

CAAT news



FANNING THE FLAMES FINALE

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**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE**

Contents



Issue 186

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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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Brighton artist/activist at EDO protest [See page 6](#)

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More privatised violence

A few years ago CAAT published a paper *The Privatisation of Violence*, dealing with the resurgence of mercenary activity under the guise of “private military companies”. It was prompted mainly by the Sierra Leone affair, in which a UK company, Sandline International, brought Bulgarian weaponry to a country in the throes of civil war. The weapons were intended for a tribal militia that was fighting on the side of the legitimate government against a singularly brutal rebel force, and so the operation was considered virtuous by many. Unfortunately it was in breach of a UN embargo, but was connived at by some UK officials. The resultant scandal caused the Government to issue a Green Paper. In its comments on this, CAAT called for all such private activity to be prohibited, but the UK government opted for “regulation”, promising legislation that has not appeared.

Sandline was part of a complicated network that included former British Army officers with intelligence connections, South African mercenaries drawn from the forces of the apartheid regime, and companies hunting mineral concessions. Two key members of the network were Colonel Tim Spicer, Chief Executive of Sandline, and Simon Mann, co-founder of the South African company Executive Outcomes. Their fortunes today are strangely contrasting.

Mann has just been sentenced to seven years imprisonment in Zimbabwe, having been convicted of trying to buy arms there, reportedly in support of a projected coup in Equatorial Guinea. His story really belongs to a past era; South African legislation had forced Executive Outcomes to close, and the African Union has resolved not to recognise governments that are the result of coups.

Spicer, on the other hand has moved on and up. Mercenaries have become big business, with an estimated turnover worldwide of \$100bn, and he has just landed a substantial slice of it. Earlier this year his new company, Aegis Defence Services, was awarded a \$293m contract by the Pentagon to “co-ordinate” the 50-odd security companies now operating in Iraq. Rival US companies are outraged, as is the Irish lobby, for whom Spicer’s role as a battalion commander in Northern Ireland made him a bogey figure, and it is



A ‘private security guard’ at a mass grave site in Iraq

suspected that the award was a favour to the UK government.

Mercenaries now swarm over Iraq. No one seems to know for certain how many ‘security’ companies are operating there or how many they employ, but some speak of 150 US and 35 UK companies with up to 40,000 people (compared with 8,000 UK troops) and the number is set to rise. Officially they are merely security guards, protecting government buildings, aid workers and construction projects; but increasingly they have been sucked into combat roles, exchanging fire with the ‘Mehdi army’ and receiving US air support. It is alleged that they also do the ‘dirtiest’ kind of work in the interrogation centres. Yet employees of the companies are not subject to military law, and it is doubtful whether they are subject to any law at all.

One of the biggest operators is Erinys, a UK-based company headed by a South African official of the old regime, and financed by a Jordanian-American businessman with close links to Ahmed Chalabi. Some of its men come from Chalabi’s private army.

We are told that the rise of the private military industry is unavoidable, mainly because democratic societies are not willing to pay for enough regular soldiers for the wars their leaders want to wage. The upper ranks of these forces are recently-serving officers of the US and UK armies, who get up to five times as much money from the companies as they formerly did from their governments. But overall the

companies are cheap, because most of their staff come from Iraq or from poor countries such as Nepal and Fiji and are willing to serve for a fraction of a British soldier’s pay. (The 12 Nepalese captives recently murdered by insurgents are likely to have been Gurkha mercenaries). But cost reduction is not the only benefit that governments seek from mercenaries.

In an apology for Simon Mann and his kind, Michael Gove of the Times claims that “they have been scrupulous about operating in concert with Western policy goals while maintaining a discreet distance.” That is, mercenaries enable the US and UK governments to intervene in other countries in ways that would not be permitted by their legislatures and publics. And politicians in weak states who seek to secure or retain power by hiring samurai should realise that they are losing control of their countries’ future. This is the real objection to mercenaries; to transfer coercive power to profit-seeking individuals and corporations is to undermine the very basis of the state. Our government is said to be considering regulation; if they are allowed to operate at all, they need to be kept on a very tight leash. ■ *Chris Wrigley*

New staff at CAAT

Melanie Jarman – CAAT News Editor

Hello. I’ve started working part-time as *CAAT News* Editor. My last editing job was on a magazine about social enterprise in Manchester, and I have worked on a range of publications including a newsletter for environmental campaigners, a magazine for the organisation Corporate Watch, and *Peace News*.

I have written for *Red Pepper* for a number of years and currently write a regular column, *Temperature Gauge*, bringing *Red Pepper’s* readers the latest news on climate change and related issues and campaigns.

I’d love to hear your comments on *CAAT News* – feedback on what you think of it at the moment as well as ideas for the future. You can

MoD highway to industry

Tony Blair personally overruled a committee set up to prevent conflicts of interest and declared that there was “a wider national interest” which should allow an RAF chief to move rapidly to a job as a military advisor to BAE Systems. Parliament’s Advisory Committee on Business Appointments had recommended that Sir John Day wait a year after leaving his RAF job as head of Strike Command before joining BAE Systems. Tony Blair was having none of this, saying that Day could start at the company within three months. Despite Blair’s conviction, both Downing Street and BAE Systems failed to explain quite what the nature of the “wider national interest” was.

The Advisory Committee has warned of the number of Armed Forces staff moving into employment in private industry, stating that: “in the case of the MoD, it can be argued that the numbers seeking such employment are so significant as to amount to a ‘traffic’ from the department to defence contractors who supply it.” (*Daily Telegraph*, 26/7/04)

Flying off-course

US air force officials faced some embarrassment during the Farnborough show when their B-52 Stratofortress, equipped with ‘precision navigation capability’, managed to tour the wrong airfield.

Apparently the pilots may have mistaken the car auctions complex at Blackbushe airfield, 10km away, for the chalets and halls of Farnborough.

The worryingly off-course behaviour of the US Air Force flypast is becoming a regular feature: two years ago a B-1B Lancer managed to perform flypasts at both Lasham and Blackbushe, mistaking them for Farnborough. (*Flight Daily News*, 22/7/04)

UK arms to Sudan

The UK has sent more than 180 tons of arms to Sudan in the last three years according to Comtrade, a commodity trade database compiled by the United Nations.

The database does not give manufacturers’ details or precise

specifications for the weapons supplied, but the goods included parts and accessories for small arms, and arms and ammunition of the type commonly used by the Janjaweed militia.

While a spokeswoman for the Department of Trade and Industry said that UK customs had not found any arms exports to Sudan in their own records, arms trade experts said it was likely that the weapons were not themselves made in the UK, but had been ‘brokered’ by a UK arms dealer or UK-based company.

One such arms dealer was revealed by the *Sunday Times* as John Knight, a businessman from Kent. According to the paper, Knight stands to make £2.25m through a deal with Sudan that includes tanks, armoured personnel carriers and fighting vehicles, artillery guns and multiple rocket launchers. (*Evening Standard*, 27/7/04; *Sunday Times*, 5/9/04)

Chickens for arms

The Thai Prime Minister has proposed a deal in which Bangkok buys Russian weapons with part payment in frozen poultry. Thailand has vast stocks of frozen chickens since its status as one of the world’s largest chicken exporters was undermined by bird flu last year.

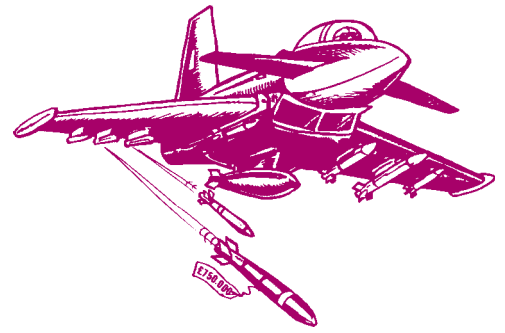
And yes, wings are on the menu for the Thai-Russia deal: apparently Thailand is interested in Russia’s Sukhoi Su-30 fighter planes. (*BBC*, 3/9/04)



Mixed messages in aircraft trade

Gossip at arms fairs this summer was fuelled by the story of a mock combat exercise between the US and Indian air forces that took place in February. Despite the US forces using their top fighter, the F-15, they were defeated more than 90% of the time.

Unusually for the US Air Force, their senior officers have freely admitted to their defeat and technical inferiority. Such candour however has less to do with a new-found humility and more to do with eagerness to convince government budget-cutters that they should invest in a new high-performance aircraft, the F/A-22. Recent briefings by senior executives of the F/A-22’s prime contractor, Lockheed Martin, have also contained veiled



references to the Indian exercise. Yet the F/A-22’s largest sub-contractor, Boeing, has remained remarkably quiet on the issue, for Boeing also makes the F-15, the plane that was beaten in the India exercise. Boeing has not only won a competition to produce F-15s for South Korea, but it is engaged in a heated contest to build twenty F-15s for the Singapore air force. Singapore meanwhile has been briefed that the plane flown by the Indians, which defeated the F-15, was the Su-30 – as bought by China, Malaysia and Indonesia. (*Financial Times*, 6/8/04)

Gripen markets to both India and Pakistan

Gripen International has confirmed that it has held discussions with both India and Pakistan over the purchase of the company’s aircraft, despite the unstable situation in the region.

The Pakistan Air Force is believed to be interested in around 60 aircraft, while India is apparently interested in twice that number. (*Air Forces Monthly*, Sept 04)

UK concerns over US arms protectionism

Discontent is growing among UK government and industry officials over a lack of US movement on military-related concessions, which was expected to occur quickly after support for the US in Iraq. Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon wrote to his US counterpart Donald Rumsfeld in June complaining that US protectionism would lead the UK “to consider whether we were prepared to continue to place significant contracts with US suppliers”. UK anger over American intransigence may have contributed towards the Ministry of Defence choice of Paris-based Thales instead of the US’s Northrop Grumman for an £800m contract to build the UK army’s new Unmanned Aerial Vehicle. (*Financial Times*, 30/7/04)

Government caves in with cash for GKN research centre

GKN Aerospace is building a composites research centre next to its factory at Cowes on the Isle of Wight after threatening to site overseas if the UK government did not come up with funding towards the centre. Earlier in the year GKN declared that it may be able find funding in either the US or Germany.

A partnership between the South East England Development Agency and the Department of Trade and Industry will now cover the cost of 50% of the centre's activities. (*Flight International*, 4/5/04; *www.gknplc.com*, 19/7/04)

The Eurofighter gun that isn't

Five years ago the Ministry of Defence decided that it could save £90m on the Eurofighter project by not having a machine cannon in the UK version of the aircraft. The use of guns on aircraft was, according to senior RAF officers, outdated. But then engineers found that the only way to preserve the Eurofighter's aerodynamics was to have something that both weighed the same, and was shaped the same, as the gun. Not only that, each

individual part of the mock-gun's shape also had to weigh exactly the same as the real thing.

It turned out that the cheapest option was to actually fit the gun, at a cost of £90m. However, the search for cost-cutting opportunities continues, and the gun will have no rounds to fire, a saving of £2.5m. (*Daily Telegraph*, 13/8/04)

Saudis taught etiquette the BAE Systems way

BAE Systems has launched a training programme to groom young Saudis for executive positions within the organisation.

According to Paul Ethell, human resources director at BAE Systems, it underlines the company's firm commitment to develop Saudi managers who could be shining symbols of 'Saudization'. The programme should also help with promotion of the BAE Systems-produced Eurofighter, for which Saudi Arabia is a prime sales target. (*Arab News*, 8/7/04)

Fake rifle rumpus

The Russian manufacturer of the Kalashnikov rifle has accused the US

government of buying thousands of fakes to arm military and security forces in Kabul and Baghdad.

The bootleg weapons sell for about a quarter of the Russian price and come from factories controlled by eastern European states that had licensing agreements in the Soviet days. Kalashnikov manufacturer Izhmash claims that these licences have now expired, although the non-Russian producers disagree. (*New Scientist*, 31/7/04)

Concern over Australia cruise missile plans

Australia's plans to buy a A\$450m cruise missile system for its fighter aircraft could be seen as an aggressive move, according to an Indonesian foreign ministry spokesman. Marty Natalegawa told Australian Associated Press: "you cannot arm yourselves to the teeth and expect that will lead, of itself, to a sense of security".

The cruise missile plan comes against the background of Australian Prime Minister John Howard's 2002 statement that his country would be prepared to launch pre-emptive attacks on regional powers that posed a threat. (*The Guardian*, 27/8/04)

Campaign Against Arms Trade Gathering

To launch CAAT's new popular campaign with panel discussions, workshops, networking over great vegetarian food and much, much more...

Saturday 13th November, Jacksons Lane, 269a Archway Road, London N6 5AA (opposite Highgate tube – Northern Line, High Barnet/Mill Hill branch)

Suitable for wheelchair users

10am coffee for 10.30am start. Finishes 5pm, but we'll be going to the pub afterwards.

The day is for all those campaigning against arms exports or wanting to start doing so. It will help you become better informed, plan campaigns, develop your skills and meet other anti-arms trade activists.

There is no charge for the day, but donations will be welcome. The venue and food will cost about £10 for each person, but please give as much or little as you can afford.

To attend the CAAT gathering please complete the booking form enclosed and return to: CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ

Free public relations for Lockheed Martin, nuclear bomb maker

One lunch time in early August, eight members of the Muriel Lester's affinity group decided to draw attention to the UK headquarters of US company Lockheed Martin in Victoria, London. The group's particular focus was Lockheed's leading role in developing a new generation of nuclear weapons at Atomic Weapons Establishment, Aldermaston. The large red arrow with the words 'Lockheed Bomb Makers', which pointed from the busy Vauxhall Bridge Road to the relatively modest offices in Carlisle Place, did its work well: many people took leaflets and several were seen reading them. Some engaged in lively discussion.

One angry man accused the group of creating a terrorist target. He said that he worked in the same building but not for Lockheed Martin, and that if there were an almighty explosion there he would blame the campaigners.

This was during the week in which the US had issued warnings of likely terrorist attacks in the States; British police had arrested 13 people on suspicion of terrorism; and it was announced that the Home Office is planning even tighter terrorism laws. The man was not willing to hear the group's point that Lockheed Martin was creating a terrorist target and also creating the means of terrorising people by developing more 'useable' nuclear weapons.

Despite several visits by community support police the group were neither warned nor arrested: apparently they were not regarded as a potential terrorist threat. ■ *Lyn Bliss*

ASBOs used against peaceful protestors

Two protestors were banned from entering central Richmond for 24 hours, and faced arrest and a possible three-month prison sentence after handing out leaflets in Richmond town centre this August.

The two women were given Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) for holding a banner and leafleting outside the offices of Spearhead Exhibitions, the company responsible for organising the world's largest arms fair, Defence Systems and Equipment International (DSEi).

Anti-Social Behaviour Orders were introduced as part of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003. Officially designed to tackle 'social problems' such as vandalism, ASBOs are now being used to stifle political protest.

The ASBOs used against the leafleters in Richmond come under Section 30 of the Act, which is supposed to apply when "the presence or behaviour of a group of two or more persons in any public place... has resulted, or is likely to result, in any members of the public being intimidated, harassed, alarmed or distressed".

One of the protestors commented: "We were not being noisy or anti-social and we were not in anyone's way. We just wanted to hand out leaflets for an hour and then leave."

This abuse of new legislation follows the use of the Terrorism Act 2000 to stop and search hundreds of protestors at DSEi 2003. ■

Contact Disarm DSEi, disarmdsei2003@yahoo.co.uk, 07817 652029 or see www.dsei.org

EDO pressured to leave Brighton

www.indymedia.org.uk

EDO MBM's factory in Brighton manufactures bomb racks, release clips, arming mechanisms and targeting equipment; all of which have been used in the recent Iraq invasion. According to campaign group SmashEDO, the managing director, David Jones, has declared that his company is proud to support the invasion and ongoing occupation of Iraq.

Mr Jones's enthusiasm is not shared by everyone: SmashEDO raises awareness and takes part in nonviolent direct action with a view to getting EDO MBM Technology Ltd to leave Brighton. Previous actions include a blockade, with protestors erecting metal fencing on the access road and preventing employees from getting to the factory.

A recent focus for SmashEDO was a protest camp close to EDO's site on the Home Farm industrial estate, Moulsecoomb. Alongside the camp, activists demonstrated outside the factory, bearing pictures of bombed Iraqi kids labelled 'live test firing facility, Iraq' in reference to the company's own 'live test firing facility' at the Brighton factory. The activists also sent letters to EDO MBM's employees outlining the company's role in the arms trade and calling on the employees to stop complying in "war crimes committed by the UK, US and other customers of MBM/EDO".

During the protest camp three activists also got on to the roof of the factory and unfurled banners. ■

For more information contact smashedo@hotmail.com



Story of Norfolk CAAT group



Photo: Richie Andrew

The Norfolk CAAT group get into the swing of things at Farnborough

“We really need a local CAAT group,” was being heard all too often at local peace groups. So I agreed to set up a meeting. I wrote to everyone on our mailing lists, and asked them to return a reply slip if they were interested. The response was tremendous and we had a good turn out at the meeting, where we decided our priority would be to raise awareness locally whilst supporting CAAT’s national campaigns.

Since then we have had three meetings at six-weekly intervals, have held a city centre vigil for Stop the Arms Trade week, and some of us went to the Farnborough

Arms Fair in July. Currently we are writing to our MPs about British arms sales to Indonesia and to Lloyds TSB about their sponsorship of the Farnborough Arms Fair. I have a library of CAAT materials for the group to use and we have many things planned for the coming months: a stall to raise funds, a public meeting about Clean Investment, a campaign against the city council’s pension fund investment in arms companies, nonviolent direct action, and continued letter-writing campaigns.

After every meeting a newsletter is sent out by post and e-mail to 120 people. It includes updates and minutes of the

meeting, and next time it will also include a draft letter to send to MPs. The newsletter ensures that those who cannot make it to meetings still feel part of the group.

It sounds like a lot to do, but I draw the comparison with the saying “How do you eat an elephant? One bite at a time!” If we all take a bite, getting the group up and running isn’t so overwhelming. We decided to have smaller task groups to concentrate on the issues that interested us most and use our skills where they were needed. We have a Clean Investment Subcommittee, a research team, a publicity group, a nonviolent direct action group, a public speaker, a membership secretary and a fundraising organiser. A lot of these contain the same people but it means that no one has to sit through a meeting where half of it is of no interest to them.

Co-ordinating the local group has been very rewarding for me and the support from CAAT head office has been fantastic. I have also been amazed at the way everyone has pulled together using their contacts and skills to get this local group off the ground. ■ *Helen Swanston*

Thanks to everyone who has been taking part in vital local campaigning. Keep sending your news, or get in contact if you would like to know what is happening in your area. Beccie D’Cunha, Local Campaigns Co-ordinator, beccie@caat.org.uk

europEan social forum
2004

Thursday 14th to Sunday 17th October at Alexandra Palace, London N22 and central London venues

Following Florence and Paris, the European Social Forum (ESF) is coming to London this year. The event combines debate on global political and social issues with a festival of music, film, art and performance.

CAAT, with counterparts from the Netherlands, and on behalf of the European Network Against Arms Trade, has made proposals to the ESF organisers and we are also working with groups on other seminars. At the time of writing, however, the programme is in a state of flux so we don’t know exactly what will happen.

To find out more, to keep up-to-date on developments, and to book to attend visit the www.fse-esf.org and www.esf2004.net

Photo: ESF

One step closer to th



The 'silly servants' from Theatre of War are (L-R): Mell Harrison, Liam Carroll, Peter Lux and Graham Fell

All photos: Patrick Delaney

Braving a cold, blustery morning on 21st September, around 40 CAAT campaigners gathered outside the Bloomsbury offices of the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO). DESO is responsible for promoting arms exports and the protest was the finale of CAAT's Fanning the Flames campaign, which calls for an end to government promotion of arms exports, particularly to countries engaged in conflict. It also marked the United Nations International Day of Peace and the opening day of Africa Aerospace & Defence 2004, the biannual arms fair held in South Africa, which DESO attends.

DESO's offices are housed in an anonymous grey building that displays nothing to suggest the weapons marketing campaigns planned within its walls. Save for a few army recruitment posters in a ground floor window, its military connections are inconspicuous to say the least and passers-by could mistake it for just another corporate office building.

CAAT campaigners gathered behind steel barriers opposite the offices carrying placards that urged the government to close DESO and to stop promoting arms exports. To the amusement of passers-by, four actors from the Theatre of War impersonated DESO civil servants, in the style of the Ministry of Silly Walks, wearing suits and bowler hats and brandishing models of rockets and missiles. They carried placards stating 'I promote arms exports in the civil service', but had thought-bubbles that stated 'I'd rather promote peace'.

The Fanning the Flames campaign is a response to New Labour continuing its supply of arms to countries engaged in armed conflicts. Despite superficial moves such as the introduction of an ethical foreign policy, and a 2002

announcement by the International Development Secretary that the arms trade "belonged in a world of the past", the government has licensed arms to twenty countries engaged in armed conflicts including Colombia, Israel, India and Pakistan. The export of arms from the UK has only fuelled conflict in these countries, with civilians bearing the brunt of their use. The World Health Organization estimates that around 191 million people have lost their lives because of armed conflict in the twentieth century and has calculated that around 35 people are killed each hour as a direct result of armed conflict. CAAT is convinced that the closure of DESO will help reduce such suffering around the world.

Below: handing in the petition at Downing Street; right: the press photo-call outside DESO



The end of DESO

Once our presence was felt and passers-by were aware of exactly why we were outside DESO's office, CAAT's Local Campaigns Co-ordinator Beccie D'Cunha gathered everyone for press photos and introduced the speakers. These included Chris Cole, former CAAT Local Campaigns Co-ordinator and now Director of the Fellowship for Reconciliation, and Paul Ingram, a defence economist and analyst.

Chris Cole began by criticising the government for renegeing on its promises not to export arms to regions of armed conflict, and urged protesters to continue lobbying their MPs so their grievances could be channelled to the Prime Minister. He finished by reiterating how important it was to continue protesting against DESO. "One way we can begin to end the arms trade is to shut this," he said, pointing to DESO's offices.

Next up was Paul Ingram who stated that the downfall of the British arms industry was well in sight. "We could feel demoralized because today our numbers seem few, but I have news for you" he said. "The UK defence industry is in decline and we are instrumental in why it is declining – it is all down to people like you."

He explained that the Ministry of Defence's budget had declined considerably since the end of the Cold War, and that the British defence industry was losing out to American competition. Paul added that the government is increasingly becoming aware of public opinion – some polls put opposition to the arms trade as high as 85 percent – and as a consequence there was pressure within Whitehall to put an end to military industry subsidies. The British taxpayer currently pays between £420m–£900m in subsidies for arms exports, £16m of which pays for DESO. "When the government is aware of how strong our support actually is there will be yet another nail in the coffin of the defence industry," he promised.



The postcard handed out to passers-by

Useful websites

DESO www.deso.mod.uk

UN International Day of Peace www.un.org/events/peaceday/2003 and www.internationaldayofpeace.org

Africa Aerospace & Defence 2004 www.aadexpo.co.za

Theatre of War www.theatreofwar.org

A final thanks to all of you who helped to make the Fanning the Flames campaign so effective. If you would like to order copies of the DESO postcard to distribute locally, please let me know. ■ *Beccie D'Cunha* (beccie@caat.org.uk)

After the speeches had finished, there was a minute of silence for the victims of conflict. Then it was time to head to Whitehall where a group of us would hand in a petition totalling 6167 signatures and 1015 postcards urging the Prime Minister to close DESO. The procession wound its way through central London's busy streets with campaigners handing out postcards as they walked. The civil servants from the Ministry of Silly Walks continued their street theatre en route via Covent Garden. Hundreds of postcards were handed out; the response was generally good and some of the public showed genuine interest.

Gathering in Whitehall everyone waited while the last of the signatures for the petition were scribbled down and Beccie led a delegation of supporters, including three of the spoof civil servants, over to Downing Street. Everyone bar the police officer guarding Number 10 – who rebuked them for their 'silly' behaviour – found amusement in their John Cleese impersonations. Many a tourist will return home with video footage of the campaigners leaving Downing Street! They handed the petition into Number 10 and returned minutes later to applause from the demonstrators. The crowd dispersed, content that further pressure had been placed on the government and the closure of DESO had been brought a step closer. ■

Jack Durrell

Arms orders and deliveries: military expenditure, conflict areas

Three particularly informative documents surfaced over the summer – a US Congressional Research Service (CRS) report which details arms orders and deliveries, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) 2004 Yearbook, and the Project Ploughshares 'Armed Conflicts Report 2004'.

The CRS report uses US government data and lists the major suppliers and recipients of arms. As Table 1 shows, the CRS report found that, as in 2002, the UK is the second largest arms supplier (both globally and to 'Developing Nations') behind the US.

There was some good news in the report in that it showed a significant decrease in total arms deliveries, from nearly \$42 billion in 2002 to less than \$29 billion in 2003. The vast bulk of this was due to a decrease in US arms deliveries (a drop of around \$11 billion), though annual arms export figures can fluctuate dramatically.

In stark contrast to this drop in US arms exports is the hike in US military expenditure. The SIPRI Yearbook reports that US military spending made up almost half of the world total in 2003 and was the main reason behind a massive 11 per cent increase in total world military expenditure. This was even more striking given that there was also a large increase – 6.5 per cent – in 2002. SIPRI reports that despite having only 16 per cent of the world's population, high-income countries account for around 75 per cent of military spending.

Table 2 shows military expenditure for 2001–2003 by region. (The figures are in US\$ billion at constant 2000 prices and exchange rates, and have been rounded to the nearest billion)

The other side of the arms equation is the conflicts that they fuel. The Project Ploughshares 'Armed Conflicts Report 2004' provides analysis of conflicts around the world, listing 36 taking place in 28 countries, down from 37 in 29 countries in 2002. Four armed conflicts were taking place in each of India and Indonesia and two in each of Iraq, the Philippines and Sudan. (The Israel-Palestine conflict is reported as one conflict that takes place in two states: Israel and Lebanon).

Table 3 lists the countries where conflicts were taking place in 2003, in three categories: those having cost over 100,000 military and civilian lives during the course of the conflict, those costing 10,000–100,000 lives; and those costing between 1,000–10,000 lives. ■

Sources:

Richard F. Grimmett, 'Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 1996-2003', Congressional Research Service, 26 August 2004, fpc.state.gov/c6694.htm

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook 2004, Oxford University Press, September 2004, www.sipri.se

Project Ploughshares, 'Armed Conflicts Report 2004', Summer 2004, www.ploughshares.ca

Table 1	Arms deliveries to the world in 2003 (\$million)	Arms deliveries to developing nations* in 2003 (\$million)
US	13,600	6,300
UK	4,700	4,000
Russia	3,400	3,300
Ukraine	1,500	300
France	1,200	800
Germany	1,200	700
China	500	500
Israel	400	400

*Developing Nations are defined as all countries except US, Russia, European nations, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand

Table 2	2001 (\$billion)	2002 (\$billion)	2003 (\$billion)
Africa	11	11	11
Americas – North	313	350	426
Americas – Central & South	26	26	25
Asia & Oceania	140	146	151
Europe	191	194	195
Middle East	63	64	70
World	743	792	879*

*in current US dollars, world military spending was \$956 billion in 2003

Table 3	1,000–10,000	10,000–100,000	Over 100,000
Africa	Angola Côte d'Ivoire Ethiopia Kenya Liberia Senegal Uganda	Chad Nigeria	Algeria Burundi DR Congo Somalia Sudan
Americas		Colombia	
Asia	Burma (Myanmar) Nepal Pakistan	India Indonesia Sri Lanka	Afghanistan Philippines
Europe	Serbia & Montenegro	Russia	
Middle East			Israel/Palestine Iraq

MUSICIANS AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS (MANA)

presents a

CONCERT FOR PEACE

Saturday 30 October 2004 at 7.30 pm

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH

197 Piccadilly, London W1

The MANA Chamber Orchestra

Leader: Nona Liddell MBE

Conductor: Sir Charles Mackerras

Soloists: Nona Liddell MBE *violin*

John Mark Ainsley *tenor*

Stephen Stirling *horn*

Mendelssohn *Hebrides Overture*

Bartok *Roumanian Folk Dances*

Britten *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings*

Dvorak *Romance for Violin and Orchestra*

Schubert *Symphony No. 3*

Guest speaker: Chris Nineman

on the European Social Forum



Please complete and return this form for tickets to:

MANA Administration, 71 Greenfield Gardens
London NW2 1HU (tel: 020 8455 1030 24-hrs)
Please send me

Tickets: Reserved@ £12.00@ £10.00 (concessions)

Tickets: Unreserved@ £ 9.00@ £ 7.00 (concessions)
for the Concert for Peace at St James's, Piccadilly on 30 October 2004

NAME..... PHONE.....

I enclose a cheque for £..... (payable to MANA)
and a stamped, self-addressed envelope

Could you hand out leaflets on Sunday 17 October?

CAAT is looking for volunteers to distribute postcards and leaflets at a demonstration in central London on Sunday 17th October.

Stop the War Coalition, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Muslim Association of Britain have called the demonstration to coincide with the conclusion of the European Social Forum, which takes place in London from 15th to 17th October.

The 'Time To Go – Bush Out – Troops Out' protest will assemble at Russell Square at 1pm and march to Trafalgar Square, where there will be a rally at 3.30pm and music from Asian Dub Foundation at 5pm.

This will be an excellent opportunity to raise awareness of CAAT and attract new supporters, so even if you only have half an hour spare it really would make a difference.

For more information or to volunteer, please contact Kathryn on 020 7281 0297 or email kathryn@caat.org.uk



Mercenaries – time for action

As the article on page 3 shows, events in Iraq and in southern Africa have put mercenaries back into the media spotlight.

In February 2002 the UK government, persuaded by the debacle in Sierra Leone that something needed to be done, produced a Green Paper titled *Private Military Companies: Options for Regulation*. CAAT commented on this in August 2002. The Foreign Affairs Committee also conducted an Inquiry and produced a report to which the Government responded in October 2002. Then everything went quiet.

A big problem for CAAT is that the terminology being used, as well as the wide range of activities undertaken by 'private military companies', often for

governments, is serving to legitimise activities which would previously have been unreservedly condemned.

CAAT seeks an end to all mercenary activities. If this cannot be achieved at once, the following controls are minimum immediate requirements:

- a) a ban on all combat activities;
- b) all dealings between government departments and agencies and the military companies, other than operational details, to be in the public domain;
- c) any contract between a military company and a foreign government to stipulate a cash fee and no other benefit. No other business that shares directors or offices with the providers of

security should be allowed to have any dealings with the foreign government concerned for a period of, say, five years. The ownership of the military companies should be made transparent;

- d) companies to be made responsible under UK law for any breaches of human rights or the laws of war that may be committed by their employees.

- Please write to your MP, House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA asking that s/he press the Foreign Secretary to introduce legislation on mercenary activities, including the above points, as a high priority. ■

Ann Feltham

Why doesn't CAAT work in coalitions?

The answer is, of course, that CAAT does – but we've obviously not been too good at letting people know about it.

CAAT was actually born out of a coalition – starting life in 1974 as a campaign of Pax Christi, CND, the Quakers, the United Nations Association and others. Rather later, in 1993, CAAT, now an organisation in its own right, called the first meeting of the many UK groups working to end the scourge of anti-personnel landmines. This, with a lot of CAAT input in the early years, became first the UK Working Group on Landmines, and then Landmine Action.

Today CAAT is active in the Missile Defence Working Group with the Quakers, MedAct, BASIC, CND and others; in an informal group which campaigns on export credit issues and includes Friends of the Earth, WWF UK, Amnesty UK and the Cornerhouse Foundation; and in the Refugee Project, which brings together refugee communities and organisations working to address the role that UK foreign investment plays in forcing people to flee their countries. This list is just to give you a flavour – in all there are far too many groupings to mention.

Indeed, CAAT has worked with many

organisations representing communities on the receiving end of UK-supplied weaponry. Probably the most enduring of all these relationships has been CAAT's with TAPOL, the Indonesia human rights campaign, as together we seek to end UK arms exports to that country.

Particular parts of CAAT have their own contacts. For example, the Christian Network maintains links with, among others, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. With many Christian peace groups it organises the Peacezone at the annual Greenbelt arts festival.

Beyond the UK, CAAT is a key player in the European Network Against Arms Trade. It is also a member of the International Action Network on Small Arms, though, as so many better-resourced

organisations are working on the small arms issue, CAAT tends to take a back seat. The same is true of the campaign for an Arms Trade Treaty. CAAT gives support, signs joint letters and asks for articles for *CAAT News*, but has its own priorities.

CAAT is the only UK organisation devoted solely to opposing the arms trade in its totality, albeit acknowledging that positive steps will need to be taken on the way to our goal. Our work is greatly enhanced by working in these diverse coalitions, formal and informal. ■

- If you're not already doing so, why not work with other organisations in your locality to raise arms export issues? Contact Beccie, the Local Campaigns Co-ordinator, if you'd like ideas for this.

Ann Feltham

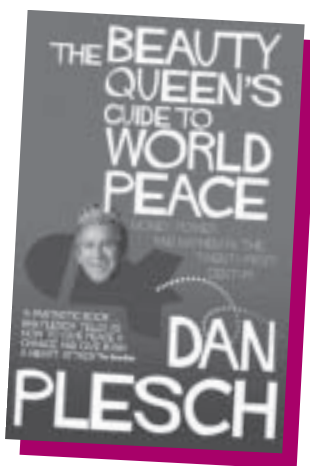
Correction The Defence Manufacturers Association contacted us almost as soon as we had posted the last *CAAT News* on our website to let us know that we had given an incorrect web address for them. Apologies to the DMA and any of you who found yourselves looking at the Direct Marketing Association's site. If you do want to know how the military manufacturer's trade organisation responds to anti-arms trade arguments go to www.the-dma.org.uk and look in the *Topical Issues* section. We were interested to see that the DMA is suggesting that mercenary Simon Mann's activities in southern Africa might put him in contravention of the UK's export control legislation.

Chomsky with lip-gloss: The Beauty Queen's Guide to World Peace

The Beauty Queen's Guide to World Peace by Dan Plesch
Published by Politicos, £8.99,
ISBN 1842751107
www.danplesch.net

I liked this book. It improved my understanding of world security and past, present and possible future conflicts. The book brings a message of hope. Given the dominance of the United States with its go-it-alone foreign policy, global guerrilla warfare and nuclear proliferation, then Plesch gives a realistic state-of-the-planet assessment. He also slays a few myths, while on the brighter side there are the successes of disarmament, peace treaties and peacekeeping organisations.

The book is easy reading and keeps with the beauty queen kitsch throughout – the first part of the book being 'Part one: The mess we're in'; followed by 'Part two: A guide out of the mess'. In the Strategy chapter of part two, Plesch notes that in terms of the TV series *Star Trek*, we in the west see ourselves as a 'Federation' of benevolent, globalising, free-market democracies. 'They' see us as Borg,



preaching that they must be assimilated, as we 'teach the world to sing in perfect harmony'. Elsewhere, the end of the Cold War and its aftermath are explained in terms of the commercial battle between credit cards Visa, and Mastercard and emergent stores cards. If the whole book were like this it'd be 'totally gross' but as it's occasional it works well.

Plesch's 'guide out of the mess' is many-fold but the chapters include: Strategy, Money, Power, Strengthening democratic culture, Defusing resource wars, Scrapping the weapons.

... the end of the Cold War and its aftermath are explained in terms of the commercial battle between credit cards Visa, and Mastercard and emergent stores cards.

Some would see little in this book for arms trade campaigners, there being little specifically about arms companies or their drive for sales and hence the proliferation. But Chapter 4 on Corporate Power suggests amending company law and removing limited liability – as described by radical lawyer Daniel Bennett, a Corporate Watch associate.

The 'Beauty Queens Guide' is, to sum up, like Chomsky but with lip-gloss. Thankfully Plesch's analysis isn't dumbed down and this book, with its wealth of expert analysis and lucid observations make it both serious reading and, dare I say, fun. ■

Andrew Wood

Advert Mine Action After Diana: Progress in the Struggle Against Landmines

The Ottawa anti-personnel mine Treaty binds more than two-thirds of the world's states to ban the production, trade and use of anti-personnel mines, eliminate them from their stockpiles and clear them from their lands. However, growing bureaucracy and inadequate funding for mine clearance means that landmines are not being cleared as quickly and effectively as they should be to meet the ten-year mine clearance deadline that the Ottawa Treaty sets for member states.



Mine Action After Diana: Progress in the Struggle Against Landmines provides an assessment of mine awareness, mine clearance operations, victim assistance and stockpile destruction.

Written by Stuart Maslen, it is published by Pluto Press in association with Landmine Action and the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund and is available at £15.99 (ISBN: 0745322565) through all good bookshops or from www.plutobooks.com



Fundraising

by Kathryn Busby

May I start by thanking all the CAAT runners who took part in the women's Flora Light Challenge on Sunday 5th September. As temperatures soared to almost 30 degrees in both Birmingham and London, our dedicated runners faced the baking heat to run 5km for CAAT. Virginia Moffatt completed the Birmingham course while carrying her peace flag and displaying the message 'Stop the Arms Trade' on her running vest. The sponsorship money is still being collected and CAAT will be several hundred pounds better off thanks to all their efforts.

But the sponsored events of 2004 don't end there! You may have noticed a leaflet inside this issue of CAAT news asking you to sponsor Laetitia Vail in the New York Marathon on Sunday 7th November. She has been training hard since volunteering for the challenge in April and now it's your turn to help.

If you are able, please return the leaflet with a sponsorship donation; it will be very gratefully received. In addition, this year we are appealing for CAAT supporters to help boost the total raised by asking other people to sponsor Laetitia. If we help Laetitia to reach her target of £4,000 it will be a wonderful way of demonstrating how many people are backing her. If you could use a sponsorship form, please indicate on the leaflet; or get in touch with me directly on 020 7281 0297 or kathryn@caat.org.uk.

Sponsorship donations online

I am pleased to announce that this year, for the first time, we are able to accept sponsorship donations online. CAAT has teamed up with Bmycharity to offer a quick, easy and fully secure method of making debit and credit card donations to CAAT. Simply visit Laetitia's web-page www.bmycharity.com/runningtish and

follow the instructions! It would also be a great help if you could email the link to friends and family and encourage them to also visit Laetitia's web-page.

Workers Beer total

I am delighted to tell you that the total raised by CAAT volunteers at Workers Beer Company events this summer was £1,885.05. This is a fantastic achievement, and our thanks go to all who gave their time; in particular our dedicated team leaders.

CAAT gathering

As you will have read on page 5, the CAAT gathering takes place on Saturday 13th November and I hope to meet many of you there. If you have ideas for raising money that you would like to discuss, or would like to know how you can help, then please do find me for a chat. I look forward to seeing you in November. ■

The Phone Co-op
your voice counts

Why should big business decide the cost of your calls?

...when you could be part of the UK's only telecommunications co-operative.

Because we're owned and controlled by our customers, you can expect a fairer deal from us. You can trust us to deliver quality and reliability, and a more ethical and environmentally responsible approach to business.

CAAT has joined with The Phone Co-op to offer our supporters a great deal on your phone calls and internet services. CAAT receives 6% of your ongoing phone bills plus a £5 bonus if you sign up before 31 October 2004. Please visit www.caat.org.uk/support/donations.php or call The Phone Co-op quoting Campaign Against Arms Trade

0845 458 9000

The Phone Co-op your voice counts

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 Beccie D'Cunha.

Email 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 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 action@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 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 postcards 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.

Who Calls the Shots?

A new report on the ways in which government-corporate collusion drives arms exports

The Labour government continues to offer massive financial and political support for UK arms-exporting companies. The official reasons for this support are given as economic, strategic and/or political, depending on what is most convenient for government spokespeople. However, these rationales are being subjected to increasing scrutiny. They look at best flimsy and at worst pure manipulation.

But if these rationales are not sustainable, why does the government continue to support arms exports? This report provides much-needed and long-awaited analysis of the prime candidate for an answer – the very special relationship between the government and arms companies.

The report tracks the web of links that provide arms companies with influence within government: the revolving door of jobs-for-the-boys; the expansion of quangos and other 'advisory bodies'; the use of lobbying companies and influential Labour Peers; cash donations and sponsorship; and the rapidly expanding privatization of the military through Public Private Partnerships.

The report's information and analysis provides the means for understanding why the arms companies retain their power under the Labour government and, consequently, why the UK continues to export weapons around the world.

For copies of the report contact Patrick at the office.



Campaigns diary

14-17 October **European Social Forum, London** (see www.fse-esf.org and www.esf2004.net)

Sat 13 November: **CAAT Gathering**

24-27 November: **INDO DEFENCE 04 arms fair, Jakarta, Indonesia**

9 December: **Anti-corruption day**

See www.caat.org.uk for more information on arms trade events throughout the year



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

BOMBS AWAY SEE PAGE 6



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

To The Manager of Bank Bank Address
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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. If you DO NOT wish to receive CAAT News, please tick here

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