

CAAT*news*



DSEi 2005: news and pictures

Issue 192
Oct/Nov 2005

£1.00

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Thank you also to our dedicated team of CAATnews stuffers

Printed by Russell Press on 100% recycled paper using only post consumer de-inked waste.

Copy deadline for the next issue is 14 November 2005. We shall be posting it the week beginning 28 November 2005.

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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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IN THIS ISSUE...



Protest bike ride to the DSEi arms fair. See pages 8–9 INDYMEDIA

Clean Investment re-launch	3
Arms Trade Shorts	4–5
Letters	6
Local campaign news and views	7
Cover story: DSEi 2005	8–9
Backroom policy-making	10
Extraordinary Corruption Guaranteed Department?	11
Parliamentary	12
Revolving door campaign update	13
Fundraising	14
Get active!	15
Campaigns diary	16

Clean Investment in our Universities?

On 24th October, CAAT will publish new figures for arms company shares held by scores of the UK's universities.

Jo Wittams and Tim Street, both volunteering for a day a week in the CAAT office, have made the new launch possible through obtaining the shareholding figures and establishing where there is concern within universities about the investments. They have changed the university campaign from one that had relatively little shareholding information, and could do little more than respond to enquiries, to a campaign where we have nearly full information on present shareholding figures and can proactively support academics and students in calling for ethical investment.

Freedom of Information Act

The Clean Investment campaign has, more than any other aspect of CAAT's work to date, reaped the benefits of the Freedom of Information Act. Prior to the Act coming into effect at the start of this year, most universities did not respond to our enquiries. As a result we put together shareholding details from limited information available at Companies House and from the few responses from universities willing to provide the information (either of their own accord or following student campaigns).

Now public institutions have to respond to requests for information. But, of course, life isn't quite as simple as that makes it sound. While many universities were quick to provide the information, some were still coming to terms with the Act and took some time – and some persuasion – to respond. More disappointingly, a number of universities and colleges refused to disclose the information citing exemptions provided for in the Act. As a result, Jo has spent a vast amount of time explaining our information request, asking for internal reviews of refusals and appealing to the information commissioner where these were not successful. Eight months of databasing, letter-writing and emailing has brought the required responses from nearly all of the 200 universities and colleges.

Identifying university campaigners

Students at a number of universities are working on Clean Investment campaigns, some having submitted their own Freedom of Information Act requests as part of this. However, the great majority of universities have no active ethical investment campaign and so Tim has been working to identify individuals and groups that might be willing to use the new shareholding figures to challenge their university over its

investments. A number of these potential contacts have responded positively already but there are plenty of universities that are not covered. If you can help, even with just one letter or email, or by pointing us towards others who might be willing to work on this, please get in touch.

What you can do

Look at

www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/clean-investment/universities from 24th October or, if you would like to start campaigning in advance of the launch, get in touch with jo@caat.org.uk or tim@caat.org.uk now.

The website will give the shareholdings of universities and colleges along with background information to the campaign and an action guide. Though there will be many more ideas and options on the website, the essential, simple request is for students, staff and alumni to write to the bursar or finance director

- expressing your concern at hearing about the reported investments
- asking if the information is still correct
- asking if they have any plans to sell their arms company shares.

And please tell us what you find out.

Day of action: Call the Shots

Saturday 26th November

As part of the ongoing Call the Shots campaign, CAAT is calling a UK-wide day of action on 26th November to lock the 'revolving door' between the Government and the arms industry. This insidious phenomenon gives arms companies immense influence over government decision-making.

Please join others around the UK on 26th November in taking action locally to lock the revolving door. Simultaneous actions all over the UK could generate thousands of petition signatures and postcards to MPs, as well as raising the profile of your group and the campaign in your area. Ideas could include stunts,

stalls or street theatre. See page 13 for more details and action ideas.

Can you organise an action in your area? CAAT can provide materials and can help with ideas, publicity and using your local media. Contact Beccie in the CAAT office (beccie@caat.org.uk). www.calltheshots.org

Payback time from BAE Systems' takeover of United Defense

BAE Systems is to make £1.9 billion from repairing US armoured vehicles returning from Afghanistan and Iraq. Much of the work will be done on Bradley fighting vehicles, which are made by United Defense, the US-based company acquired by BAE Systems in June this year. Approximately 37 per cent of BAE Systems's revenues now come from the US as a result of its takeover of United Defense. The company's chairman Dick Olver has said he would like to raise this percentage to the "high forties", prompting speculation that BAE Systems may sell its 20 per cent stake in Airbus to finance the deal. INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY 11/9/05; INDEPENDENT 8/9/05

The purchase of United Defense has also made BAE Systems more confident about selling arms to eastern Europe. The eastern European countries that joined NATO in 2004 and in 1999 are committed to spending on average two per cent of GDP per year to upgrade and replace military technology. BAE Systems describes this as "new opportunities" that it is now in a position to consider "in light of the acquisition of United Defense".

JANE'S DEFENCE INDUSTRY, AUGUST 2005

Joint Strike Fighter

Sources briefed on internal US defense department discussions have suggested that the Pentagon is considering proposals to cut the £141 billion Joint Strike Fighter programme by at least 70 per cent. The proposals form part of a US review of weapons systems. A report in the *Financial Times* said that none of the international partners on the programme had been consulted, despite the scale of the possible changes.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 29/7/05



BAE faces investigation over links to Pinochet

BAE Systems faces yet more investigations after the *Guardian* alleged US banking records showing that the company secretly paid more than £1million to the former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. Some of the money was listed as being paid through a front company in the British Virgin Islands that BAE Systems has used to channel commissions on arms deals. The payments were made when General Pinochet was no longer in power, with the latest payments recorded as recently as last year. The news comes alongside the ongoing investigation by the Serious Fraud Office into alleged money laundering and false accounting by BAE Systems in deals with Saudi Arabia. THE GUARDIAN, 15/9/05; FT, 16/9/05

Website gets a facelift

Visitors to the CAAT website at www.caat.org.uk will have noticed a few changes recently, not least that it's quite a lot more colourful! All the information is still there, though some might be in a different place. There are also new features, like the picture archive, which we will build upon in the next few months. We hope our website is a useful resource but for those who don't have access to the internet we will continue to make information available in printed format. If you have any questions or feedback on the website, please email james@caat.org.uk. JAMES O'NIONS



DESO visits Baghdad

Officials from the UK's Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO) have made a first visit to Baghdad as part of a long-term plan to position the UK as a provider of support and advice to Iraq. DESO wants to take a leading role in this, viewing ad hoc visits to Iraq by individual companies as "highly unlikely to be productive", and bordering "on the risky from a personal security perspective".

DEFENCE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION NEWS,
SEPTEMBER 2005

Iraqi military money squandered or disappeared

This September, the *Independent* reported that the amount of money siphoned off from Iraq's defence ministry may be as much as \$1 billion. Iraq's Finance Minister Ali Allawi described the situation as "one of the largest thefts in history". In July, Knight Ridder newspapers reported that money intended for training and equipping the Iraqi army had disappeared or been spent on faulty equipment. The paper quoted the example of a shipment of MP5 machine guns costing about \$3,500 apiece that are now believed to be Egyptian-made imitations costing \$200 each. Knight Ridder laid the blame on a "web of corruption that flourished under American-appointed supervisors". A report from the Iraqi Board of Supreme Audit to the country's government says that US-appointed Iraqi officials in the defence ministry allegedly presided over many of the transactions.

INDEPENDENT, 19/9/05; KNIGHT RIDDER NEWSPAPERS,
14/7/05

Possibility of civil war puts break on arms to Iraq?

US army staff have raised the possibility that logistics around delivery may not be the only factor currently limiting the supply of heavy arms of Iraq. Some officers have suggested that US military suppliers are holding back for fear that weapons may end up being used against them if civil war breaks out in the country. While Iraqi commanders have complained about their soldiers' lack of weaponry, Peter Galbraith, a former US ambassador to Croatia who is now in Iraq, suggested that "we may be arming people that may be at best only temporarily our friends".

NEW YORK TIMES, 28/8/05

Israeli arms company on market

The Israeli government has put its oldest arms company, the state-owned military manufacturer Israel Military Industries (IMI), up for sale. The company has had severe financial problems, despite receiving £1.2 billion of public funds over the past decade, and securing a deal in August to sell ammunition to the US army. Majority control of IMI would remain in Israeli hands.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 21/9/05

Norwegian oil fund disinvests from arms firms

Norway's oil fund has disinvested from arms companies including Thales and Lockheed Martin citing a Norwegian government ruling that oil funds can only be invested in companies that fulfil the ethical requirements determined by the government. These requirements ban investment in certain types of weapons manufacturers.

AFP, 2/9/05

Shorts in brief

Colombians for hire to Iraq

A US company has signed up approximately 1,000 police and military staff to work in Iraq for less than half of the salaries of their US counterparts. The Colombians have been recruited by the company Epi Security and Investigation.

AFP, 13/8/05

Mindboggling

This year's DSEi saw the launch of the first private company to provide psychological warfare support – psyops – to the military. The former political communications consultancy attributed the surrender of nearly 90,000 troops in the first Gulf war to the tactic of psyops.

THE OBSERVER, 11/9/05

MoD deal with Thales

The Ministry of Defence and Thales UK have signed a £700 million contract for development of the Watchkeeper unmanned vehicle system. Thales' chief executive Alex Dorrian said that the company expected to "secure export sales of at least £400 million over the next ten years".

FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL 9–15 AUGUST 2005

Lockheed Martin buys INSYS

Through its UK subsidiary, the Lockheed Martin Corporation has agreed to buy INSYS Group Limited, a UK-based supplier of military communication systems, weapons systems, and advanced analysis services. INSYS supplies both the UK Ministry of Defence and the US Defense Department.

LOCKHEED MARTIN
CORPORATION, 16/8/05



Letter

Your letters are always welcome. The following is an extract from a response to an article in CAATnews 191 ('A UK 'Defence Industrial Base' or just international big business?'). The article argued that there is no UK 'defence industrial base' in the sense that we are asked to believe in it; its place has been taken by international big business.

Dear CAATnews,

The article describing the transformation of domestic arms industry and the formation of a global arms production infrastructure, poses a number of questions for campaigners. How do we focus our efforts and select our targets? The larger companies in the UK seem to be turning their attention increasingly to the US marketplace. What value does UK-based campaigning still hold?

Some groups have been promoting a campaign for an international arms trade treaty,

designed to tackle the excesses of unethical arms transfers. While this has its merits it could also be seen as tinkering at the margins. An arms trade treaty poses no threat to the big players in this industry, and we should be in the business of posing that threat.

How we do that requires more informed debate, but it seems to me that we need to start questioning the logic and the motives of the military planners in Washington, Brussels and London. Those selling us their ideas of security, and failing to provide it. The last few years of

conflict should have taught us that it will not be missile defence systems, space-based laser or the Joint Strike Fighter that will bring us security.

Everyone who got on a bus or a train on the 8th of July was a security analyst: they balanced risk and necessity. We need to understand that people can and do engage with complex security issues, and move to democratise the issue of 'defence' spending by raising the level of public debate. In combating the flow of arms around the world we need to step up and challenge the clerical class that dominate the airwaves with their self-proclaimed expertise.

Yours,
Kevin Mullen

A full version of this letter can be found at <http://fragblog.zapto.org>

Marathon Man

Steven Downey ran the Chicago Marathon on 9th October in aid of the Campaign Against Arms Trade. He wrote the following before the big day:

"Although I have run before, this will be the first international marathon that I have taken part in. My training schedule has been going well. By July, I was running 10 miles each training day (four days per week), increasing to 15 miles at the weekends. Once I had established this pattern, I started working on building more strength, speed and stamina into the runs.

I am looking forward to the personal challenge of running this race, especially given that CAAT is such an important and worthwhile cause. CAAT, as you know, was established on the understanding that the arms trade exerts a negative effect on human rights, security and development. CAAT seeks to end the



Steven Downey

export of arms to oppressive regimes, to those countries involved in conflict and to countries whose social welfare is threatened by military spending.

For me it is crucial that CAAT advocates for peace. In the contemporary climate, there has never been a more significant time to work towards the peaceful resolution of conflict. In my belief the UK needs

to set an example by actively promoting the values it espouses, such as democracy and the peaceful resolution of disputes with others. By sponsoring me in the Marathon, your contribution will directly support CAAT's campaign for an end to activities such as governmental subsidies for the arms trade.

I am enormously grateful to anyone who is able to help me to raise funds for the Campaign Against Arms Trade.

Thanks again, Steve"

To sponsor Steve, please send a cheque (payable to CAAT) to the office, using the sponsor form enclosed with this issue of CAATnews. You can also sponsor Steve online at www.bmycharity.com/stevendowney by making a credit or debit card donation. It is straightforward, secure and only takes a couple of minutes.

CoE refuses to disinvest in Caterpillar



KHALIL HAMRA/UNRWA

Caterpillar bulldozers are used to destroy Palestinian homes

On September 21st the Church of England's Ethical Investment Advisory Group announced its decision not to recommend disinvestment in US company Caterpillar.

The Caterpillar D9 bulldozer has been used by the Israeli military to destroy Palestinian homes and agricultural land in the West Bank and Gaza and to construct the illegal

'Separation Wall'. In addition, one of these machines killed American peace activist Rachel Corrie two years ago.

Caterpillar has been criticised by the UN for its complicity in human rights abuses and the D9 has been described by the Israeli Defence Force as its most important weapon in the Occupied Territories. However, the Anglican Church still refuses to withdraw its £2.2 million of shares in the company, claiming that this is a complex issue requiring a "balanced" approach that takes into account the use of Caterpillar equipment in other Middle Eastern countries. CAAT Christian Network will be joining with other groups in putting pressure on the Church of England to disinvest.

Check out

www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/christian-network and

www.waronwant.org/caterpillar for information and action ideas.

ALUN MORINAN

CAAT National Gathering coming soon!

Saturday 12th November – put it in your diary now as the day to come to CAAT's National Gathering. Through discussions, talks, and workshops, this will be the place to become better informed about the arms trade, have an input into our campaigns and meet other wonderful anti-arms campaigners.

Registration will be from 10am and the day will finish around 5pm. There will be no charge and a vegetarian lunch and tea and coffee will be provided, though donations will be welcomed!

It will take place at Mary Ward House, 5 Tavistock Place, London, WC1H 9SN, just around the corner from Russell Square tube station. The venue has disabled access.

For more information and to register for discussions, talks, and workshops please email anna@caat.org.uk or call the office on 020 7281 0297. Looking forward to seeing you there!

Local campaigns news & views

Edinburgh CAAT news

Edinburgh CAAT group has a few events coming up, to raise funds and let people know what we are doing. This includes a Coffee Morning; an annual 'Singing for CAAT' (see www.protestinharmony.org.uk if you would like this group to come to your area); and regular stalls outside the Edinburgh Council to challenge unclean investment of pension funds.

At our meeting in July we decided to look for an enthusiastic person to help develop the CAAT network in the Edinburgh area. As well as our ongoing fundraising we are asking people to set up small standing orders to help us continue this after the first year.

If you want to support our venture to develop CAAT here in Edinburgh we would be delighted to receive any donations to Edinburgh CAAT, c/o Peace and Justice Centre, St John's Church, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH2 4BJ. LIZ LAW

Alun Morinan

Alun Morinan (pictured) started as the volunteer co-ordinator of the CAAT Christian Network on 6th September.

He writes: I have been a supporter of CAAT since the 1980s and served on the committees of my local CND group and of Conscience – the Peace Tax Campaign for a number of years. I am currently secretary of Avenue Baptist Church in Beckenham and convenor of the Anabaptist Network London South Group.

We are hoping to reinvigorate the CAAT Christian Network and its resources over the coming months. Please get in contact if you have any questions or ideas, or if you would like to join the network. I can be contacted in the CAAT office on Tuesdays or via email on christian@caat.org.uk



DSEI 2005 REPORT



INDYMEDIA

The DSEi arms fair brings the global threads of the international arms trade together in one place: the companies that thrive upon it, and the governments that sustain and promote it. This September, Europe's largest arms fair rolled back into town. Mike Lewis and James O'Nions describe what happened next.

Wednesday 7 September

CAAT's week of action opens with DSEi's co-organiser, Reed Elsevier, already under public attack. After weeks spent building an international coalition of signatories to a public letter in the prestigious medical journal the *Lancet* – Elsevier's flagship publication – we hear that our letter has sparked the journal's editorial board to condemn their own publisher's involvement in the arms trade. This scathing critique is reported in national and international media, and forces Elsevier's chief publicity officer on to Radio 4's *Today* programme to defend the company. Several journalists subsequently report that Elsevier has stopped responding to media inquiries – even before the fair has started!

Thursday 8 September

Seven of the UK's leading comedians take to the stage of North London's Red Rose comedy club for our sold-out DSEi fundraiser, 'Stand Up Against the Arms Fair'.

Sunday 11 September



PATRICK DELANEY

SCANDAL: The Ministry of Defence finally releases its list of invited buyers' delegations. CAAT was forewarned that China (with a human rights record that Tony Blair queried in Beijing the week before), Indonesia and Colombia had received invitations. The full list includes seven from the Foreign Office's own list of the

world's top twenty human rights abusers.

11am: CAAT supporters from around the country meet at Toynbee Hall in east London for part one of CAAT's alternative conference. CAAT campaigners lead workshops on arms trade corruption, government/industry

collusion, and DSEi itself. Banner-making and non-violent action training round off the afternoon.

Monday 12 September

CAAT launches its DSEi 2005 campaign at a press conference in Newham, where DSEi is to take place. Journalists coming straight from the arms fair's own media briefing at Newham's ExCel Centre hear a different story from CAAT campaigners, London Assembly member Darren Johnson, local community projects, and even a spontaneous delegation of students from the Royal Docks Community School.

6.30pm: People from all faiths, including Anglican and Catholic bishops, join East London churches in a moving candle-lit vigil at the ExCel Centre.

Tuesday 13 September



INDYMEDIA

11am: Out of the blue, the arms fair organisers invite CAAT for an all-access tour, accompanied by a BBC London TV crew. Inside we're met by mocked-up battle control rooms, tanks, assault rifles and cruise missiles. DSEi's wilful denial of the nature and consequences of the event is astonishing. The spokesperson

tells CAAT that he does not believe that any of the countries invited to shop at DSEi are involved in human rights abuse. We talk to one company that is openly advertising cluster bomb components in the official DSEi brochure, despite the organisers' assurances to the media that cluster bombs are "not here [at DSEi], not for sale and not even a topic of conversation".

1pm: CAAT's march moves off from East Ham central park. Present are hundreds of supporters and protestors



CAAT

from the UK and beyond, samba bands, pensioners and children. Carrying rainbow-coloured flags and banners, demonstrators and camera crews assemble near the ExCel Centre against a backdrop of police cordons and gun-metal grey warships.

5pm: Back at Toynbee Hall, part two of CAAT's DSEi conference is underway, with sessions on the arms trade's contribution to global refugee flows and human rights abuse around the world. A positive strategy session plans the next steps to stop DSEi returning in 2007.

Wednesday 14 September



INDYMEDIA

8.30am: Commuters are greeted by 300 cyclists, forming a moving 'Critical Mass' protest from Bank tube station to the ExCel Centre.

SCANDAL: DSEi's cluster bomb fiasco breaks in the *Independent*.

1.30pm: CAAT supporters bring the misery created by the arms trade home to Reed

Elsevier's employees: a group of students and pensioners, swathed in bandages and blood, stage a 'die-in' across the entrance of Elsevier's global headquarters in central London.

Various actions continue throughout the day. Roads to the venue are blocked, and protestors immobilise two of the DLR trains that are ferrying arms dealers to the fair by locking themselves to the roofs. Waiting arms company delegates, accustomed to the seclusion of international resorts and board rooms, seem astonished as their arms bazaar is besieged by samba bands and rebel clowns.



PATRICK DELANEY

Thursday 15 September



INDYMEDIA

SCANDAL: The reality of DSEi's 'tight regulation' is unmasked by comedian Mark Thomas, who alleges to the *Guardian* that one company is openly (and illegally) promoting sales of torture equipment at the arms fair.

6pm: Arms dealers and repressive regimes are entertained by defence

ministers at a Defence Manufacturers Association dinner at the Dorchester Hotel. A noisy protest disrupts the cosy tete-a-tete between the government and the corporate gun-runners.

DSEi 2005 was met with rising disgust and opposition from the public; from the press; from the local government; from the local community in whose midst this deadly trade arrives every two years; and even from a publication that is owned by the event's organisers. This range of opposition is unprecedented. It makes it possible that, with sustained effort in the coming months, we could – for the first time – stop DSEi from taking place in 2007. This would set an example for every other location on the growing international arms fair circuit. To do it, we will need your help.

Photos (clockwise from top left): trying to cheer up a policeman; the Tuesday march approaches the ExCel centre; activists 'die-in' outside the London offices of Reed Elsevier on the Strand; Silvertown Way is blocked by a lock on; the Disarm DSEi Baby Bloc; samba band; the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society

Backroom policy-making

Frank Slijper sketches out arms industry lobbying in Brussels

The process towards a European Constitution has largely come to a halt after it received a severe blow earlier this spring when a majority of French and Dutch voters rejected it in national referenda. Their 'no' vote was a slap in the face for the governments that found out that their vision of Europe was not the people's, however diverse their reasons had been.

Unfortunately this victory has a bitter taste for those who reject the constitutional treaty because of its military dimension. As things look now, the process of further militarisation of the European Union, and worse, the complete lack of democratic control of it, moves on regardless of the constitutional debate.

An important reason for this is that military developments within the EU largely tend to happen behind closed doors. That means that crucial policy preparation meetings are mostly organised for 'stakeholders' only – meaning defence community bureaucrats and arms industry representatives, with a few parliamentarians or 'independent experts' who are mostly invited for window dressing.

For a long time, plans for a European military policy moved forward extremely slowly. It seemed that most people had accepted that the EU was there for economic co-operation while NATO – though under American dominance – was the relevant military umbrella for most of western Europe. This was the case until the early 1990s.

Step by step, a 'domestic' EU process has now gained speed. Over the last few years a number of military-related developments at European level have made a decisive impact on the course of action that is now followed by the EU's executive

body, the European Commission. Issues that were deemed likely to remain at the discussion table forever appear to have suddenly rooted: EU defence policy, common procurement, military research spending and the restructuring of the arms industry. The incorporation of military issues in the EU Constitution and the creation of the European Defence Agency in particular are important milestones that have passed unnoticed for many people. Not so for the defence industry. Before a dozen generals and diplomats, three arms industry representatives were asked to give their view on Europe's defence policies – while no one from civil society organisations was asked for theirs.

"military developments within the EU largely tend to happen behind closed doors"

The arms industry's involvement in the preparation of the European Constitution is in no way unique. Over the last few years the arms industry has constantly and increasingly pressurised high-ranking officials and parliamentarians, in Brussels and in national capitals, to adopt their policy proposals. This has met with no small degree of success. 'The Group of Personalities', 'LeaderSHIP 2015' and other so-called task forces led by European Commission luminaries, have been essential in lobbying for the interests of the arms industry, ranging from increased spending on anti-terrorist technology, to the removal of arms export barriers. The recent introduction of 'security research'

spending is a clear victory for the defence industry and opens new opportunities to extend the range of the previously civil European research budget into the military domain.

Moreover, the advantage, both in access and strength, that the industry has over civil society in lobbying its interests also threatens the 1998 EU Code of Conduct on arms exports, which should forbid arms sales to human rights abusers or conflict zones. Export barriers tend to go down towards the lowest common denominator.

The close co-operation between the European Commission and the arms industry is a classic example of backroom policy-making, and a caricature of the way in which many people today look at European decision-making processes in general. It is therefore high time for a much more transparent European decision-making process – particularly on military matters – to involve civil society, instead of the current situation of overwhelming corporate power. Arms control organisations certainly should play a larger role in that too. After the French and Dutch rejection of the Constitution the opportunities are certainly there.



Frank Slijper is the author of *The emerging EU Military-Industrial Complex – Arms industry lobbying in Brussels*. This Transnational Institute report was produced in cooperation with Campagne tegen Wapenhandel (NL) and is available from the CAAT office priced £2.50.

Extraordinary Corruption Guaranteed Department?

Nick Gilby calls for further investigations by the Serious Fraud Office

Readers may recall the report about the 'commissions' allegedly paid to former Indonesian President Suharto's daughter Tutut to secure the sale of Scorpion tanks and Stormer Armoured Personnel Carriers made by Alvis (now owned by BAE Systems) to Indonesia in 1995 and 1996 (CAATnews 188). The Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD) underwrote the deals to the tune of \$105 million in 1995, and £65 million in September 1996, and is still owed £80.7 million by Indonesia.

Persistent attempts by CAAT supporters and The Corner House to discover what the ECGD knew about the deals at the time that they underwrote them are not complete. However, investigations to date show that the ECGD could be more appropriately named the Extraordinary Corruption Guaranteed Department. A paper written for the UK's top civil servants in April 1976 reveals that ECGD "practice is to insure any commission as part of the overall contract price; they do not enquire whether any part of the commission may be in the nature of a bribe". At the time the same officials knew that bribery was common practice among UK companies bidding for foreign contracts, particularly arms sales.

Nothing has really changed since. In a letter to The Corner House, the ECGD confessed that they underwrote the 'commissions' paid on the Alvis deals; that at the time they made no enquiries as to the identity of the agents (alleged by the *Guardian* to be Suharto's daughter and the children of an Indonesian Brigadier-General); and that the ECGD has made no enquiries of its own into the transactions (either to BAE Systems or Indonesian officials).



A Stormer APC on patrol in Aceh

The ECGD has shown a total lack of interest in the allegations despite the £80.7 million that it is owed. It has not even bothered to read the court file that is freely available from the *Guardian*, CAAT or The Corner House, preferring to read truncated versions on the internet.

CAAT would like to thank supporters who wrote to the National Audit Office (NAO) and succeeded in pressuring it to carry out an investigation into the ECGD's scandalously cavalier behaviour. The NAO investigation has established that "ECGD complied with the assessment procedures in force at the time", which required the level of commissions to be disclosed, but not the names of the agents. The commissions (£16.5 million for Suharto's daughter according to the *Guardian*) "were within acceptable limits". The NAO and ECGD have stated that Indonesia's debt on the deals will be paid back by Indonesian taxpayers (around 55 per cent of whom live on less than \$2 per day) by 2021.

Challenged by a CAAT supporter to give an opinion on whether the ECGD's behaviour gave the taxpayer value for money, the NAO has refused to offer an opinion. It has used the cop-out that as the ECGD's procedures have since changed there is "little value in examining the

procedures in use in the mid-1990s". Translated: a body which is "helping the nation spend wisely" (according to its mission statement) thinks the ECGD's corporate reputation is so important that it is too chicken to criticise the actions of a Government that has long ago left office.

As far as we know, no Serious Fraud Office investigation has taken place. For there to be any chance of BAE Systems being held to account for the actions of Alvis, and for the culture of impunity around corruption in the arms trade to end, there must be one. Please write to Robert Wardle, the Director of the Serious Fraud Office, Elm House, 10-16 Elm Street, London, WC1X 0BJ, and demand an investigation into the Alvis allegations. If you have time write to your MP, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA and press them to ask for an investigation into the Alvis allegations.

These letters do work. In CAATnews 181 we asked supporters to lobby the Serious Fraud Office for an investigation into the BAE Saudi "slush fund" allegations and, according to the *Guardian* (<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/foreignaffairs/story/0,11538,1569483,00.html>), the Serious Fraud Office has made a breakthrough in the case.

Revolving door response

Lots of you have been sending the CAAT office copies of letters that your MP has received from John Hutton MP and Jim Murphy MP in the Cabinet Office, or from the Ministry of Defence, in response to your postcards calling for the arms companies to be taken out of government. Some MPs have also written their own letters. If you have received such a response, it would be good if you could write back to your MP making the following points. The points will be on the website www.calltheshots.org if you want to cut and paste them.

You can agree with the Government that "there should be no cause for any suspicion of impropriety". Ask them to demonstrate that:

- Ministers or officials have not, and cannot, act with a view to securing future employment in an arms company
- arms companies cannot obtain access to official information from any ex-Minister or official
- arms companies do not receive privileged access to, and influence over, government through any ex-Minister or official.

You could ask for details of the evaluation that was carried out regarding the above points and how the Government monitors the activities of Ministers and officials once they have left. A number of examples of individuals are available in the Call the Shots pack and on our website. Two high profile examples are Sir John Day and Sir Robert Walmsley:

Sir John was on the Air Force Board, which makes decisions on the Ministry of Defence's business with BAE Systems, before moving to become military advisor to the company after a gap of just three months.

Sir Robert left his MoD post in April 2003 and in May 2004 became a Director of General Dynamics. The company is the prime contractor for the £2 billion Bowman radio project, a contract which was awarded during his time as procurement chief.

The information available provides no reassurance to allay suspicion that such former civil servants, and Ministers, could give the companies valuable access to, knowledge of, and influence over government or that their future prospects might have affected their work towards the end of their period in government employment.

It is to rule out any cause for suspicion of impropriety that CAAT is asking for mandatory restrictions:

- a five year ban on Ministers and government officials working for arms companies they have had direct dealings with in the last two years of their public office;
- a five year ban on Ministers and government officials making representations to any department or individual they have had direct dealings with in the last two years of their service;
- a permanent ban on Ministers and government officials 'changing sides' in any ongoing proceedings they have been involved in.

More examples of the 'revolving door' between government and the arms industry can be found on page 14 of CAAT's "Who Calls the Shots?" report. This is on the website at www.calltheshots.org or can be ordered from CAAT priced £3.

ANN FELTHAM

Parliamentary news in brief

Saudi Arabia

Tony Blair and Defence Secretary John Reid have reportedly been holding secret talks with Saudi Arabia in pursuit of a £40 billion deal to sell Eurofighter planes. The deal would involve deporting Saudi dissidents from the UK and dropping the Serious Fraud Office investigations into bribes allegedly paid by BAE Systems to members of the Saudi royal family.

- Write to your MP, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA asking him or her to convey to the Prime Minister your concerns about selling more weapons to an extremely repressive country in a region of conflict.

No privatisation

The Government has decided not to privatise the Export Control Organisation. The announcement was made on 21st July in a response to a Parliamentary question.

Armed Forces Bill

The Armed Forces (Parliamentary Approval for Participation in Armed Conflict) Bill is a Private Members' Bill being sponsored by a cross-party team of MPs. It would require the Prime Minister of the day to obtain Parliament's approval before being able to deploy troops abroad; a clause allows a decision to be made in an emergency, provided Parliament can debate the matter afterwards.

There is an Early Day Motion, number 85, that MPs can sign to indicate their backing for such a Bill. You can check on the parliamentary website at <http://edmi.parliament.uk/edmi> to see if your MP has signed. More information about this campaign can be found at www.charter88.org.uk. ANN FELTHAM

Revolving door campaign update

CAAT's Call the Shots campaign is calling for arms companies to be taken out of government. It aims to sever the close relationship between the government and the arms industry, through highlighting three key ways that arms companies are influencing government policy. The first phase, launched earlier this year, has focused on the 'revolving door' between the government and the arms industry, which gives arms companies direct access to the heart of government. In January 2006 this phase will give way to phase two, which will focus on closing the Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO), the government's arms sales unit.

Throughout the three campaign phases we need to continue to raise political awareness of this issue if we are to successfully damage this insidious relationship. So far, revolving door postcards have been sent to over half of the UK's MPs. This is fantastic, especially as this is the first popular campaign of its kind and highlights an issue that is new to many MPs. Moreover, many MPs have passed on their constituents' concerns to John Hutton and other government ministers.

We'd like to double the number of postcards that have been sent to MPs so far and ensure that every MP has heard about this important issue. There are three ways you could help us to achieve this over the coming months.

1. Take part in the UK-wide day of action to lock the revolving door – Saturday 26th November

Join others around the UK on 26th November in taking action locally to lock the revolving door. This is an opportunity to get thousands of Call the Shots postcards, petitions and keys signed and to raise the profile of the campaign in the local media.

We hope 26th November will see a wide variety of actions taking place around the UK. The revolving door



A model 'revolving door' is just one of many creative ways to draw attention to the issue CAAT

lends itself nicely to visual stunts and creative actions. Whatever you decide to do, make sure you have a stall with Call the Shots resources to hand. And please let us know your plans.

The following are some ideas generated at CAAT's national gathering last year:

- Make a mock-up revolving door (see picture). Remember that it doesn't have to be life-size!
- Use street theatre, a chalk line on the ground and lots of big stick-on cards to show the ease with which staff can move between the Government and arms companies, accumulating 'influence', 'contacts', 'power', 'big salary'.
- Play 'hopscotch' by jumping between the arms industry and the Government.

- Make a giant prop of a key. Ideas have included papier mache and inflatable versions!
- Make a big seaside-style board with two head holes for the government and the arms industry.
- Do some street theatre around a real-life revolving door in your area.

2. Organise a revolving door campaign day in your area

Holding a campaign day is an easy way to get lots of Call the Shots postcards, keys and petitions signed. All you basically need is a stall, some Call the Shots petitions and postcards, and a few willing volunteers with clipboards. (Info on 'How to organise a campaign day' is available from the CAAT office.)

3. Distribute postcards and petitions in your groups and networks

Contact Patrick in the CAAT office (patrick@caat.org.uk) for Call the Shots resources. And don't forget to keep an eye on the Call the Shots website – it now has a section detailing new 'revolvers' as they emerge (www.calltheshots.org). And please keep sending your news, ideas or feedback on the campaign.

BECCIE D'CUNHA

The figures so far...

- 734 'lock the revolving door' postcards have been sent to MPs.
- 340 MPs have received at least one of these postcards – some have received up to 15.
- Over 2000 people have signed the petition to take the arms companies out of government.

Fundraising

By Kathryn Busby

A sell-out crowd packed London's Red Rose Club on 8th September for the CAAT comedy night 'Stand Up Against the Arms Fair'. Adam Bloom, Ayesha Hazarika, Ivor Dembina, Felix Dexter, Stewart Lee and Ian Stone joined compere Angie McEvoy to provide a night of top-class entertainment. With a variety of different stand-up styles and themes, the seven performers delivered something for every sense of humour to a lively and appreciative audience. The event raised £1,447 for CAAT's campaign against the DSEi arms fair and I would like to thank everyone who contributed to making the night such a huge success. In particular, our thanks go to all the performers who generously gave their time, Joe McNamara and the Red Rose Club, Chaz at Mirth Control and finally, CAAT volunteer Tyler Hague, who did



Ayesha Hazarika performing at the comedy night CAAT

a superb job of co-ordinating the event.

You may have already found the Chicago Marathon sponsor form inside your issue of CAATnews. As I write, Steven Downey is getting ready for the biggest sporting challenge of his life as he prepares to run the Chicago Marathon in aid of CAAT. (Read a message from Steve on page 6). Please show your support for the time and effort that he has dedicated to training for this event

and send a sponsorship donation today. You can send a cheque payable to CAAT using the form enclosed, or make a secure credit or debit card donation by visiting www.bmycharity.com/stevendowney

I am delighted to announce that CAAT supporter Ian Davison has generously donated 50 copies of his new album – 'Right-On & Up-Front' – to help raise money for the campaign. With influences ranging from world music to Scottish traditions, this 19-track CD brings together a selection of political songs written by Ian over the last twenty years. The collection addresses a range of subjects including war and peace, ecology, human rights and the arms trade. To buy a copy, please send your name and address with a cheque for £5 (payable to CAAT) to Ian Davison, 5 Dick Street, Glasgow, G20 6JF.



Peace Brigades International

We are a non-governmental, non-partisan organisation committed to the non-violent resolution of conflict, working in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia and Indonesia. We send teams of international observers to accompany local peace and human rights workers under threat. PBI's field volunteers are walking symbols of the concerns of the international community. Their presence opens the humanitarian space in which local activists can safely operate without fear of intimidation.

By supporting us, you can become part of the global non-violent movement.

You can help people live a life free from fear and oppression.

To support our work, whether financially or by volunteering, please visit: <http://www.peacebrigades.org/britain.html>

Susi Bascon
Coordinator

Peace Brigades International UK Section

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London N19 5NJ

Phone/fax: 020 7281 5370

Charity number 1101016

email: pbiuk@gn.apc.org

www.peacebrigades.org

"Protecting human rights and promoting non violence"

Donate on line:

<http://www.givenow.org/charityprofile/peacebrigadesinternational>

22nd - 24th October 2005
Trident Ploughshares are organising
a weekend of action against
Rolls Royce in Derby:
the driving force behind

Trident

Britains Nuclear Weapon system

Rolls Royce Raynesway is the plant in Derby responsible for producing reactor fuel for Trident submarines - essential for Britain's nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Saturday 22nd - leafleting and street theatre in Derby, followed by a public meeting.

Sunday 23rd - nonviolent direct action training, vigils and preparation for Monday's action.

Monday 24th - nonviolent blockade of the site

Indoor accommodation available Saturday and Sunday night. Anyone who plans to take part in the blockade is expected to come to the training on Sunday and agree to the nonviolence guidelines in advance.

For more information visit www.derby.peacepages.co.uk, tridentploughshares.org
email: derbytp@peacepages.co.uk
or phone 0845 330 3877

Campaign Against Arms Trade thrives on your participation. Some suggestions are below.

For more information on all of these contact the CAAT office on 020 7281 0297, or if you have any enquiries not covered below contact enquiries@caat.org.uk

Subscribe to a CAAT email list

Sign up to receive the monthly CAAT bulletin with the latest news and events; to receive press releases; to join the list for the CAAT Action Network and find out about nonviolent direct action to stop the arms trade; or to find out when the latest CAATnews is on the website. Contact enquiries@caat.org.uk or visit www.caat.org.uk/lists

Make a donation

The donations of our supporters enable CAAT to struggle for a world without arms trading; without your help there would be no campaign. Support CAAT by sending us a cheque, setting up a regular standing order donation, or by taking part in a fundraising event.

Contact Kathryn at kathryn@caat.org.uk

Contact your MP

It is estimated that every letter written to a politician represents about 80 people who care but haven't got around to writing. If you would like to visit or write to your MP, contact the CAAT office to find out if your MP has shown an interest in arms trade issues. On some issues it is also worth contacting your MEP. If you live in Northern Ireland, Scotland or Wales, you can also raise issues that have an impact on employment or the economy with your national representatives.

Contact Ann at ann@caat.org.uk

Campaign locally

CAAT has a network of local contacts and groups around the UK who take responsibility for promoting anti-arms trade activity and the work of CAAT in their area. Get in contact if you would like to know what is happening in your area or if you are interested in becoming a local contact or setting up a group. All that's needed is a willingness to raise awareness of arms trade issues in any way that you feel is appropriate.

Contact Beccie at beccie@caat.org.uk for info, including the Local Campaigns Pack.

Raise awareness

Organising a public meeting, using the local media and running a street stall have proved effective ways for CAAT groups to raise awareness of arms trade issues. CAAT can provide speakers for public meetings, materials for stalls and can also help with publicity.

Contact Anna at action@caat.org.uk or Beccie at beccie@caat.org.uk.

For media info contact Mike at press@caat.org.uk



RICHIE ANDREW

CAAT went along to two music festivals for the first time this summer: the Truck Festival in Oxfordshire and the Green Man Festival in Wales. We talked to people about our campaigns, collected signatures and postcards, and gave out our leaflets and reports. Hundreds of people signed the petition against the DSEi arms fair and signed up to receive CAATnews – if you were one of them, it was great to meet you! We're hoping to go along to festivals again next year – perhaps next summer we'll have all the bands supporting CAAT's work too. If you have ideas on other festivals we could go to, please get in touch with Anna at the CAAT office – email action@caat.org.uk

Research the arms companies

CAAT has produced a range of research on the UK's main arms companies. However, staff at the CAAT office are not able to track all arms company developments and would appreciate receiving any information you find. This can include anything from watching out for information in your local press, to undertaking basic research in your local library, to approaching a company directly for information.

Contact Ian at ian@caat.org.uk

Protest against the arms trade

A protest can confront the arms trade and illustrate that many people do not think that the arms trade is an ordinary, acceptable business. In addition, a protest can generate a lot of publicity, which will raise awareness about the company and the arms trade in general. CAAT is a non-violent organisation and any protest organised under the name of CAAT needs to be non-violent (contact the office for the CAAT guidelines).

Contact Anna at action@caat.org.uk

Join the CAAT Christian Network

The Network raises arms trade issues within national church structures and local churches.

Contact Beccie at beccie@caat.org.uk

Order a CAAT publication

CAAT produces briefings, reports and leaflets on a range of issues.

Contact Patrick at patrick@caat.org.uk

Subscribe now!

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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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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Campaigns diary

10 October

East London Against the Arms Fair organising meeting. Make sure the arms fair doesn't come back in 2007! 7.30pm, The Garden Cafe, 7 Cundy Road, London E16 (Prince Regent DLR station).

22-24 October

Weekend of Action against Rolls Royce. Includes a public meeting and non-violent direct action around the Rolls Royce Raynesway plant in Derby. Email derbytp@peacepages.co.uk

24 October

Clean Investment Campaign re-launch. See page 3.

12 November

CAAT National Gathering. Mary Ward House, 5 Tavistock Place, London. Russell Square. See page 7.

26 November

National day of action to lock the 'revolving door'. See pages 3, 12 and 13.

Weekly

Picket of Spearhead. DISARM DSEi hold a regular picket of Spearhead – organisers of the ExCel Arms fair (DSEi) – and would welcome people joining them. Please email picket@dsei.org for details.

Monthly

Second Monday of each month until the cancellation of all future ExCel Arms Fairs. 7.30pm – East London Against the Arms Fair meeting at the Garden Cafe, 7 Cundy Road, London E16. For Further information about local campaigning against the Arms Fairs, contact East London Against the Arms Trade, c/o CIU, Durning Hall, Earlham Grove, London E7

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

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Email: enquiries@caat.org.uk

Website: www.caat.org.uk

