF and World Bank?

**Saturday 10 July 2004**  
11:00 - 14:00  
Friends House, 113 Euston Road,  
London, NW1 2BJ

**Speakers include:**  
 • George Monbiot, Author and Journalist  
 • Shashwati Ghosal, Focus on the Global South, India  
 • Mark Curtis, Director, RFAI  
 (Chair)  
 • David Coym, Developing World Correspondent, BBC

Supported by the  
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This event is free, but space is finite  
please register at [www.wdm.org.uk](http://www.wdm.org.uk)  
or call 0204 647 529 (TUE)

# Stop the Arms Trade Week

5–12 June 2004

## What is Stop Week?

As many of you will know Stop Week is fast approaching. Stop Week is an opportunity to take co-ordinated action against the arms trade in your local area, at the same time as other CAAT campaigners all over the UK. Our focus this year remains on 'Fanning the Flames', which calls on Tony Blair to end the promotion or 'push' of UK arms through DESO and the arms companies. We hope to give this campaign an extra push during Stop Week.

## What can I do?

It would be great if during Stop Week you could raise public awareness of this issue in your area and help us to collect petition signatures and get more postcards sent to Tony Blair. You can download a 'Fanning the Flames' petition from [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) and contact the CAAT office to order some free postcards, packs or posters.

## Stories from StopWeek 2003

Last year activities included street stalls, public meetings, prayer services and blockading BAE Systems sites. Worthing Against War did a demo in the town centre – they built rockets, guns and bazookas and had helium balloons for people to 'burst the arms bubble'. They collected petition signatures, gave out leaflets and got lots of local media attention. Edinburgh activists organised a blockade of three of the entrances to the BAE Systems site near Crewe Toll. Although they caused significant disruption, nobody was arrested. The action showed how vulnerable BAE Systems can be to blockades and demos – this one was made up of about 12 people.

## Ideas for local action during Stop Week

You may be thinking that it's a bit late to organise anything for this year's Stop Week, but there are some things you could still do that don't necessarily take long to organise...

- **Run a stall in your local high street, university, library, church or other public place...**

This is a great tool for raising public awareness as well as being an easy way



Stop the Arms Trade Week stall Photo: CAAT

to collect petition signatures. Maybe you could even order a stack of Fanning the Flames postcards from the CAAT office and ask people to sign them then and there. All you need is some resources to hand out, a table, a banner or posters and at least one person to stand at the stall and chat to people. If you can't manage a stall, ask your local library or church if they could put some postcards and petitions on display for you.

- **Organise a protest or vigil at a local arms factory...**  
Whether it is massive or tiny, a vigil or protest can have a huge symbolic effect. Check with the CAAT office to find out about sites in your area.

## Publicity and working with other groups

Remember to produce lots of publicity for any event you are planning and ask other campaigning or peace groups in your area if they can take part or help publicise it.

## Local Media

It's always worth telling your local media about any exciting events you are planning – they are always interested if a story has a local angle. Contact them before and after the event if possible, and make sure you take photos, preferably digital, that you can send them.

## Resources

As well as 'Fanning the Flames' postcards, CAAT has some good introductory postcards containing provocative questions that are useful for giving out on stalls too (you may already have some of these from last year). You could also order posters from the office to put up in your local library or church or to decorate a stall. ■

Contact Beccie on [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.uk) or 020 7281 0297 for resources or if you want to chat about any ideas.

## Alex Bryan

Former CAAT office volunteer Alex Bryan died in hospital on 23rd March after a long time in hospital. For many years, Alex proofed CAAT News and many other publications. On occasion, he would also drop everything to come into office to help stuff envelopes for an emergency mailing or to undertake one of the many tasks essential to the smooth running of the campaign. He was one of CAAT's unsung heroes.

Our thoughts are with his widow, Marjatta.

# Farnborough 2004: so much more than just an airshow

It's called an airshow, but it's actually an arms fair. Farnborough International 2004 is possibly one of the most important shop windows for aircraft and aerospace manufactures, including the military sector. It's so important that the exhibitors guide includes a forward from Prime Minister Tony Blair: "The UK looks forward to hosting the cream of the world's aerospace industry", he writes.

The displays of military aircraft, both in flight and on the ground, makes Farnborough a battleground not just for arms sales but for winning the hearts and minds of the public too.

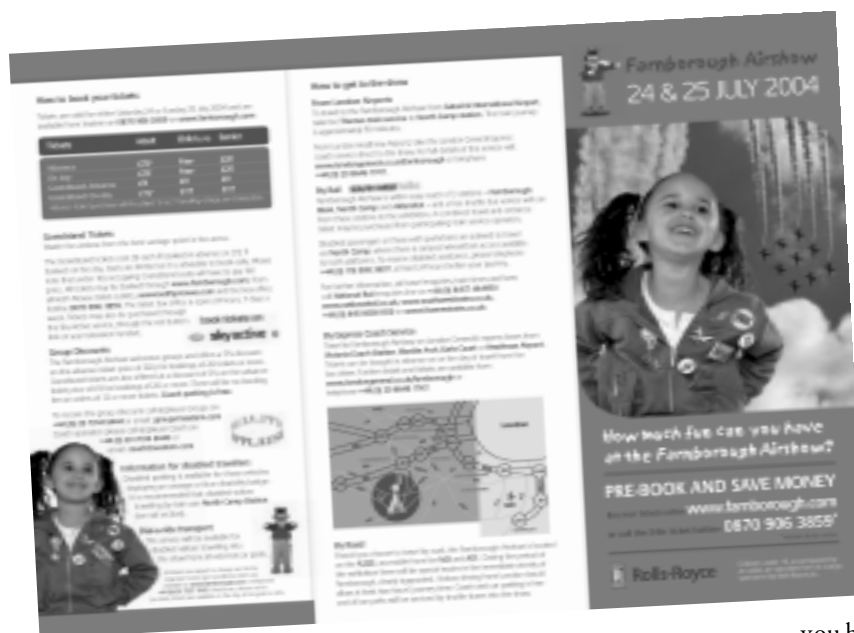
## Feel the propaganda

The public days on the weekend of Farnborough attract the most visitors of the seven day event, about 150,000 of the 290,000 visitors in 2002. The organisers say that: "Farnborough energises more people to stand-up to unfounded criticism of our industry, and push far further across the board support. The public days are a very important part of the event, and to you as a company. They offer aviation enthusiasts, the general public and youth to experience first hand the advancements of the Aerospace industry and the impact on our daily lives."

Clearly the aerospace industry know they have a problem in public perceptions and they need to counter this. That military aircraft are weapons with an obvious function is difficult for the industry. Farnborough is important in fostering acceptance of the arms industry – when you can stand close to fighter aircraft resting silently on the tarmac, then they seem almost harmless. That the Hawk jets are colourfully painted and perform aerobatics once again helps to foster acceptance of the weapons. "See the rivalry between the fastest machines in the air and on the ground as a military jet and Formula 1 car face along the runway" says this year's programme about a planned motor sports feature. The message is clear – weapons systems are little different to sports, they are harmless fun. The cover of this year's public leaflet (see left) shows a girl with pigtails grinning as the Red Arrows pass overhead, with the slogan 'How much fun can you have at the Farnborough Airshow?'

To help the kids enjoy the family day out there's a Ronald McDonald-esque Captain Farnborough, as well as face painting.

The public relations agency Luther Pendragon is being employed for Farnborough 2004. They oversee all media relations activity on site, provide strategic media relations advice and manage crisis communications planning. The importance of Farnborough as a propaganda tool for the arms industry is clear. As the organisers says: "This is a time when the aerospace sector faces many challenges, and Farnborough is the moment when we become most visible to all our audiences. We need a highly professional operation to ensure that we use that moment to convey the right messages to the right audiences as effectively as possible." Interestingly, Luther Pendragon's clients include McDonalds.



The attendance list of companies reads like a Who's Who of the arms industry: BAE Systems, Eurofighter GmbH, Cobham, Elbit Systems, General Dynamics, Lockheed Martin, Northrup Grumman Corporation, Rafael, Raytheon and many others – there were a total of 1,260 exhibitors in 2002. The planes, bombs and missiles from many of these companies are used in the war against Iraq.

Farnborough is home ground for BAE Systems, Europe's largest arms manufacturer. Farnborough Airport is used for private business flights and is operated by BAE systems subsidiary TAG Aviation.

## Farnborough is where arms deals are done

The organisers are expecting to host what they call '1,000 VIP guests', including heads of state, government ministers and officials, and military chiefs. There will be business chalets, lunches, demonstration flights and plenty of opportunities to clinch arms sales. The organisers say contracts, military and civilian, totalling over \$9 billion were announced after the last Farnborough in 2002.

## Useful websites

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

**Disarm** [www.dsei.org](http://www.dsei.org)

**Farnborough 2004** [www.farnborough.com](http://www.farnborough.com)

**Activists Legal Project** [www.activistslegalproject.org.uk](http://www.activistslegalproject.org.uk)

**Non-violence training** [www.seedsforchange.org.uk](http://www.seedsforchange.org.uk)

## The Farnborough publicity leaflet blatantly targets children

## What you can do

If you bank with Lloyds TSB then write to them and ask for them to withdraw their sponsorship of Farnborough. The bank is sponsoring the President's Enclosure this year.

**Come to a training day and get active**

There will be a training day on Saturday 3 July in London for people who want to take part in either CAAT's public engagement or the non-violent direct action at Farnborough. CAAT is organising a peaceful demonstration for the opening day, Monday 19 July, and public engagement on Saturday 24 July. The day designated for direct action is Sunday 25 July and is being co-ordinated by Disarm (see [www.dsei.org](http://www.dsei.org)). Please note that the demonstration is a come-as-you-are event, while the CAAT public engagement will require attendance on the CAAT training day.



Call the office on 020 7281 0297 or email [action@caat.org.uk](mailto:action@caat.org.uk) for more information or to reserve a place. There will be a nominal charge for the training day. ■

Andrew Wood

# New arms trade publications

Keeping you up-to-date with Information about the arms trade

## Saferworld Audit of the Government's 2002 Annual Report

Every year Saferworld publishes a report which audits the Government's own annual report. This year's audit (on the most recent Government Annual Report on Strategic Export Controls) has just been published. It considers recent legislative developments in UK export controls and identifies the trends and key issues arising from licensing decisions in 2002, before evaluating individual licensing decisions by the UK Government to 45 countries of concern in 2002. Saferworld raises two concerns – the inadequate level of information in the Annual Report compromises the ability of NGOs and others to scrutinise the Government, and some licenses issued in 2002 raise questions about the commitment of the Government to the EU licensing Criteria. The report can be downloaded from [www.saferworld.org.uk/2002AuditCover.htm](http://www.saferworld.org.uk/2002AuditCover.htm)

## New Amnesty Report on EU Arms Exports

Amnesty has released a new report saying that Arms export controls in the expanded European Union are dangerously ineffective and that stringent new regulations are urgently needed.

Amnesty points out that with ten new Member States, the EU now has over 400 small arms companies in 23 countries, almost as many as the USA. In its report – *Undermining Global Security: the European Union's arms exports* – Amnesty International highlights serious flaws in the European Union's

key arms control agreements, especially the 1998 EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. It looks at various deals of concern – a failure to control the huge “transit trade” of arms through the Netherlands allowing the export of armoured vehicles to Israel despite their use against civilians; the transfer of Czech and Polish surplus weapons to governments such as Yemen with a history of diverting weapons to third countries; Spanish satellite intelligence, military equipment and training being promised to Colombia; the supply by a German technology company of surveillance equipment to Turkmenistan despite a history of the government there using such methods for political repression; and French helicopters and parts manufactured under licence in India, and then delivered to Nepal where armed forces have used helicopters to shoot and kill civilians.

The EU is this year doing a complete review of its Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. Amnesty International and CAAT are concerned that the review will not be wide or deep enough to address the serious flaws which allow the abuse of human rights.

The report can be downloaded from <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engact300032004>

## New Quadripartite Committee Report out

Stop press! As *CAAT News* was going to press news came through that the cross-party Parliamentary Quadripartite Committee were to publish their report looking at UK arms exports in 2002 on 18 May 2004. CAAT will be responding to this and we will report on it in the next newsletter. The new Government Annual Report will be out in July which will cover UK arms exports in 2003. ■ *Nicholas Gilby*



Photo: Patrick Delaney

# Life after death Dick Evans' last BAE Systems AGM, but the protestors wouldn't go away

BAE Systems AGM: Queen Elizabeth II Conference Centre, London, 5th May 2004

Two men dressed as Tony Blair and BAE Chair Dick Evans in a bed together on the pavement outside the QEII Conference centre in London. It must be time for the highlight in any anti arms trade protester's diary – the annual farce that is the BAE Systems AGM.

Tony and Dick's snuggle on the streets of London was, of course, designed to highlight the intimate relationship between the government and the arms industry. But this was just one of a whole series of issues which campaigners were plotting to ask about as we shuffled through the tight security of the QEII Conference Centre. Once through the x-ray machines that ensured the BAE Board would not be faced with any of their own products we settled into our seats at the foot of a stage decorated ironically by plastic peace lilies, as patently false as the BAE slogan plastered across the stage: "innovating for a safer world".

The arms exporter's contribution to enduring global peace was exactly what was on trial over the course of the next three hours of almost entirely hostile questions put to the board. We listened as Dick justified in his own mind BAE's ongoing supply of spares for Indonesian Hawks, to a government which boasts not only one of the most appalling records on human rights but have themselves recently admitted that there is no external threat, only internal security problems. He justified BAE's construction of nuclear submarines, attempts to sell arms to Iraq in the 1980s, the supply

of parts to American Apaches now used in Iraq and the £1 billion sale of 66 Hawks to desperately impoverished India.

But it was questions on spying and access to number 10 that really sparked off heckling and jeers from the audience. Last September the *Sunday Times* published an article alleging that BAE had paid a company to employ spies who had successfully infiltrated CAAT. When asked directly 'has BAE paid for information on CAAT?', Dick's reply – "I'm not going to answer that" – spoke for itself.

Last October, former Foreign Secretary Robin Cook confirmed the suspicions of many when he wrote in his autobiography: "In my time I came to learn that the Chairman of British Aerospace [Sir Richard Evans] appeared to have the key to the garden door to Number 10." When asked to respond, Dick happily boasted: "we have access into number 10 on key issues... one thing about this government is their accessibility." And of course it is. That's how BAE were able to place 13 of its staff into the MoD between April 2000 and June 2002, some working in the department for up to three years. That's how BAE Directors and staff are sitting on at least 16 out of 19 identifiable Task Force groups affiliated to the DTI and MoD advising government on military policy. That's how a BAE consultant donated 25 per cent of Jack Straw's election expenses in 2001, how a former BAE Director and Labour donor became a DTI Special Advisor in 1997 and how a

Photo: Patrick Delaney



Protesters outside the QEII Conference Centre

former Junior Minister of Defence happily borrowed the Chair's private jet in 2001.

Rather less happy was BAE Chief Executive Mike Turner. One man who had consistently heckled Dick, branding him a liar throughout the meeting at any opportune moment, had only received scant attention from the Chair. All those anger management sessions Dick is said to have received obviously did the trick, but not for his colleague. Mike Turner came storming over to the man at the end of the meeting following by an entourage of security personnel who clearly sensed a fight in the air. Turner simply couldn't believe the audacity of the protester and repeatedly demanded to know what he did for a living, clearly hoping he was unemployed. The irony of Mike Turner attempting to imply that the man made no useful contribution to society because of what he did all day wasn't lost on those of us who heard.

We, on the other hand, were definitely about to make a useless contribution by depositing our voting cards on the way out. Dick had already been nominated, mainly by institutional shareholders representing pension funds, investment houses, insurance companies and so on to use their votes as he willed, giving him control of 84 per cent of all votes cast.

As we left the police collecting up papier mache severed limbs from around the barriers used to pen in campaigners, we wondered if it was worth buying one share in BAE to get a few free biscuits and watch corporate titans earning upwards of half a million each year struggle in the face of ordinary people determined to expose their company for what it really is? Yes. ■

*Emma Mayhew*

## Outside the AGM

Several things happened outside the QEII Conference Centre: we distributed a CAAT briefing for shareholders as they arrived, CAAT supporters brought banners and placards to protest and we undertook some street theatre and held our photo-call for newspaper photographers. Broadsheet and freelance photographers attended, but the message we had – that Labour's foreign policy is driven by big business – was a political one that didn't fit well with the business pages. Never-the-less the following day the *Independent* published our photo-call as we envisaged. ■

*Andrew Wood*



The players in the BAE Systems AGM photo-call are: Charlotte Hennessy, left holding banner; Kat Bart on, holding banner on right; Tony Blair is actor Jack Ladenbrug; Sir Dick Evans is actor Ben Watson

Photo: Patrick Delaney



# Belgian success in halting arms to Tanzania

In December 2003, a Belgian newspaper reported that the Belgium export credit agency (the equivalent to the UK's Export Credits Guarantee Department) had agreed to provide cover to a company called New Lachaussée for the delivery of military material to Tanzania. This material was to be used to build an ammunition factory in Tanzania. New Lachaussée is active in the design, production and supply of integrated assembly units for the manufacture of machines producing ammunition for the infantry, and detonators.

Just two months later, thanks to a campaign by Belgian organisation, Proyecto Gato, and the UK-based Rights and Accountability in Development, the sale was called off. They had used a variety of arguments.

## Congo connection

Tanzania has been one of the transit countries for the flow of illegal arms into the Democratic Republic of Congo, a former Belgian colony. At least three million people have died in the DRC since 1998 as a result of the conflict.

The campaigners pointed out that the proposed deal contravened European Union restrictions on military sales to the DRC, even those made indirectly; cited

Criterion Three of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports which calls on Member States "not to allow exports which would provoke or prolong armed conflict"; and reminded the Belgian government of its calls on the international community to make the restoration of peace in Central Africa a priority. A delivery of military material would be in violation of Belgium's arms export regulations which stipulate that military exports may not interfere with the initiatives of the Belgian authorities toward peace and stability.

## A poor country

Even if the products of the ammunition factory did not end up in the DRC, Tanzania is one of the 42 Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). Guidelines agreed internationally by export credit agencies say that support for exports to HIPCs should be limited to enterprises which contribute to economic, social and environmental progress with a view to achieving sustainable development.

## Child soldiers

The campaigners also pointed out that Tanzania had ratified the International Convention on the Rights of the Child which set 15 as the minimum age for

military recruitment and participation in armed conflict. However, many child soldiers remain in the armed forces and groups in the DRC and Tanzania, so authorising the delivery of military material to Tanzania was not compatible with the Convention.

## Belgium unique

Alone amongst the European Union countries, military export licensing in Belgium has been, since August 2003, the responsibility of the regions. The campaign against the Tanzania deal both exploited and highlighted the problems with such an arrangement.

## Could CAAT stop a similar deal?

CAAT is frequently asked about its successes in stopping arms deals. We point out that it's more often a question of changing opinions and that these days many deals which would have been rubberstamped in the 1960's would not be contemplated at all. Arms exports are now a major foreign policy issue and anti-arms trade campaigners as well as some parliamentarians and journalists can take credit for this. But there's a long way to go... ■ *Ann Feltham*

# European Parliament elections

By the time you read this, the European Parliament elections on Thursday 10th June will be imminent. The European Union is playing an ever greater role in arms export issues and, at the moment, CAAT has particular concerns about the pressures to lift EU arms embargoes on China and Libya, as well as the new agreement to allow EU research and development funds to be spent on military projects.

- You can get the names of the candi-

dates for your region from [www.europecounts.org.uk](http://www.europecounts.org.uk) or your local library. There may just be time to write to the top person on each party's list asking them to support the retention of the embargoes and to oppose the military research and development funding.

- There may still be some local meetings where the candidates will be speaking. Go along and raise these issues.
- If the election is already over, raise the

issues with the successful candidates for your area. If you've already written to them, write again congratulating them on their election and reminding them that you hope to see them using their influence against arms exports and military industry.

- Please tell Ann at the CAAT office about your candidates' responses. ■

*Ann Feltham*

# Disturbing public tranquillity

## Banners & Dragons: the complete guide to creative campaigning

By Dan Jones

ISBN 1 873328 59 1; £12.99

This fantastic guide covers all you need to know about creating effective and accessible campaign visuals. Written by Amnesty International activist Dan Jones, the aim of *Banner & Dragons* is to “disturb public tranquillity” (a reference to a ‘crime’ for which many people have been imprisoned in Burma) – to make an impact, to shock, subvert and educate.

Accessibility is the key here, which makes the guide perfect for local campaigning. Each technique in the guide is illustrated with foolproof instructions and full color photographs. Also included for each example is an estimate on how

long the project will take, how much it might cost, and a materials list.

As well as traditional banner-making, the guide’s ten chapters include advice on how to make everything from kites to paper boats, giant papier maché figures to mosaics, street theatre and subverting public space, and organising club nights or concerts – there is even a section on using food as a way of getting a message across (one particularly inventive example mentioned was the handing out of jelly babies that, on closer inspection, have been subjected to human rights abuses).

There is also an extensive resources section listing films, authors, books and music to inspire campaigns, a materials glossary, and an A-Z of fundraising ideas.

As Channel 4 News presenter Jon Snow says: “A brilliant and original guide that will make it ever harder for the media to avoid covering your campaigns. In the digital age here are the campaigning tools that will conjure unforgettable messages.” ■

*Richie Andrew*



**Giant figures at a London anti-war march in November 2001**

Photos: Richie Andrew



## A national gathering

It is a long time since CAAT has had a campaign day or national forum. These gatherings for supporters used to be held twice a year, but attendance dwindled. Various reasons were put forward for this. Some felt that the gatherings had got stale; others cited poor public transport or their busy lives. There was a proposal that the meeting be held in the north of England, rather than the usual London. Even fewer people booked for this, ironically mostly from southern England.

Now the momentum is building for another gathering and CAAT Steering Committee has agreed that one should take place in the autumn, probably on Saturday 13th November in London. It is intended that it will:

- encourage supporter input into CAAT’s policies and campaigns;
- allow time for networking;
- include both skills and information workshops.

### Your suggestions wanted

Since the gathering will mostly be for the benefit of supporters, we would like your ideas for a theme (one that has already been suggested is ‘what do we mean by campaigning?’) and content.

— If you have any suggestions please contact Ann on [ann@caat.org.uk](mailto:ann@caat.org.uk) or via the CAAT office postal address. ■

*Ann Feltham*



# Fundraising

## **BAE Systems AGM**

Thank you to everyone who sent in a donation to coincide with the BAE Systems AGM, raising a total of £2,793 so far. You will have seen from the report on page 10 that CAAT supporters really made their voices heard both inside and outside the AGM in Westminster. Next we turn our attention to the Farnborough arms fair in July, and if you are able to make a contribution towards funding this upcoming campaign please do.

## **Increase in CAAT News subscriptions**

You may already have noticed that we have increased the suggested annual donation to subscribe to *CAAT News*. These suggested amounts haven't changed since *CAAT News* was redesigned in 1999, but as the campaign progresses our costs inevitably increase and the money we receive from subscriptions is crucial to our continued development.

The new suggested subscriptions are £26 for waged individuals, £14 for unwaged individuals and £35 for groups. As before, these amounts are just a guide; some people can afford to give more while others give less and the subscription continues to be voluntary. *CAAT News* is

a vital part of our campaign and we will send it to everyone who wants to receive it, whether or not they are able to make a donation towards the cost.

## **New York City Marathon**

I'm delighted to announce that Laetitia Vail will be running the New York City Marathon for CAAT in November this year. As in previous years, CAAT supporter Joe Tatton-Brown has made this possible by paying the cost of our runner taking part. On behalf of everyone at CAAT, I'd like to take this opportunity to wish Laetitia the best of luck for her challenge. Visit [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk) over the next few months to see how Laetitia's training is going and to find out how you can help her reach the sponsorship target of £4,000.

## **Last call for the Flora Light Challenge**

Applications have now opened for the women's Flora Light Challenge on 5th September. If you would like to take part in this 5,000m run/walk and raise some money for CAAT, now is the time to sign up. You can apply online at [www.floralightchallenge.co.uk](http://www.floralightchallenge.co.uk) or call their helpline on 020 7902 0189 for a form. And don't forget to let me know if you

have signed up, so I can send you a free CAAT runners' pack.

## **Peace Revolutions**

The second 'Peace Revolutions' club night on 23rd April was a triumph, with highlights including a techno set from DJ Zebedee and a stunning performance from Jeli Mass and their Afro-Tribal Drums & Dance Band (see pictures below). I hope some of you were there to experience their exhilarating music and dance moves! Our thanks go to Maz and the Seaside Tribe for organising this festival of peace, as well as to all the performers, artists, DJs and others who helped to make the night such a success.

## **Check out the website**

For those readers who have access to the internet, there is lots of information online about the different ways in which you can help CAAT financially. These pages are updated regularly and have the latest news about fundraising events and opportunities. Go to [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk), then choose the 'support' drop-down menu and select 'fundraising'. ■

*Kathryn Busby*

Photos: CAAT



# 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 Philip Barrett.

Email [beccie@caat.org.uk](mailto:beccie@caat.org.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.org.uk](mailto:ann@caat.org.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 the office for more information.

Email [enquiries@caat.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.org.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.

Email [kathryn@caat.org.uk](mailto:kathryn@caat.org.uk) tel 020 7281 0297

## Materials CAAT publications available from the office

### 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.

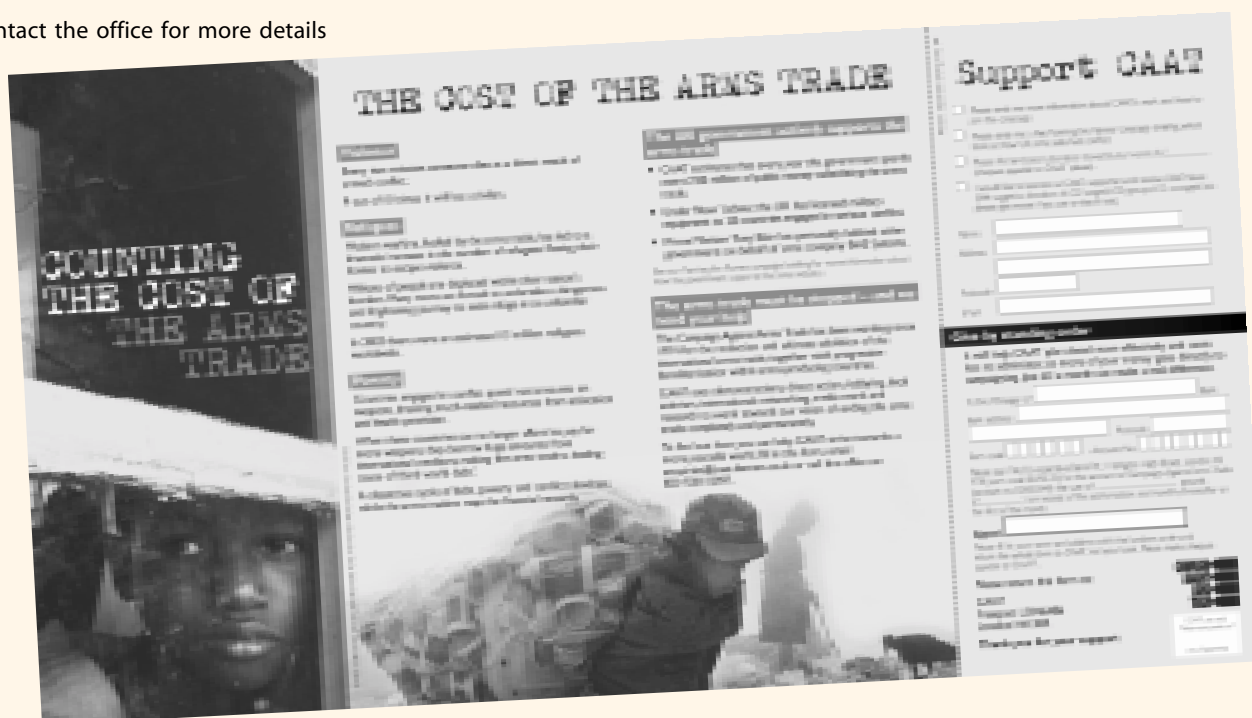
Now we're asking CAAT supporters to help distribute these cards locally. Could you take 100 or more to hand out at relevant local events? They're free from the office, but we estimate it costs about £4.00 in printing, postage and packing to produce 100. If you can make a donation, it would help us to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

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

Contact the office for more details.

## New leaflet available

Contact the office for more details



**4 June** Call to Conversion petition hand-in **5–11 June** Stop the Arms Trade Week

**6 June** Day of Prayer **14–18 June** Eurosatory arms fair, Paris

**19–25 July** Farnborough International arms fair

11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ  
tel 020 7281 0297 fax 020 7281 4369

email enquiries@caat.org.uk

web www.caat.org.uk

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

## BAE SYSTEMS AGM – SEE PAGE 10



Photo: Richard Andrew

Please separate along line

## Subscribe to CAAT News

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

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Please pay: The Co-operative Bank Plc, 1 Islington High Street, London, N1 9TR (sort code 08 90 33) for the account of CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMS TRADE (account number 50503544) the sum of  pounds (£ ) starting on  and monthly/annually thereafter.

Signed

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