

# CAAT*n*ews



## UKTI: Armed and dangerous

**Issue 211**  
**January-March 2009**

**£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 waste.

Copy deadline for the next issue is 20 March and we will be posting it the week beginning 6 April.

Content of most website references is also available in print – contact the CAAT office.

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CAAT works for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms producing countries. CAAT is a network of people based in the UK and was set up in 1974.

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If you use Charities Aid Foundation cheques you can support CAAT through TREAT (Trust for Research and Education on Arms Trade). Please send CAF cheques, payable to TREAT, to the office making clear that you wish for your donation to support CAAT's research programme. Unlike CAAT, TREAT is a registered charity (No.328694).

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## IN THIS ISSUE...



**Turn that worm – end the special treatment for arms exports. See pages 8–9 and page 13.**

<b>Control BAE</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Arms trade shorts</b>	<b>4–5</b>
<b>EU code</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>CAAT around the UK</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>UKTI</b>	<b>8–9</b>
<b>Clarion Events</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Around the globe; Review</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Parliamentary; Staff</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>UKTI background</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Fundraising</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Get involved</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Order form</b>	<b>16</b>

# BAE: the pressure's still on

**In July last year the House of Lords ruled that the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) had not acted unlawfully in 2006 when its investigation into the BAE Systems' Al Yamamah arms deal with Saudi Arabia was stopped after the Saudi government's threat to stop anti-terrorism co-operation. Despite the media glare having moved on from BAE, corruption allegations continue. Ann Feltham outlines some of these below, highlighting the continuing need to 'control BAE'.**

## A damning report

First, in mid-October, came a report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD's) Working Group on Bribery. The OECD works through peer pressure, with its thirty industrialised country members reviewing each other.

The Working Group decided to look at the UK after the SFO inquiry was dropped. Its report was damning, and was about as strong as could be, given the diplomatic language used. It suggested that consideration be given to reopening the Al Yamamah inquiry, and it criticised the lack of progress on anti-corruption legislation, the failure to consider alternatives to pulling the investigation, and the delay in responding to the United States' request for Mutual Legal Assistance with regard to its Department of Justice investigation into Al Yamamah.

The report questioned why the UK Ambassador to Saudi Arabia was the sole expert consulted first hand by the SFO, particularly since he had direct involvement in the negotiations to sell Eurofighter Typhoons. This 'could give rise to concerns about unconscious bias or perceptions of partiality'. However, the report did not mention that even the 'second hand' security advice given to the SFO came from Sir Richard Mottram (in 2006 the Cabinet Office's intelligence chief). Mottram, in his then capacity as Private Secretary to Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine, had been present at the signing of the Al Yamamah contract in 1985.

The Government's Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD), which makes sure that companies get

paid even if the overseas purchaser defaults, also came in for strong criticism. The SFO gave the ECGD evidence regarding allegations involving misrepresentations made when the insurance cover was obtained. The report expressed serious concern that nothing was done by the ECGD to follow up this up.

## Developments in the Czech case

The SFO continues to investigate allegations of corruption regarding BAE deals with six other countries. One of them is the Czech Republic, which in 2001 bought BAE Saab Gripen fighters for £1.1 billion in a deal that was later cancelled. At the end of October, the SFO interviewed the Viennese Count Mensdorff-Pouilley and Julian Scopes, a former Ministry of Defence civil servant, now working for BAE and recently appointed as head of its Indian operation.

In December, the Swiss authorities gave the SFO access to bank files, as it wanted help over €1 million payments going through companies in the British Virgin Islands and Panama.

## Searches in South Africa

At the end of November a judge in Pretoria issued search warrants that allowed the South African police to raid the offices of BAE and two individuals in connection with allegations regarding the sale of military aircraft to South Africa in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The warrants said there was a 'reasonable suspicion' that BAE had made payment to agents 'to seek to obtain undue advantage over its competitors in the bidding process'.

On 1st December, Nobel Peace laureates former Archbishop Desmond Tutu and former President F W de Klerk joined forces to write to President Motlanthe urging him to set up a judicial commission of inquiry into the arms deals. We wait to hear further developments in the case.

## Stop Arming Israel

The crisis in Gaza has again highlighted the UK's complicity in arming Israel. Some weaponry is supplied directly – military equipment valued at £24 million in the first two quarters of 2008 was licensed for export from the UK. However, UK arms are also supplied via the US as components and subsystems of weaponry such as F-16 aircraft and Apache helicopters.

More information about UK arms sales to Israel is available on the CAAT website [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk). From there, you can link through to the Stop Arming Israel site, which is a collaboration between several organisations including CAAT, War on Want and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. The CAAT website also links to a petition on the No10 website calling on Prime Minister Gordon Brown to impose an arms embargo.

Postcards to be sent to MPs calling for an arms embargo are available from the CAAT office. Please order them to give out. You can do this by emailing [claire@caat.org.uk](mailto:claire@caat.org.uk) or calling Claire on 020 7281 0297.

### Russia

In an example of strengthening military ties, Venezuela is in talks with Russia over buying T-72M battle tanks to replace its ageing fleet, and is in advanced negotiations to buy infantry fighting vehicles. Venezuela has also expressed interest in Russian anti-aircraft systems. This echoes Russian talks with Iran, which is negotiating over further anti-aircraft systems following initial delivery of missile systems under a 2005 deal. The newspaper *Kommersant* said that

Russia was forming 'alliance relations' with the two regimes in response to US involvement in former Soviet republics. In turn, the US Secretary of State threatened to block Russia's membership of international organisations including the World Trade Organisation and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

TIMES, 19/9/08; JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 29/10/08

Russia helicopter manufacturing company Kamov has announced plans to start exports to Iran; to participate in an Indian tender; and

to set up a service centre for Russian helicopters on the Iberian peninsula. Company officials expect 2008 revenues to be more than \$120m. Kamov is part of the state-controlled holding Russian Helicopters, which took in \$1.2bn last year.

DEFENSE NEWS, 20/10/08

A Thai Army General has announced plans to buy an initial three Mi-17 helicopters from Russia, with more helicopter orders to possibly follow.

AIR FORCES MONTHLY, DECEMBER 08

### Revolving door

Sir David Manning, a former foreign advisor who helped Tony Blair prepare for the invasion of Iraq, has become a non-executive director of Lockheed Martin, an arms manufacturer that supplied military equipment for the war. Manning has also served as a UK ambassador in Washington.

SUNDAY TIMES, 16/11/08

### Cluster bombs

Human Rights Watch said that an international treaty signed in Oslo in December will save thousands of lives 'by stigmatizing a weapon that kills civilians even after the fighting ends'. The treaty includes a ban on the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of cluster munitions. It is supported by a majority of NATO members but opposed by the Bush administration.

Georgia has admitted using cluster bombs during its conflict with Russia in August last year. Human Rights Watch claims that Russia also used the weapons, despite denial by Moscow. Neither Georgia nor Russia were part of the Oslo process.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2/12/08; JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 10/9/08

### Trial over arms-for-oil deal

42 people went on trial in Paris last October accused of involvement in an arms-for-oil venture dubbed "Angolagate". The defendants were accused of benefiting from a covert operation to bypass a French arms sales ban on Angola. Prosecutors claim that between 1993 and 1998, arms and material worth £450m were illegally dispatched to forces loyal to the Angolan President in exchange for oil to multinational companies.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 7/10/08

### Tanks for southern Sudan

It has been confirmed that a shipment of Ukrainian-made tanks aboard a ship seized by Somali pirates last autumn was bound for southern Sudan, despite Ukraine and Kenya claiming that the purchase was made by the Kenyan Ministry of Defence for its own military needs.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 22/10/08

### Afghan rifle change

The Afghan Army is changing rifle models – from the AK-47 to the M-

16. The change has been mentored by US Army staff and most of the M-16s being issued to Afghan Army are refurbished Marine Corps weapons. A driving factor in the change was a desire for NATO-standard weapons.

DEFENSE NEWS, 6/10/08

### 'Medical' handgun

A US company is seeking federal approval to market a handgun as a medical device. The gun, described as a 'Daily Activity Assist Device', is designed for people who have trouble firing a normal gun due to debilitating conditions. A spokesperson for the manufacturers said: 'It's something that they need to assist them in daily living ... The justification for this would be no more or less for a [walking aid] or wheelchair'.

NEW SCIENTIST, 5/12/08

### Military spending

Cambodia is planning to double its military budget in 2009, rising to around \$500m – around 25 per cent of total government spending. The announcement came two weeks after Cambodian and Thai troops exchanged gunfire along their

shared border as part of a conflict over the disputed Preah Vihear temple. Cambodia's military faces a Thai army three times its size and with better equipment and training.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 5/11/08

Sri Lanka's military spending is set to reach an unprecedented LKR177.1bn (\$1.6bn) in 2009. This is from a total state expenditure of LKR925bn, and Sri Lanka's Ministry of Defence (MoD) has the largest budget of any Sri Lankan ministry.

The country's largest military suppliers to date are China, the Czech Republic and Pakistan, and it is now in talks with Russia over military equipment.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 22/10/08

Venezuela has announced a 25 per cent increase in its 2009 military budget, compared to an already all-time-high of the 2008 budget. Since 2005, Venezuelan arms contracts with Russia, China and Belarus have added up to \$4.4bn.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 19/11/08

## BAE Systems

The US Congress has approved the UK's request to re-transfer 24 Eurofighter jets from its inventory to Saudi Arabia, clearing the way for another 48 planes. The transfer had been delayed by concerns in Congress that approval of the deal may influence the US Justice Department investigation into allegations of bribery. These concerns were dropped after committee Chairs were assured that the re-transfer would not interfere with any investigation.

The UK needs US approval to sell the planes to Saudi Arabia because they contain US-made components.

DEFENSE NEWS, 3/11/08

The UK and Oman are close to concluding a deal over the sale to Oman of surplus RAF Eurofighter Typhoon aircraft. BAE Systems, part of the Eurofighter consortium, will be heavily involved in supporting the deal.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 19/11/08

A proposed joint venture between Indian car maker Mahindra and Mahindra and BAE Systems suffered a setback after the Indian government refused to approve a 49 per cent equity holding for BAE. Indian law limits direct investment by foreign companies in any military joint venture to 26 per cent. However, there is a precedent: state-owned Hindustan Aeronautics and Russia's Irkut have a 50-50 joint venture to produce a fifth-generation aircraft. The deal is likely to be re-proposed.

DEFENSE NEWS, 20/10/08

Armor Holdings, a US subsidiary of BAE Systems has agreed to pay the US government \$30m to resolve claims that it knowingly sold defective body armour.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 8/10/08

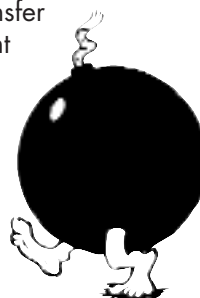
BAE Systems has made an agreement with Westinghouse to explore work on UK civil nuclear plants. Rolls-Royce has also announced the creation of a new unit to focus on the civil nuclear market. Meanwhile, difficulty in recruiting skilled workers is threatening to delay the construction of four submarines at BAE's Submarine Solutions division, which builds the Royal Navy's nuclear-powered boats.

DEFENSE NEWS, 8/9/08

## South Korea sales

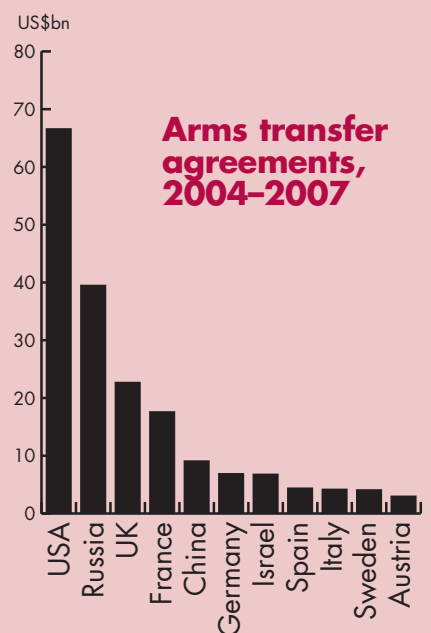
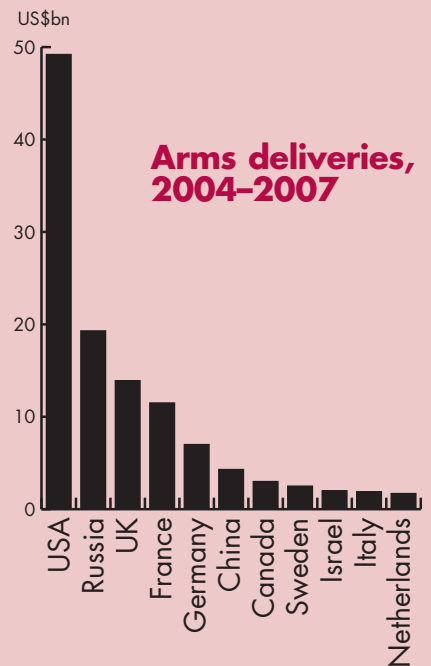
South Korea sold more than \$1bn worth of weapons and military goods overseas in 2008, a 22 per cent increase on the previous year's figures, and the largest amount since it began exporting military goods in 1975. The figures were boosted by a \$400m contract with Turkey over the transfer of tank development technology.

DEFENSE NEWS, 2/1/09



## Leading arms suppliers

Each year the US Congressional Research Service publishes data on arms transfers. Their report from the end of October(1) provided data for the leading arms suppliers, both in terms of actual arms deliveries to the world and also arms transfer agreements.



(1) Richie F. Grimmett, "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2000-2007" (Order Code RL34723), Congressional Research Service, 23 October 2008



# Happy anniversary? 10 years of the EU Code on arms exports

**2008 is the tenth anniversary of the EU Code, which regulates arms transfers from EU member states. A group of European NGOs marked the occasion with a report on its main achievements and the challenges that remain. CAAT has historically been sceptical about the effectiveness of such a control mechanism because of its opposition to the trade per se. So, asks Anna Stavrianakis, what do 10 years of the EU Code mean for CAAT supporters?**

## The good news

NGOs have been pivotal in ensuring the Code is as tight as it is. Setting common standards based on eight criteria, including human rights and regional stability, was an unprecedented step for major arms exporting states.

Under the Code, transparency has improved, but not enough for independent observers to know who sold what to whom, when and for how much – which is precisely how governments and arms companies want it to remain. Originally a politically binding regime, the Code is likely to become legally binding in the near future as an EU Common Position. As part of this process, some improvements have emerged, including the provision of language around international humanitarian law.

However, states continue to licence transfers that contravene the spirit, if not the letter, of the Code. Changes to the wording of the regime to allow greater flexibility in the transfer of components for onward export and EU Commission proposals to relax regulations on intra-community trade continue to be issues of concern.

Other remaining challenges include arms brokering, corruption, transparency, and the changing nature of the arms industry under globalisation, raising questions as to how best to regulate arms transfers.

## Elephants in the room

At heart, the EU Code is about regulating, not reducing the arms trade. Despite this, it seems like a good avenue for activists to pursue. At the very least, it is a yardstick that can be used to hold governments to

account. However, there are key issues that remain off the agenda.

The US military budget is probably the largest elephant in the room. If arms transfers must be based on a realistic assessment of security threats and be good value for money, then exports to the USA – and the world's other largest military spenders – should also be under scrutiny. But such exports are rarely, if ever, deemed problematic by most NGOs, let alone the UK government.

Then there is the militarisation of the EU. European NGOs worry that the possible relaxation of intra-Community transfer rules may lead to a lowest common denominator approach to arms exports. While important, this sidelines analysis of signs that the EU is serious about becoming a military player in its own right.

National military postures cannot be addressed under the EU Code as these are seen as domestic issues. So the Code does not apply to the UK decision on Trident or procurement of Eurofighter Typhoons. While these decisions fall outside of the remit of the Code, Southern governments in effect have their procurement policies scrutinised by European states under its various provisions – unless they are states like Saudi Arabia with bilateral relations shrouded in secrecy.

Unless issues of western militarism, military posture, security relations and use of weaponry are also addressed, attempts to tighten European controls and universalise them through their

application extra-territorially will be ill-received by Southern governments and do little to reduce or significantly control the arms trade.

## Key questions

Essentially, this is a question about what sort of problem the arms trade represents. Is the control of particular types of weaponry, such as cluster bombs and small arms, the key issue? Is it to restrict exports to particular types of recipient such as regimes that violate human rights? Where these concerns are taken account of by the Code, the concern is to regulate the trade and prevent proliferation. And even then, it often fails to restrict exports significantly.

These ways of understanding the arms trade also fail to address its global context, in which the USA is far and away the world's largest military spender and arms exporter, followed by western European states and Russia. These producers favour increasingly high-tech weaponry and have histories of using it against Southern states and populations. Until we start to think seriously about broader issues of disarmament and demilitarisation at home and amongst other major powers, we will fail adequately to address the problems posed by the arms trade.

*Good Conduct? Ten Years of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports can be downloaded from <http://www.saferworld.org.uk>*



# Inspired by National Gathering

CAAT's National Gathering 2008 was an inspiring day for all involved – a chance to reflect on our successes last year, to meet other supporters and to get involved in the launch of CAAT's new campaign, UKTI: Armed and Dangerous (see pages 8–9 and page 13).

Participants at the action planning workshop came up with ideas for highlighting UKTI's business at UKTI non-military exhibitions and using any public work that Prince Andrew does to highlight his role as ambassador for UKTI-supported arms exports. Other workshops looked at ways of using the local media and internet to publicise the campaign, while 15 CAAT supporters tried out their public speaking skills on the issue.

## Universities Network

The Universities Network has been getting even stronger since the National Gathering. Plans include:

- A day of action on Wednesday 11th February.
- A new email list for groups to network with each other – contact [caatunis-subscribe@lists.riseup.net](mailto:caatunis-subscribe@lists.riseup.net)
- Using the CAAT Blog and a wiki to share ideas and materials.
- Working together to focus our campaigning nationally – whether on recruitment events, clean investment, CAAT's national campaign or other opportunities.

To get involved contact [universities@caat.org.uk](mailto:universities@caat.org.uk)

### Eye-opening

The importance of campaigning against the arms trade was emphasised by Solomon Hughes, author of *War on Terror, Inc. – Corporate Profiteering From the Politics of Fear*. He highlighted the way in which profit drives security and military agendas. Participants described his talk as 'fascinating' and 'eye-opening'.

Supporters and staff went away fired up to take action. One participant said: '[The campaign launch was] excellent – it made me want to start immediately!' Another said: 'The best thing about the day was sharing ideas and information with other CAAT campaigners!'

## CAAT's Speakers Network

Can you help raise awareness about the arms trade and CAAT's campaigns? Would you like to get new people involved in our work? Why not join CAAT's Speakers Network?

Speakers are asked to find at least three opportunities a year to speak about CAAT. You will receive a day of training on public speaking and CAAT's campaigns, a speaker's information pack and ongoing support.

Whether you are a seasoned public speaker, or have never spoken in public before, we would love to hear from you. The next training will be on Saturday 25th April – contact Anne-Marie at the office ([annemarie@caat.org.uk](mailto:annemarie@caat.org.uk)) if you would like to attend.

## Taking action around the country

- BAE has had a hard time during this year's graduate recruitment season, with its presence met more often than not by protest. Students at York, Warwick, Nottingham, Durham and elsewhere took action. After the recent withdrawal of a major energy company from university recruitment fairs, is BAE next?
- East London Against the Arms Fair has kept up the pressure on DSEi with a monthly musical protest.
- Warwick students disrupted a Rolls Royce recruitment evening with leaflets describing their products and customers.
- Norfolk CAAT organised a very successful showing of the film *On the Verge* and invited someone from Smash EDO to introduce the film and answer questions from a mainly student and local activist audience.
- Campaigners in Huddersfield leafleted the West Yorkshire Pension Fund AGM.
- Edinburgh CAAT leafleted Scottish Parliament for a nuclear weapon free Scotland.
- Newcastle CAAT held a peaceful vigil outside the local BAE Systems site.
- The Shut Down Heckler and Koch group in Nottingham demonstrated to highlight how arms exports end up creating refugees and indirectly lead to deportations.
- Over a thousand campaigners have already filled in UKTI: Armed and Dangerous postcards.
- See pages 8-10 for news of UKTI and Clarion actions.

ANNE-MARIE O'REILLY

# UKTI: ARMED AND DANGEROUS

**CAAT's new campaign, UKTI: Armed & Dangerous, calls for an end to the government's promotion of arms sales around the world. Sarah Waldron describes the campaign so far and the action you can take to help 'end the uncivil service'. You can read more about UKTI and its activities on page 13.**

## **Warning: arms dealers in the building**

On 24 November, three civil servants arrived for work at the London office of UK Trade & Investment (UKTI), the government unit that helps companies 'succeed internationally'. Though respectably attired in smart suits and bowler hats, they stood out from the rest of the staff. Perhaps it was because they had the lethal weaponry they were promoting slung over their shoulders.

The week before, 200 new staff had taken their seats in the UKTI building. Our three CAAT supporters in disguise were there to draw attention to the arrival of these new staff, members of the UKTI Defence & Security Organisation (UKTI DSO), employed to help arms companies make more deals.

At the time of CAAT's protest, staff from UKTI DSO were participating in Pakistan's IDEAS arms fair, just one in an annual cycle of arms proliferation events they will attend (see page 13), but particularly notable for its open invite list. This year's visitors included high-level delegations from Sudan and Zimbabwe, as well as China, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, all listed by the UK government as

'major countries of concern' regarding human rights. The organisers report that major agreements were signed at the fair.

Coordinating UK attendance at arms fairs such as this is a particularly striking example of what the UK's support for arms exports involves, but there are other, equally powerful examples. For instance, in the last year the UK sold arms to 11 of the 13 countries that were experiencing at least one major armed conflict. In 2008, it sold arms to both Georgia and Russia before decrying the conflict between them a few months later.

CAAT's action highlighted UKTI's involvement in the arms trade both for the public and other staff in the organisation. Supporters carried placards warning that arms dealers were at work in the building. They gave out leaflets to staff asking if they knew where their colleagues were that week and explaining the devastating impact of the work their department supports. Our message was certainly very noticeable and, encouragingly, plenty of staff took leaflets, with a number expressing their unhappiness about UKTI's arms trading work.

## **Targeting UKTI**

Important first steps in the campaign include exposing the devastating international impact of UKTI's activities, and demonstrating the strength of public opposition to UK government promotion of arms sales. We are collecting thousands of campaign postcards addressed to UKTI's Chief Executive Andrew Cahn who, together with the rest of the UKTI Executive Board, determines how the organisation's resources are allocated. We're calling on him to end UKTI's support for arms sales and, at the very least, to end the vastly disproportionate support given to the arms industry, which currently has a similar level of staff support to that of every civil industry sector combined – despite accounting for only 1.5 per cent of UK exports.

As well as the devastating human impacts, we're also highlighting the financial and security costs of support for arms sales. Because the industry is heavily subsidised, economic activity is skewed away from other potentially more useful sectors. If the money spent in the service of arms companies were invested in solutions to real threats such as climate change, we would have both a greatly improved





**'Arms dealer' leafletting** IAN MCKINNON

security outlook and probably more jobs and better long-term employment prospects.

### Spread the word

CAAT supporters at the National Gathering pledged to persuade five more people to sign a postcard. If all of CAAT's supporters were able to do the same, UKTI would have to take notice. Of course, CAAT can provide as many postcards as you can distribute! You could promote the campaign through your local community centre, place of worship, school or university, or by organising a stall or public meeting. Phone CAAT, or email [claire@caat.org.uk](mailto:claire@caat.org.uk) to order postcards, petitions, and other campaign materials. We also have an online petition at [www.caat.org.uk/ukti/petition](http://www.caat.org.uk/ukti/petition) - so you can start spreading the word right away.

### Visit UKTI

UKTI has a number of regional offices across the country, offering an opportunity to take the message right to the door, and to tell other staff about the campaign. UKTI regional offices are located in Barnsley, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Derby, Durham, Exeter, Fareham, Leeds, Manchester and Shropshire.

A calendar of some of the events UKTI is involved in can be found on page 13, and check

[www.caat.org.uk/ukti](http://www.caat.org.uk/ukti), or phone the office for the most up-to-date details on UKTI's plans.

### Parliamentary

While it's up to the UKTI Board to make the moves – by starting to cut back on support for arms exports – their actions will need Ministerial sign-off. At the same time, any reduction in UKTI support for arms will be opposed by an arms industry keen to defend its vested interests.

These factors mean it's also vitally important that parliamentarians and Ministers are aware of the arguments against the special treatment UKTI is giving to arms sales, and the strength of public opposition to such activity.

Please write to your MP expressing your concerns about UKTI's new role in arms sales, and asking him or her to raise them with the Minister of State for Trade & Industry. This allows us to raise awareness among parliamentarians as well as getting the attention of the Minister – who is obliged to reply to letters passed on by MPs.

A new Minister for Trade & Industry, Gareth Thomas MP, was appointed in October 2008 to replace Lord Digby Jones. Digby Jones had enthusiastically embraced UKTI's new arms promotion role, but as Gareth Thomas is also a minister for international development, we hope he may be inclined to take a

slightly more critical approach to arms sales.

- Find out who your MP by calling the House of Commons on 020 7219 3000.
- Write to your MP at the House of Commons, Westminster, London, SW1A 0AA
- Find ideas on some key points you might like to make in your letter in CAAT's UKTI: Armed & Dangerous campaign pack which you can order by contacting the office, or visit [www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/ukti/MP.php](http://www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/ukti/MP.php)
- While a letter in your own words will have the most impact, any contact from a constituent will be noticed by an MP, so for those with only a couple of minutes to spare, we've also included a model letter, ready to sign and send.

### Coming up

We're keen to demonstrate the breadth of support for our campaign, and so will be seeking support from other groups and organisations for a statement calling for an end to UKTI's support for arms sales. The statement will be available on the website soon. In the meantime please get in touch if you're a member of, or in touch with, a group that would like to support the campaign.

If you'd like a talk or workshop on the campaign in 2009, to raise awareness locally, or to help a local group take action, contact Selina on 020 7281 0297, or email [selina@caat.org.uk](mailto:selina@caat.org.uk)

**Order your UKTI: Armed & Dangerous campaign pack, which contains everything you need to get up to speed and take effective action to end government support for arms exports, including a background briefing, a campaign action guide, postcards, petitions, sample letters and posters. Email [claire@caat.org.uk](mailto:claire@caat.org.uk) or call 020 7281 0297. You can also order extra postcards or additional copies of any of the other materials. Please do let us know what action you take.**

# Pressure mounts on baby show owners over arms fairs

**Since Clarion Events bought a group of arms fairs, the company's chief executive has been busy telling his clients and customers that public opinion is not against the arms industry. But the public reaction has proved him wrong, writes Symon Hill.**

Clarion's exhibitions range from the Baby Show to the Spirit of Christmas Fair. The company bought three arms fairs from Reed Elsevier in May 2007, including the biennial London arms fair, euphemistically known as Defence Systems and Equipment International (DSEi). Many CAAT supporters were involved in the campaign that led to Reed – best known as an academic and medical publisher – pulling out of the arms trade. The campaign brought together shareholders, writers, academics, students and the wider public.

Clarion apparently thought that it could cope with such criticism. So happy was it with the three arms fairs it bought in May that it snapped up another two in September – around the same time that an Australian arms fair was cancelled due to public pressure.

## The Baby Show

Then came the Baby Show. By the time it opened in October, every exhibitor had heard from CAAT and many had been contacted by the media, particularly by the freelance journalist Emily Apple. Clarion's chief executive Simon Kimble received a steady stream of critical communication from exhibitors. He wrote back assuring them that Clarion served only 'the legitimate defence industry' and had no connection with human rights abuses. He did not explain how this squared with DSEi's invitations to representatives from China, Libya, Colombia and Saudi Arabia. 'We do not believe,' insisted Kimble 'that public opinion is opposed to the defence and security industry.'

But only days before the Baby Show opened, Unicef pulled out of a deal to receive donations from ticket sales. Companies such as Pampers



**Ho ho boom. Bah humbug to peace and goodwill.**

and Vitabiotics made their criticisms public. Clarion's reputation was falling fast when, less than 24 hours before it opened, the Show's main sponsor Bounty announced that it would not turn up. The next week it added that it would not sponsor future Baby Shows.

## Pressure

Clarion's bosses pushed ahead, perhaps hoping that the criticism would die down. Yet the pressure grew as Clarion came under attack at almost every event it held. The Manchester Baby Show faced a large demonstration organised by students from the local branch of Medsin. When Clarion ran the MPH Motor Show in association with the BBC's Top Gear programme, CAAT supporter Steve Evans made a formal complaint to the BBC and yet more media stories featured CAAT's criticisms of Clarion. Several exhibitors at the Spirit of Christmas Fair declared their withdrawal from

Clarion's events and, as it opened, CAAT supporters dressed as Santa Claus and elves carried sacks of weapons outside the venue, attracting interest from both customers and the media.

Meanwhile, residents of east London made Clarion aware of the local opposition to DSEi, with East London Against the Arms Fair holding regular protests.

## Catch up

Clarion's bosses are learning the hard way that criticism of arms fairs is widespread and found in all sectors of society. Like Reed Elsevier before them, they are discovering that the arms trade is not an option for any business that cares about its reputation. But this time the backlash has happened even more swiftly. There is no doubt that public hostility to the arms trade has risen sharply in recent years, not least because the controversies around BAE have shown the depth of the arms industry's influence within government. As more and more businesses, universities and local authorities declare that they are willing to sever ties with the arms trade, the pressure can only grow on companies such as Clarion to follow their lead, and catch up with public opinion.

**CAAT supporters in Birmingham are planning to take action around the Baby Show at the NEC on 16–18 May. Contact Dorothy Forbes on 0121 444 4543**

# Anti-arms trade campaigns around the globe

**Action at arms factories, campaigning against arms fairs and writing submissions to parliamentary committees are all activities that have a part to play in the growing international movement against military exports. Ann Feltham reports.**

## Sweden

Five Swedish peace campaigners were arrested in mid-October after they broke into factories owned by arms manufacturers BAE Systems and Saab and used a hammer to damage Howitzer components as well as twenty high explosive grenade launchers. The campaigners said that this equipment gets used in Kashmir and other war zones. The five campaigners are looking forward to arguing the ethical and legal case for their actions in court.

**For more on the Swedish action see**  
<http://www.ofog.org/introduction>  
**For more on the campaign in Canada see**  
<http://coat.ncf.ca/>  
**For more on Ceasefire's work see**  
<http://www.ceasefire.org.za>

## Canada

Following the cancellation of the Asia Pacific Defence & Security Exhibition in Australia (see *CAATnews* 210), comes news that 'Secure Canada 2008', scheduled to take place in Ottawa on 30th September and 1st October, was cancelled. The organisers gave the reason for this as anti-war protests and federal government restrictions on participation in controversial events during the election campaign.

However, Canada's largest arms fair, CANSEC 2009, is planned for the same venue in May. These exhibitions come despite a 1989 Ottawa City Council resolution banning arms fairs on municipal property. The Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT) was instrumental in pressing for the ban

resolution and is now campaigning against the new arms fairs. You can support COAT's campaign by emailing Ottawa's mayor, Larry O'Brien at [Larry.O'Brien@ottawa.ca](mailto:Larry.O'Brien@ottawa.ca) calling for the 1989 ban to be upheld and for CANSEC to be cancelled.

## South Africa

Ceasefire's Arms Reduction Working Group is concerned that South Africa's National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCAC) is

weakening the country's arms regulations. A proposed amendment to the NCAC Act would lessen transparency, thus confirming legislatively something that is already happening in practice.

In its submission to the Portfolio Committee on Defence, Ceasefire said that South Africa was failing to meet the reporting requirements of the United Nations and argued that transparency requires up-to-date reports containing more detail than is currently provided. As in the UK, the manufacturers have raised the issue of commercial confidentiality, but, says Ceasefire, this should not allow a South African arms seller to prohibit the open reporting of arms sales to parliament.



## Review

***Solitaire* by Bernard Ashley, Usborne Publishing Ltd, 2008**

The story introduces the two main characters after the attack on a cruise ship in a war zone: a young boy who loses his memory and becomes shipwrecked on an island, and a grandfather in search of his grandson who he is convinced is still alive.

This book definitely shows that young people can be independent and have their own points of view. It is interesting to see how the young Pax has to struggle with adults to try and get what he wants, for example, to stay on the island.

I feel the book is directed towards the boys' adventure stories market and a lot of the excitement in the story is connected to the war helicopters and suchlike, which glamourises the machinery of the arms trade. Having said this, for young readers this book could be a very enjoyable read - just not a great method of showing people how bad the arms trade is.

Although the reader doesn't learn much, Pax's memories of his relationship with Zuri, who was killed in a minefield when he encouraged her to run away from an army helicopter, are very moving. His realisation that the arms trade, not him, are responsible for her death should leave readers with a strong feeling that the arms trade is wrong.

EMILY O'REILLY

# Arms, BAE and the Export Credits Guarantee Department

The Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD), which is answerable to the Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, provides Government-backed insurance to companies selling their wares overseas. If the buyer does not pay, the UK taxpayer picks up the bill.

The ECGD's Annual Reports show that one business benefits more than any other – the arms business. Even though arms account for just 1.5 per cent of total UK exports, in 2006-7,

42 per cent of all export credits were for military goods and, in 2007-8, the figure was even higher at 57 per cent. This export credit support is given for very few deals. In the earlier year the whole 42 per cent was accounted for by BAE Systems' arms sales to Saudi Arabia. At £750 million this was also by far and away the ECGD's biggest liability in 2007-8, with VT Shipbuilding International's Offshore Patrol Vessels to Trinidad & Tobago coming second. ANN FELTHAM

## CAAT Steering Committee

There were just three nominations for the four places for Supporter representatives to sit on CAAT's Steering Committee in 2010 and 2011.

Kathryn Busby, Helen Close and Barnaby Pace therefore join the Committee, which is CAAT's final decision-making body.

## CAAT's Media Coordinator

### Goodbye from Symon

After three exciting years as CAAT Media Co-ordinator, I am leaving the staff to take up other work. Saying goodbye is very sad, but I will remain an enthusiastic CAAT supporter.

It has been a huge privilege to work for CAAT, an organisation with a rare combination of radicalism and effectiveness. The last few years have been especially eventful, including the Control BAE campaign, judicial review, closure of DESO and launch of our work on UKTI. CAAT is a great employer and it has been an honour to work with such supportive colleagues. CAAT's supporters have inspired me throughout my work with their commitment and encouragement.

I wish Kaye every success in her new job. I will be developing freelance media work, as well as working part-time for the Quakers. And while the arms trade continues to turn the wheels of war and poverty, I'll be an active part of CAAT.



**Kaye Stearman**

### Hello from Kaye

Hello, I'm Kaye Stearman and I will be starting as the new Media Co-ordinator in January 2009. I will continue developing CAAT's media work, assisting local activists with media, and collaborating with other CAAT staff in organisational development. I will be working four days a week.

I have worked with voluntary organisations for many years, including in the areas of international development, human rights, health and disability – all issues connected to the violence and destruction fuelled by the arms trade. Working with CAAT will be a natural extension of past work and I am looking forward to getting CAAT's messages to the wider world.

Kaye can be contacted at [press@caat.org.uk](mailto:press@caat.org.uk).

**Thanks to Symon for all his excellent work during his time at CAAT and we wish him all the best for the future.**



# Building a picture of UKTI DSO

**With the UKTI Defence & Security Organisation only set up in April 2008, we are still piecing together its activities and how it relates to the rest of UKTI. Here, Ian Prichard looks at the two activities that are obviously important and about which we have information: meetings with officials of potential customer governments and promotion of UK weaponry at international arms fairs.**

## Meeting the customer

CAAT asked the UKTI DSO for a list of meetings with defence ministry officials or the armed forces of specific countries. These countries were ones that had either been identified in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office's Human Rights annual report as 'major countries of concern', or were locations of at least one major armed conflict in 2007. The response covered just a few months of UKTI DSO's existence but stated that its London staff had met with officials or the military of Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Iraq, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The information excluded meetings by UKTI staff based overseas or demonstrations to potential customers by the UKTI DSO's dedicated armed forces unit (the Export Support Team).

## Arms fair promotion

Most CAAT supporters will be very familiar with the concept of arms fairs – international gatherings of arms companies, military delegations and trade visitors where thousands of buyers and sellers can mingle, exchange contact details and arrange deals. UKTI DSO helps organise UK arms fairs and exhibits enthusiastically at many overseas. Where arms fairs don't exist (and sometimes where they do) UKTI DSO looks for other opportunities to help companies market their arms in-country. Perhaps most notable are Defence Industry Days where visiting Royal Navy ships become floating arms promotion platforms.

Much of our information on arms fairs

and Defence Industry Days is gleaned from websites and the trade press, although Freedom of Information requests have helped fill in some of the gaps. The Defence Industry Days that UKTI DSO has organised so far, along with the arms fairs where UKTI DSO has exhibited or confirmed that it will exhibit, are shown in the box.

Three weeks after UKTI DSO was established, it attended the Malaysian Defence Services Asia arms fair. The event featured 718 companies from 49 countries; delegations from 32 countries including China, India, Indonesia, Myanmar (Burma), Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, Turkey, Vietnam and Zimbabwe; and 26,990 trade visitors from 63 countries including Iran and Somalia.

A similar range of participants has been present, along with UKTI DSO, at other arms fairs, including Pakistan's International Defence Exhibition and Seminar (IDEAS). There is no hope or expectation of arms controls or restrictions at the events. At a previous IDEAS, the show organiser was asked which countries Pakistan wouldn't arm. He said: 'I don't think we have a problem on that score. Maybe Israel we wouldn't like to sell weapons to.'

Soon after the Pakistan arms fair, UKTI DSO will be participating in Aero India. The fact that this is apparently unremarkable says much about arms fairs and UKTI DSO.

## UKTI DSO's arms fair appointments

### April 2008

**Jordan** – Special Operations Forces Exhibition and Conference; **Malaysia** – Defence Services Asia

### June 2008

**France** – Eurosatory

### July 2008

**Indonesia** – Defence Industry Day on board HMS Kent; **UK** – Farnborough International

### September 2008

**South Africa** – Defence Industry Day on board HMS Liverpool; **South Africa** – Africa Aerospace and Defence

### October 2008

**Japan** – Japan Aerospace; **US** – Association of US Army; **Angola** – Defence Industry Day on board HMS Liverpool; Greece – Defendory; **France** – Euronaval; **Australia** – Land Warfare Conference

### November 2008

**Qatar** – Milipol Qatar, on "internal state security"; **Pakistan** – International Defence Exhibition and Seminar

### December 2008

**Chile** – Exponaval

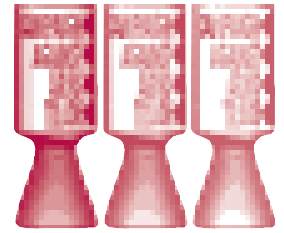
### February 2009

**India** – Aero India UAE – International Defence Exhibition and Conference.





# Fundraising



## New Year's Resolutions

There are many things you can do to help raise money for CAAT in 2009 and beyond. Here are ten ideas – add one or more of them to your list of resolutions today!

### Donate by standing order

Making a regular gift is the most efficient way to support CAAT and it helps us plan our future work. Just £5 per month makes a real difference. Simply complete the form on the back page.

### Join the Phone Co-op scheme

The Phone Co-op donates 6 per cent of each CAAT supporter's bill. Visit [www.phone.coop/caat](http://www.phone.coop/caat) or call 0845 458 9000 for more details. Remember to quote 384/AF0302 to ensure CAAT benefits.

### Get sponsored for CAAT

Whether you feel like running a race, skydiving or doing something slightly less exhilarating you can help us raise vital funds. Contact us for sponsorship forms and tips on how to fundraise online.

### Surf the web with Everyclick.com

Support CAAT whilst you surf by making Everyclick your search engine. Just go to [www.everyclick.com](http://www.everyclick.com) and select the Trust for Research and Education on the Arms Trade as your charity. TREAT donates all proceeds to CAAT.

### Organise a fundraising event

Supporters' events have helped us to raise thousands of pounds in the past. Whether it's something you're already planning or you have an event idea you'd like to discuss, get in touch today!

### Invest ethically

If you've decided to sort out your finances this year, consider contacting Investing Ethically Ltd for your financial advice – they will donate 10 per cent of their commission to CAAT. Visit [www.investing-ethically.co.uk](http://www.investing-ethically.co.uk) or call 01603 309020 and remember to mention CAAT.

### Volunteer with the Workers Beer Company (WBC)

We always need volunteers to work with the WBC at some of the summer's most popular festivals, including Glastonbury, Reading and Leeds. You will gain free admission and your wages will be donated to CAAT.

### Recycle your mobile phone

CAAT has joined up with Greener Solutions to offer you a greener way to dispose of your unwanted mobile phones – CAAT receives £2 for each recycled phone. Order your freepost envelope today.

### Buy CAAT greetings cards

Christmas may have been and gone, but CAAT greetings cards are suitable for use all year round and are a great way of raising awareness about our work. Order yours by completing the form on the back page or visiting our website.

### Remember CAAT in your Will

If you've resolved to write your Will this year, please consider making a lasting difference to CAAT by leaving a legacy to help fund our future work. There are several ways you can do this; please contact Sally to discuss the options.

To discuss any of the above, please contact Sally on 020 7281 0297 or email [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@caat.org.uk). Good luck sticking to your resolutions in 2009!

## Workers Beer Company

Just in case our fundraising resolutions didn't quite persuade you, here's some more information about volunteering for the Workers Beer Company to raise money for CAAT.

The WBC is a not-for-profit organisation that runs the bars at some of the summer's most popular music festivals. It recruits volunteers from a wide range of campaigning organisations and donates their wages to the organisations they represent. Last year CAAT volunteers raised a fantastic £4,600 by giving up their time to work in the WBC bars at festivals such as Glastonbury, Latitude, Leeds and Reading.

As well as gaining free entry for the duration of the event, volunteers are able to pitch their tents in the WBC Village, which offers above average camping and showering facilities! Volunteers can also make use of free transport to a number of the larger events and receive a free meal for each shift they work.

Throughout last summer almost 40 CAAT supporters volunteered their time to raise a significant amount of money, which makes a great difference to our work. But we can always raise more! The more volunteers CAAT sends to events, the more money we raise. We are looking for reliable people to join CAAT's team of friendly volunteers and help us beat last year's total.

If you would like to volunteer your time for CAAT in this way, or would like more information about what volunteering involves, please contact Sally on 020 7281 0297 or email [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@caat.org.uk) as soon as possible. SALLY CAMPBELL

# Participate in CAAT – here's how

## Subscribe to an email list

Sign up to receive the monthly CAAT bulletin with the latest news and events, and receive press releases. Contact [enquiries@caat.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@caat.org.uk) or visit [www.caat.org.uk/lists](http://www.caat.org.uk/lists)

## Make a donation

Our supporters' donations enable us to strive 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 Sally at [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@caat.org.uk)

## Campaign locally

CAAT's campaigns are effective because people like you take action around the country. Have a look at our campaigners' 'to do' list (see box) to find out our key campaign priorities. You might run a CAAT stall, contact your local media or invite a CAAT speaker to speak at an event. You can also get more involved in a campaign by taking on one of these campaigner roles:

**Join or start a local CAAT group** – visit [www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/local/groups.php](http://www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/local/groups.php) to find out if there is a group near you or contact Anne-Marie [annemarie@caat.org.uk](mailto:annemarie@caat.org.uk) to start a group in your area.

**Become a Local Contact** – act as a contact for CAAT supporters in your area. Co-ordinate local campaign activities or keep a local campaign group updated on CAAT's work.

**Become a Local Media Contact** – help build CAAT's profile by contacting your local media every month with the help of a briefing from CAAT.

**Join the CAAT Speakers Network** – raise awareness about CAAT and get people campaigning by committing to arrange at least three talks a year. CAAT will provide training and a speakers pack with information and presentations.

**Become a Local Multiplier** – help spread the word about CAAT by receiving multiple copies of our materials to distribute in your area.

More information on how to campaign locally can be found at [www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/local](http://www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/local)

Order a copy of the Local Campaigns Guide or find out more about these campaigner roles by contacting [annemarie@caat.org.uk](mailto:annemarie@caat.org.uk).

## Universities Network

Join in with planning the next stage of our universities campaign, whether that is working towards ethical investment, stopping the arms trade's graduate recruitment or exposing the arms trade's research involvement at your university.

- We have just launched a brand new discussion and planning list. Subscribe by sending an email to [caatunis-subscribe@lists.riseup.net](mailto:caatunis-subscribe@lists.riseup.net)
- Contact [universities@caat.org.uk](mailto:universities@caat.org.uk) for more information about the Network.

## CAAT Christian Network

The network raises arms trade issues within national church structures and local churches. Contact Alun Morinan at [christian@caat.org.uk](mailto:christian@caat.org.uk)

## Leave a legacy

If you are currently making or re-writing your Will, please consider leaving a gift to help fund our campaigns. Your legacy will make a real difference to CAAT's future work. Please call Sally on 020 7281 0297 to discuss the different ways you can remember CAAT.

## Campaigners 'to do' list

- Order UKTI: Armed and Dangerous campaign postcards and get at least 10 other people to sign one
- Contact the CAAT office to book a talk or workshop to get people in your area together to take action on UKTI: Armed and Dangerous
- If you are at university, take part in the National Day of Action on 11 February. Email [universities@caat.org.uk](mailto:universities@caat.org.uk)
- If you would like to join the Speakers Network, book now for the training on 25 April. Email [annemarie@caat.org.uk](mailto:annemarie@caat.org.uk)
- Help raise money to keep the campaign going by volunteering with the Workers Beer Company at this summer's top music festivals. Email [sally@caat.org.uk](mailto:sally@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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## 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 £5 a month makes a real difference.

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Postcode

Sort code  Acc/no

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 505035\_ \_) the sum of

pounds (£ )

starting on (dd/mm/yyyy)  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, Freeport, LON6486, London N4 3BR.

If you DO NOT wish to receive CAATnews please tick here

CAAT use only.  
Please quote ref

on all payments

# Order form

PLEASE TICK BOX AND MARK QUANTITY REQUIRED

## Recent publications

**Making Arms, Wasting Skills: Alternatives to Militarism and Arms Production**, April 2008, by Steven Schofield (£3) Quantity

**Local Campaigns Guide**, September 2008 (free) Quantity

## UKTI: Armed & Dangerous campaign materials

**Postcard (free)** Quantity

**Campaign pack (free)** Quantity

**Briefing (free)** Quantity

**Poster (free)** Quantity

## Other resources

**T-shirts** Black with small white logo (women's fitted: small, medium or large; unisex: medium, large or extra large) (£6.95) Quantity

**Greeting cards**  
Thoughtful Dove – £4.50 for 10 cards and envelopes.  
Quantity  packs  
Please include 50p postage for each pack of cards.

**Introduction to CAAT (free)** Quantity

**Recruiting leaflet** Counting the Cost (free) Quantity

WE DON'T WANT ANYONE TO BE PREVENTED FROM GETTING INVOLVED BY THE COST OF MATERIALS, SO MANY OF OUR RESOURCES ARE FREE. HOWEVER, IF YOU ARE ABLE TO MAKE A DONATION TOWARDS THE COSTS OF PRODUCING AND SENDING OUR RESOURCES, IT WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

Please make cheques payable to CAAT.

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Postcode

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Telephone

Would you like to receive our monthly email bulletin?

Yes  No

Please return this form to:

CAAT  
11 Goodwin Street  
London N4 3HQ

