

CAAT*news*



Issue 215
January-March 2010

£1.00

11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ
Tel: 020 7281 0297
Fax: 020 7281 4369
Email: enquiries@caat.org.uk
Website: www.caat.org.uk

**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE**

Editor Melanie Jarman

Proofreader John Moseley

Design Richie Andrew

Contributors Frida Berrigan, Cordula Bieri, Mark Bitel, Sally Campbell, Ann Feltham, Alun Morinan, Anne-Marie O'Reilly, Ian Prichard, Sarah Reader, Kaye Stearman, David Turner, Sarah Waldron.

Legal consultant Glen Reynolds

Thank you also to our dedicated team of CAATnews stuffers.

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

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

Campaign Against Arms Trade
11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ
Tel: 020 7281 0297
Fax: 020 7281 4369
Email: enquiries@caat.org.uk
Web: www.caat.org.uk

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).

Contributors retain copyright of all work used. The content and views expressed in articles, advertisements and promotional material included within CAATnews by other organisations are not necessarily endorsed or supported by CAAT. Any related enquiries or concerns should be addressed to the relevant organisation.

To receive this issue of CAATnews in large print please call 020 7281 0297

IN THIS ISSUE...

Welcome to this issue of CAATnews

We hope you like this issue's cover image – an illustration commissioned by CAAT calling for BAE not to be let off the hook! Pages 3 and 13 outline some background to our call to keep the arms company swinging. During this coming year we may well see the line pulled tighter on BAE, as the company may be held to account in court for its actions.

One thing that will certainly unfold over this year is our UKTI: Armed and Dangerous campaign.

On pages 8 and 9 CAAT Core Campaigns Coordinator Sarah Waldron outlines why CAAT wants to see UKTI dismantled. Sarah also introduces a strategic approach to campaigning around the general election.

Finally, thanks to Frida Berrigan of the New America Foundation for her article on Obama's approach to the arms trade since he became President of the US, the world's largest exporter of conventional weapons (see page 11).

BAE investigations	3
Arms Trade Shorts	4–5
CAAT around the UK	6–7
UKTI	8–9
News	10
US arms policy	11
Parliamentary; CAAT news	12
BAE	13
Fundraising	14
Get active!	15
Order form	16

Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) works for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms producing countries.

BAE closer to prosecution?

It is over five years since the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) began investigating allegations of corruption by the largest UK-based arms company, BAE Systems, with respect to its deals with Chile, Czech Republic, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Tanzania. The Saudi part of the investigation was, of course, shamefully stopped by Tony Blair's government in December 2006, but there are now signs that BAE may face court with respect to some of the other deals.

Awaiting decision

On 1 October 2009, after BAE had reportedly not accepted the offer of a plea bargain on the grounds that the suggested fine was too high, the SFO announced that it was taking steps to prosecute the company in relation to arms deals in Eastern Europe and Africa. At the time of writing, the files are said to be being reviewed by a barrister prior to the SFO deciding which, if any, will be passed to the Attorney-General, Lady Scotland. She will make the decision on whether or not to prosecute.

Some media articles have suggested that the SFO is likely to be selective over the cases to be taken forward, maybe concentrating on the easier ones. These reports are worrying, since they might suggest



The High Court in London, scene of the 2008 judicial review judgement

that no action will be taken over South Africa, which, after Saudi Arabia, is the biggest case. This would be an affront to the many South Africans in poor housing or needing medication: it is essential that BAE's methods of selling its equipment to the South African government, encouraging expenditure on weaponry rather than social needs, are addressed in court.

Current status

The status of the investigations with regards to Chile and Qatar is unclear as the SFO has refused to answer questions about them. More information about the other cases can be found on page 13.

ANN FELTHAM

The wider context

A BAE conviction in the UK or elsewhere would cause huge reputational damage. It is also possible that European Union or United States' regulations could stop BAE bidding for lucrative military contracts.

So far the BAE response has been muted. While denying any wrongdoing, BAE says that the SFO is concerned with "historical matters". However, most of the allegations refer to deals that have

taken place within the last ten years and some of those mentioned in the reports are still working for the company.

BAE supporters in parliament and the media declare that BAE has reinvented itself as an ethical company with real corporate responsibility. However, this claim received a considerable setback in October 2009 with the publication of Charles Haddon-Cave QC's

report into the 2006 Nimrod crash (see page 10).

BAE, responsible for a safety exercise on the Nimrod, was described in the report as "a company in denial". Charles Haddon-Cave said that BAE "has failed to implement its expressed ethical business culture company-wide. The responsibility for this must lie with the leadership of the company."

Revolving door

Sir David Pepper, former head of Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), has been appointed to the UK advisory board of military company Thales. The company's UK chief executive said that Sir David could help the company to expand its national security and surveillance businesses.

TIMES, 6/10/09

Former Cabinet Minister Paul Boateng has become a director of mercenary firm Aegis Defence Services after lobbying the South African government to water down proposed anti-mercenary legislation. After stepping down as an MP in 2005 Boateng became the UK's High Commissioner in South Africa. He quit that post in May 2009.

SUNDAY TIMES, 8/11/09

Mercenaries

In November the *New York Times* alleged that a senior executive at US security company Blackwater (now renamed Xe) approved secret payments of \$1m to buy the silence of Iraqi officials after the company's staff killed 17 Iraqi citizens in 2007. A spokesperson for Xe described the allegations as "baseless".

GUARDIAN.CO.UK, 11/11/09

Nick du Toit, a co-conspirator of Simon Mann, the British mercenary released from prison in Equatorial Guinea last November, has claimed that Mann paid a £400,000 bribe to be freed. Du Toit was jailed with Mann in 2004 for taking part in a failed coup d'état.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 23/11/09

Corruption

Dozens of leading French politicians and other public figures have been found guilty of fuelling the conflict in Angola during the 1990s through the illegal sale of weapons worth £450m. Jail terms and heavy fines were handed out to some, while

prosecutors accused France of tacit backing for the sales.

TIMES, 28/10/09

Investigations into bribery allegations involving military group Saab have been launched after a raid by South Korean officials on the company's branch in Seoul. The bribes are thought to be in relation to the KF-X stealth fighter programme. Saab has rejected suggestions that it offered inducements for classified information on the KF-X project.

DEFENSE NEWS, 19/10/09

More than 30 US politicians are being investigated in congressional ethics enquiries into influence-peddling. Seven of them are members of a military procurement committee.

TIMES, 31/10/09

Embargoes

A UN panel has concluded that the Sudanese government is among those repeatedly and consistently violating a UN arms embargo. The panel noted reports that aircraft from the Sudan Air Force had conducted aerial bombardments in and around locations in North and South Darfur. The panel also noted the deployment of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Darfur.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 11/11/09

European Union member states have dropped an arms embargo against Uzbekistan, imposed after a 2005 massacre of civilians by Uzbek soldiers. The country has rejected EU demands for an independent inquiry and human rights campaigners say that repression has worsened over the past year.

EUOBSERVER.COM, 22/10/09

Last autumn the European Union imposed an arms embargo on Guinea in response to the killing of anti-government demonstrators in September. The embargo was intended to add to pressure on the army captain who seized power in December 2008.

However, in November the *Guardian* reported that the military junta was importing millions of dollars worth of weapons, including light arms bought in Ukraine and worth £27m. Amnesty International has published links to footage of the massacre, which it claims shows the use of Mamba armoured cars against protestors. Mambas have been sold to Guinea by a subsidiary of UK military manufacturer Alvis. The firm was subsequently taken over by BAE Systems.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 28/10/09; GUARDIAN, 3/11/09;

GUARDIAN.CO.UK, 26/10/09



An Israeli UAV in flight

UAVs

Defense News has claimed that the use of Israeli Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) by German forces in Afghanistan is the latest example of a trend of NATO nations leasing or urgently buying locally produced UAVs. Over the last two and a half years, six NATO nations have tapped three Israeli UAV systems to support operations in Afghanistan.

DEFENSE NEWS, 16/11/09

The possibility of arming a Thales UK/Elbit Systems Unmanned Aerial Vehicle has been raised: this is the first time that the Ministry of Defence has acknowledged the possibility of such a step.

FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL, 3/11/09

US sales

US Foreign Military Sales (FMS) have risen 465 per cent since 1998, reaching a new record. Among the largest deals announced in the 2009

financial year was the notification of a possible sale to Iraq of military equipment valued at up to \$6bn.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 4/11/09

The US is donating military equipment worth \$5m to Mali to support any offensive against Al-Qaeda in the north of the country.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 28/10/09

The US has agreed to sell AH-1W Cobra attack helicopters to Turkey, almost two years after Turkey officially requested the sale, and after Turkey had softened its terms and conditions, making it easier for US companies to compete in Turkish military acquisitions.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 11/11/09

Chinese sales

Bolivia is buying six Chinese aircraft in a \$57.8m deal. An alternative purchase from the Czech Republic was dismissed after it was thought likely that the US would veto the deal due to US components in the aircraft. An undisclosed number of Chinese fighter jets have also been delivered to Tanzania.

AIR FORCES MONTHLY, DECEMBER 09

China has agreed to sell Pakistan at least 36 advanced fighter jets in a deal worth up to \$1.4bn. A Pakistani official claimed there may also be future purchases. Commentators described the agreement as a landmark event in Pakistan's military relationship with China and evidence of Beijing's increasing strategic clout in Asia.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 11/11/09

UK arms

The government is considering selling one of the Royal Navy's new £2bn aircraft carriers in order to cut costs, leaving the Navy with just one carrier. India has lodged an expression of interest in the carrier, which is being built by BAE Systems.

GUARDIAN, 17/11/09

A report by a former UK ministerial adviser has warned that the Ministry

of Defence has embarked on a potentially catastrophic weapons-buying spree, endangering UK troops by wasting money on kit unsuitable for current operations. It also raised a concern about "whether the system is adapting sufficiently to the changing nature of combat in the 21st century." The report was initially suppressed and was only released after a Freedom of Information Act request.

GUARDIAN, 16/10/09

The UK has signed a military accord with Algeria, including joint military exercises and training, and the possibility of further sales of helicopters and ships to the country. The deal came after the 2005 lifting of an arms embargo against the gas-rich country.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 4/11/09

Saudi Arabia launched air strikes on Yemen last November, using F15 jets and BAE Systems' Tornado warplanes. The Saudis have been concerned that instability in Yemen could spill into their country. Yemen, whose president is a key Saudi ally, denied Saudi military action inside its borders.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 6/11/09; GUARDIAN, 6/11/09

Companies

At the end of November BAE Systems announced losses of up to 642 jobs across eight UK sites. The news represented a third round of significant job losses announced by the company in 2009.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 26/11/09

The climate campaign group 10:10 has accepted UK arms manufacturer MBDA Missile Systems after the company pledged to meet the group's aim of cutting its carbon emissions by 10 per cent in 2010. The group said that it could not exclude an organisation operating lawfully on the grounds of ethical objections to its product. MBDA has also been bidding recently for contracts to demilitarise cluster munitions.

GUARDIAN, 26/11/09; DEFENSE NEWS, 9/11/09

MODSAP

#2 in the series "bodies more interesting than their acronyms"

You might be forgiven for thinking that UK taxpayers pay for all the Government's civil servants, but, once again, the arms trade is there to amaze you.

In the darker recesses of the Ministry of Defence there lurks MODSAP, or the MOD Saudi Armed Forces Project. Astonishingly, the funding of MODSAP – salaries as well as "the costs of office and domestic accommodation, personnel travel and subsistence, IT and telecommunications, training and professional fees and utilities" – is provided entirely by the Saudi Government. This total amount was £48m in 2008–9 which provided for 210 civil servants:

Based in UK

Civilians: 77

Military personnel: 43

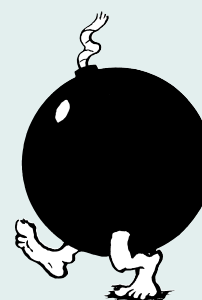
Based in Saudi

Civilians: 29

Military personnel: 61

Some might say that having the Saudi regime pay for UK civil servants is a great money-saver. Others might suggest that having UK civil servants paid for and working on behalf of another government, let alone an authoritarian regime, is democratically dangerous.

IAN PRICHARD



Plans afoot at the Universities Gathering

CAAT's Universities Network Gathering took place on 1 November. It was attended by students from universities including Cambridge, Warwick, Loughborough, Nottingham and Brunel. It was a great day of workshops such as How to Disrupt a BAE Careers Event, and open space discussions during which students discussed the Clean Investment campaign and shared skills on how

to engage the apathetic and embrace a diversity of tactics.

One of the participants said: "The best thing about the day was meeting students from lots of different universities and hearing about the different ways in which they had disrupted careers fairs. It showed just how creative and accessible campaigning against arms companies can be!"

Students also decided that, following the success of last year's Universities Day of Action, there should be another this academic year. The date has been set for Wednesday 24 February. Get in touch with universities@caat.org.uk if you would like help planning your event or take a look at the resources on the Universities Wiki: <http://wiki.caat.org.uk>.

SARAH READER

"Great buzz" at gathering

Nearly a hundred CAAT supporters gathered on a cold, damp, Hallowe'en morning for CAAT's National Gathering 2009. Inside they found a warmer feeling – uplifting speakers, interactive workshops and inspiring encounters with other committed CAAT activists.

Former South African MP, Andrew Feinstein, kicked off the day with a speech that underlined the importance of our campaign, particularly highlighting the impact of big arms deals on democracy in the UK and South Africa. His talk was, according to one audience member, "outstanding, sober, passionate, and so well delivered."

Workshops throughout the day covered topics as diverse as UKTI, militarism and government liaisons with the arms trade, and making the most of the media. A panel discussion tackled the question "Ending Arms Production: is the answer blowing in the wind?" We heard from Paul Dunne, who researches the economics of peace, security and military spending, and Louise Hutchins, the Energy Solutions Campaigner at Greenpeace. The case was passionately made for the massive government subsidies the arms trade receives to be channelled



CAAT supporters exchange views at the National Gathering

Photo: Ian Mackinnon

into tackling arguably the biggest threat to global security this century: climate change.

People commented that the day had a "good atmosphere: friendly and focused" and a "great buzz of like mindedness and openness." We went away determined to put the issue of ending government support for the arms trade through UKTI DSO firmly on the agenda of our parliamentary candidates, and with the promise of two regional gatherings in the new year to keep up the buzz around our campaign!

ANNE-MARIE O'REILLY

Christian CAAT

CAAT's Christian Network Co-ordinator, Alun Morinan, went on a mini-speaking tour in November, visiting groups in Loughborough and Newport-on-Tay on successive days.

"Conversations about the arms trade" was organised by 'Overflow', Open Heaven Church's social justice group and Alun's presentation included up-to-date information on Loughborough University's arms industry-funded research, initially investigated in the 2006 report *Study War No More*.

The Church of Scotland hosted the Newport-on-Tay Justice & Peace group's meeting: "The arms trade: a threat to justice and peace." Both talks generated a considerable number of questions and discussion from audiences of around 40 people.

Thanks to Caroline Harmon & Stu Jesson (Loughborough), and Viv Harrison and Vanessa Stark (Newport) for organising these events.

If you are a member of a Christian community, look out for opportunities to raise awareness about CAAT's work as we campaign this year and pencil our Day of Prayer on 20 June into your diary!

Focus on a CAAT group: School workshops in Edinburgh

An exciting new venture by the Edinburgh group has been the development of a module to bring arms trade issues into schools. It has been piloted in two schools with 270 pupils aged from 14 to 18. The format is a mix of information, interactive exercises, group decision-making, and a film made by young people in London about an arms fair near their school (Defence Systems & Equipment International Exhibition, also known as DSEi).

The impact on the young people was encouraging:

- 95 per cent gained a great deal or some learning from the session, such as the cost of weapons, on

equivalent "social good" uses of these huge sums, and on levels of government subsidies to the arms trade.

- 97 per cent thought the workshops very or quite interesting, and similar numbers very or quite enjoyable.
- 62 per cent felt motivated to take some action, with running or signing petitions being the most favoured methods, while marching or displaying posters in the school and raising community awareness interested a good number.

Comments received have been invaluable in helping us to improve the materials and the workshop

experience. These include having more visual approaches to communicate, more stories, and being prepared with tailor-made petitions to offer to the student body to collect signatures and to send on to CAAT.

We now have plans for revising the materials, recruitment of university students to train to co-deliver the workshops, a facilitator training day, and promotion of the workshops through the network of teachers involved in religious and moral education. For more information, please contact Mark Bitel at caatedinburgh@live.com.

DAVID TURNER AND MARK BITEL

Coming up: gatherings in York and Bristol!

With an intense few months of campaigning coming up as the election approaches, refuel, take stock and gain inspiration at one of our CAAT Gatherings this spring.

Both days will:

- Provide the very latest information on our UKTI: Armed and Dangerous campaign.
- Equip you with tips and advice to lobby your candidates and your new MP.
- Give you the info and approaches you need to debunk the myth that arms trade jobs are essential for the UK economy.
- Offer a fantastic opportunity to share stories, advice and inspiration with other CAAT supporters.



Supporters at the last local campaigners gathering get stuck into a workshop

More on the York Gathering...

27 March, 10.30am–5pm, Priory Street Centre, 15 Priory Street, York, YO1 6ET.

Share ideas for action in the run up to the election. If you like, you can also take the chance to practise some public speaking skills and become a CAAT Speaker!

More on the Bristol Gathering...

24 April, 10.30am–4.30pm, The Anglican/Methodist Church Centre, Prewett Street, Redcliffe, Bristol, BS1 6PB.

Probably only a few weeks before the election, this event will be a chance to plan some local action to target your new MP in Stop Week. You can also choose to look at how we can use online and local media to spread our message.

And don't forget to add these other CAAT dates to your 2010 diary... 24 February – Universities Day of Action; 6 March – Universities Network Meeting; 19–27 June – Stop Week; 6 November – CAAT National Gathering!

Sarah Waldron gives some background to the UKTI: Armed & Dangerous campaign, introduces campaign ideas for 2010 and encourages CAAT supporters to accept a mission!

Thank you!

Firstly, a big thank you to everyone who has taken action on CAAT's UKTI: Armed & Dangerous campaign in the last year. Thanks to your efforts, over 7,000 people have signed our postcards and petitions calling on government department UK Trade & Investment to end its promotion of arms exports through its Defence & Security Organisation (UKTI DSO). You've also written to more than 140 MPs about the damaging effects of UKTI DSO's work, and deluged David Cameron with correspondence on the Conservative party's policy on arms exports.

Our demonstrations, media and parliamentary work have brought knowledge of its work – organising arms fairs and promoting weapons sales to conflict zones and human rights abusers – out into the open.

Thirty-six organisations and groups have already signed a statement in support of the campaign and we're delighted that SPEAK, a network of students and young adults who take action on global injustice, will also be focusing their campaigning on UKTI. We're keen to work with others to build the strength and diversity of voices calling for an end to government support for the arms trade, so please get in touch with any ideas.

Warning: Dangerous Structure

Through UKTI DSO, taxpayers' money is funding civil servants to work on behalf of arms companies – helping them make and sell weapons to countries with appalling human rights records or with pressing development needs.

This has a devastating impact on people around the world whose lives are blighted by conflict, repression and underinvestment in basic services. It also threatens our own

MISSION:

security, as we have little control over how weapons are used once they have been sold.

The arms companies make huge profits, but there's little benefit for the rest of us. The arms industry is already heavily subsidised, yet UKTI devotes more civil servants to supporting arms exports than it does to supporting every other industry sector combined. Instead of proliferating weapons around the globe, this money would be better spent on tackling real threats to our security such as climate change – a move that would also create new jobs and boost the economy.

UKTI DSO is an unsafe structure and should be dismantled. Join us in a new year of campaigning, where we'll be issuing our demolition order to the government.

With a new year – a new focus

A general election is due by June 2010. A change in government looks likely, but, whatever happens, there will be a large number of new MPs because many existing representatives are stepping down.

Our focus over the next few months will be lobbying parliamentary candidates. This will be crucial to help us build a strong base of support for our campaigns in the next Parliament, where we'll be calling for the new Government to end support for arms exports.

We'll be aiming to persuade as many candidates as possible to make a public commitment of support for our campaign – one that we can use to hold them to account in future.

We'll then use Stop Week – CAAT's annual week of action against the arms trade, taking place from 19-27 June – for a mass lobby of new MPs.

Get it out!

To get UKTI DSO out of Government we first need to get the word out on

what it does. We'll focus on building public support in local constituencies to show candidates that the arms trade is an issue that their constituents care about and is something they should act on. Then we'll be targeting the candidates themselves through letter-writing, meetings and lobbying events.

We'll be asking members of the public and parliamentary candidates to join us in designating UKTI DSO an "unsafe structure" and signing orders for its demolition!

Candidates count!

Lobbying candidates is a great way to educate both the candidates themselves and the wider public about the campaign issues. MPs are more likely to be active on issues that they were lobbied about when they were campaigning for election.

There are plenty of candidates out there who are likely to be sympathetic to our campaign, but need a little push from their constituency to become active. With your help we can ensure they move from being supporters on paper to being advocates for our arguments when they're elected and have a chance to make a difference. You may also find there are some candidates who have little chance of winning an election, but are great allies nonetheless – helping raise awareness within both their party and local area and taking a position that influences other candidates who may have been influenced by the arms companies' arguments in support of arms exports.

We know we've got a strong case, so we hope we can win them over. Whatever happens, lobbying will also help us build our knowledge about the attitudes of MPs in the next Parliament.

POSSIBLE



CAAT supporter Mary Holmes shows petitions calling for the closure of UKTI DSO during last year's campaigning

YOUR MISSION SHOULD YOU CHOOSE TO ACCEPT IT...

...Is to sign up to lobby in your constituency. Whether you're part of a campaign group or an individual campaigner; whether you've got ten minutes or ten days; and whether you're a seasoned activist or have never taken campaigning action before, there's something you can do, and your action will count. We want to reach as many candidates, in as many

constituencies, as possible. To help you, we've produced a new action pack with everything you need to know. Call 020 7281 0297 or email for your copy.

We can also help you link up with other campaigners in your area; to find out more, get in touch with Anne-Marie at annemarie@caat.org.uk

UKTI DSO in Parliament

From a speech by Sir John Stanley MP in a debate on 5 November:

"China's human rights record remains appalling [...] My only minor quibble with the Government's policy on arms exports to China arises with the coverage given to the Chinese expedition to the recent arms trade fair in London this September [...] I noted that, at the invitation of UK Trade and Investment, there was a Chinese delegation comprising nine members of the military at that four-day event.

The UKTI spokesman [...] said of the delegation that they would not be meeting any of the major defence contractors and would focus instead on humanitarian and disaster relief equipment. The spectacle of those nine carefully hand-picked top military people in the Chinese delegation wandering around the arms fair for four days, carefully averting their eyes from anything among the 1,300 exhibits other than humanitarian and disaster relief equipment, stretched my credulity somewhat."

And in the news

CAAT's discovery of "political interventions" made on behalf of the arms industry in Libya, Oman, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia got a few column inches in September.

Our requests for further information, using the Freedom of Information Act, have been ignored for so long that the Freedom of Information Commissioner has now intervened and ordered UKTI to respond.

You'd almost think there was something they didn't want to tell us.

Nimrod review allocates blame

On 28 October last year, Charles Haddon-Cave QC made public his Nimrod Review Report after the 2006 explosion of a Nimrod aircraft over Afghanistan and the death of its 14 crew members. The 500-page report named ten men it deemed responsible for the failings that led to the crash. They included three from BAE Systems and two from QinetiQ, the companies contracted to ensure aircraft safety.

Mr Haddon-Cave said: "BAE Systems was in breach of its contractual obligations... in failing to use reasonable care and skill... The responsibility must lie with the leadership of the company. Throughout my review, BAE has been a company in denial" (*Guardian*, 29 October 2009). He concluded that BAE had misled the Ministry of Defence about the risks and "deliberately did not

disclose to its customer the scale of the hazards."

Hours after the report was released, Graham Love, Chief Executive of QinetiQ, resigned, supposedly for unrelated reasons. BAE said that it "...accepted full responsibility for these failings and apologise unreservedly for them", but, as yet, no BAE official has resigned. For a further BAE response see 'They said it' on this page.

KAYE STEARMAN



A BAE Nimrod, described by the review as having "serious design flaws"

Switzerland missed chance to ban arms exports

Last November Switzerland held a national referendum on banning the export of weaponry and its transit through Switzerland. The months leading up to the referendum were exciting: GSoA (Group for a Switzerland without an Army) led a strong campaign to convince Swiss people that arms exports aren't ethical and are not needed in Switzerland. The discussion in the

media was vibrant and the main question was "What is more important, saving lives or jobs?"

Unfortunately, 68 per cent of the Swiss people decided that jobs were more important.

David vs. Goliath

GSoA was able to build a broad alliance with many peace, Christian and environmental organisations, different charities, the left, the Green Party and one major trade union.

It also had a good presence in the media. One prominent story was the news that Swiss machine-guns had been sold to Chhattisgarh, a state in India, where child soldiers fight on both sides of a civil conflict.

At the same time, it wasn't a fair debate. The committee against the ban of arms exports had a budget

'They said it'



"The Nimrod Review is the most devastating attack on the MoD and the defence industry in living memory. Its language is direct, its criticisms unsparring."

Caroline Wyatt, BBC Defence Correspondent, 28 October 2009

"The Nimrod Review had interviewed only 19 BAE officials... I will not be blown off course by comments about 19 people or anything else."

Dick Olver, BAE Systems Chairman, responding to a question about the Nimrod Review, after his Mountbatten Memorial Lecture at the Institute of Engineers, 12 November 2009 (see page 13)

"Of course arms manufacturers can reduce their emissions by 10 per cent. What they do with the rest of their time is a different matter, on which we couldn't possibly comment."

Franny Armstrong, 10:10 campaign, defending the sign-up of MBDA Missile Systems, *Guardian*, 25 November 2009

approximately 10 times higher than that of GSoA. Even the state-owned arms company RUAG donated the equivalent of around £100,000 to the campaign against the ban.

Farner AG, a public relations agency, led the campaign for the arms industry and even sent a spy to one of GSoA's strategic seminars prior to the vote.

The Swiss Government also opposed a ban on arms exports. Doris Leuthard, one of the seven members forming the Swiss executive (Bundesrat), gave many interviews in favour of the opposition. Their strongest argument was that Switzerland would lose between 5,000 and 10,000 jobs if the ban was introduced. In the current economic climate, this may have swung votes. CORDULA BIERI

US policy on the arms trade

A lot has changed with Barack Obama in the White House. But, says Frida Berrigan, the new president's record on the arms trade has been decidedly – and unfortunately – mixed.

The United States is the world's largest exporter of conventional weapons. In fiscal year 2009, the US foreign military sales programme sold nearly \$38 billion in weapons and military articles. The fiscal year began in October 2008, so, because of the length of time it takes for arms sales to be finalised, most of the systems sold result from Bush administration decisions.

But recent arms sales notifications, like an offer of \$134 million in Boeing Chinook helicopters to Morocco, \$3.2 billion in Lockheed Martin F-16s to Egypt and \$7 billion in Boeing F-18 fighter planes to Brazil, will count towards the 2010 total.

This year is projected to break records again, with \$38.4 billion or more in foreign military sales.

Policy vacuum

The last official revision of US arms export policy took place under President Clinton. That 1995 policy, Presidential Decision Directive 34, listed rationales for weapons exports such as promoting "peaceful conflict resolution and arms control, human rights, democratization", while adding a new one: "enhance the ability of the US defense industrial base to meet US defense requirements and maintain long term military superiority at lower costs."

In other words, a potential arms sale should be judged in part on whether it is good for weapons manufacturers. The Bush administration did not formally change this policy and used the global war on terror to fast-track



President Barack Obama – steps and missteps on weapons exports

weapons sales and release countries from arms embargoes.

The first warning sign on arms sales from the Obama White House was the decision not to make a decision. In May 2009, in answer to a question about changing the terms under which US arms will be sold, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Michele Flournoy responded: "We don't have a sort of arms sale policy as much as more a sense of commitment to building partner capacity."

Arms Trade Treaty

There is some good news despite this policy vacuum. The United States reversed Bush-era disdain for arms control by embracing the Arms Trade Treaty in October, joining the majority of the United Nations General Assembly in voting to pursue "common international standards for the import, export and transfer of conventional arms." Zimbabwe alone voted no, with China and Russia –

both major weapons exporters – and seventeen other nations abstaining.

Civil society and arms control advocates welcomed the shift in US policy but drew attention to the United States' "counter-productive" demand for the "rule of consensus decision making" in the process. As Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association, explains, the consensus rule "will give any country that wants to derail the process the opportunity to do so."

Landmines

This positive step was then followed by a major misstep on landmines. The State Department announced at the end of November that their policy review of the Land Mine Treaty resulted in a determination that "we would not be able to meet our national defense needs nor our security commitments to our friends and allies if we signed this convention" according to spokesman Ian Kelly.

Landmines were responsible for 5,000 casualties last year, the treaty has the support of 156 nations and the US essentially abides by the terms of the treaty. A storm of criticism followed and the State Department issued another statement the next day saying, "The administration is committed to a comprehensive review of its landmine policy. That review is still ongoing."

Way forward

Without a formal, principled policy that removes the profit motive from weapons exports, the Obama administration will continue to make steps and missteps in the conventional weapons arena without ever getting anywhere.

Frida Berrigan is a Senior Program Associate at the New America Foundation's Arms and Security Initiative.

Export credit principles review

In December 2009 the Government announced that it was reviewing the way it considers the environmental, social, human rights and development impacts of projects supported by its export insurer, the Export Credits Guarantee

Department, as well as the ECGD's anti-bribery provisions.

It appears that the Government has bowed to the demands of exporters who believe that the UK standards are stricter than internationally agreed ones and,

thus, deny them a level-playing field. CAAT will be liaising with environmental, human rights, development and anti-corruption organisations to look at the proposals in detail and make its own response to the review. ANN FELTHAM



CAAT Steering Committee

The Steering Committee is CAAT's ultimate decision-making body, finally agreeing campaigns and policy as well as making sure that the organisation's administration and internal workings are legal and efficient.

Members of the Committee include representatives of some of the organisations that set CAAT up, as well as elected Supporter representatives and the staff.

New faces

This year voting for the Supporter representative places was not necessary as there were the same number of nominations as places for the two-year term. This means Nick Ballantine-Drake (pictured above left), Chris Gidden (pictured middle) and Symon Hill (pictured right) were deemed to have been elected together with Sharen Green who stood for re-election. ANN FELTHAM

Hal Studdert

Although we had known for several months that he was seriously ill, it was still a terrible shock to learn of Hal Studdert's death on 23 October.

Hal, together with his wife Lilian, joined protests against the Falklands/ Malvinas War in 1982, a war in which both sides used UK-made weapons. Hal and Lilian quickly became involved in CAAT's work. Over the years since, this has included protesting outside the then Defence Sales Organisation in Soho Square; making sure that their local MP, Glenda Jackson, was kept briefed on arms trade issues; and, after Hal's retirement from Tower Hamlets Social Services, coming into the office to put CAATnews into envelopes for posting.

It is a measure of the esteem in which Hal was held in the wider peace movement that both Chris Cole and Pat Gaffney, directors of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Pax Christi respectively, attended the celebration of his life. So, too, did CAAT's former Merseyside Local Contact, Mike Williams. Many years ago, Hal and Lilian had offered him accommodation when he came to London for a CAAT meeting and they became firm friends.

Our thoughts are now very much with Lilian, as is our gratitude for her generosity in asking for donations to be made to CAAT in lieu of flowers.

Website & Online Communications Coordinator

CAAT is looking to recruit a part-time Website & Online Communications Coordinator. This new post will review and manage CAAT's website and develop our online presence.

For more information please visit www.caat.org.uk

BAE: the deals that the SFO is considering for prosecution

On page 3, Ann Feltham outlined the background to current investigations into BAE Systems. On this page she gives more details about each case.

Czech Republic

In 1995 BAE joined forces with Sweden's Saab to market the latter's Gripen fighter and in 2004 the Czech Republic entered into a £400 million lease agreement for 14 Gripens.

The investigation by the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) is allegedly centred on the activities of the Austrian Count Alfons Mensdorff-Pouilly. Both Julian Scopes, BAE's former central Europe chief, and the Count were interviewed by UK police in October 2008. In March 2009 the Count was arrested by the Austrian authorities and questioned about an £11 million payment allegedly made to him by BAE. It is alleged that monies reached ministers and others via a complex web of small companies.

Romania

The Romanian government bought two ex-Royal Navy frigates in 2003, upgraded by BAE in a £116 million package. In 2007 the *Guardian* alleged that Barry George, whose wife is Romanian, was paid £7 million by BAE to fix the deal.

South Africa

In 1999 South Africa bought military equipment from companies in several different European countries, including 28 Gripen aircraft and 24 BAE Hawk trainers worth about £1,000 million to BAE. The Hawk purchase, in particular, raised questions since the planes cost more than double that of an Italian equivalent which was preferred by the military.

Stories of corruption soon circulated. Leaked SFO documents talk of secret payments, totaling more



A CAAT supporter outside an event on 12 November 2009 where BAE Systems Chairman Dick Olver gave a public lecture on ethics. A CAAT protest outside included a cackling audience of clowns, exposing the farcical nature of BAE lecturing on ethics

A more detailed account can be found on CAATblog on CAAT's website: www.caat.org.uk

than £100 million, again made through a network of small companies. An alleged recipient was Fana Hlongwane, an adviser to the Defence Minister when the arms deals were struck.

Tanzania

In 2001 BAE sold a £28 million military air traffic control system to Tanzania, one of the world's poorest countries. The deal was backed by then Prime Minister Tony Blair, but opposed by his International Development Secretary Clare Short. The International Civil Aviation Organisation said the system was not adequate for the civil aviation purposes for which it was required.

A civil system would also have been much cheaper.

It is alleged that over £6 million was paid into a Swiss bank account under the control of BAE's Tanzanian agent Sailesh Vithlani, who, since August 2007, has been the subject of an international arrest warrant issued in Tanzania in connection with the radar deal. In April 2008, Andrew Chenge, Tanzania's Infrastructure Minister, who had been Attorney General at the time of the radar purchase, resigned following claims about £500,000 in a Jersey bank account. He does not dispute the money's existence, but denies that it came from BAE.

Freedom of Information victory

The Information Tribunal has rejected an Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD) appeal against the decision of the Information Commissioner that it should give CAAT a redacted copy of the risk assessment it made in 2005 of BAE's Al Yamamah deal with Saudi Arabia. The ECGD argument, that any opening of its risk assessments to public scrutiny would prevent it from carrying out its work effectively, was firmly rejected by the Information Tribunal. The risk assessment documents add to the growing body of information about the Saudi arms deals.

CAAT's thanks go to Phil Michaels of the Friends of the Earth's Rights & Justice Centre and Adam Sandell from Matrix Chambers for their help.

Fundraising



Great South Run

If one of your new year's resolutions this year is to get fit, then we have just the challenge to keep you motivated! We are looking for a team of people to run the Great South Run in Portsmouth on 24 October, so why not put on your running shoes and race for Team CAAT?

In 2009 our fantastic runners took part in the Great Yorkshire Run and raised almost £1,500. We're hoping to raise £2,000 this year, but we'll need at least three people to help us reach this target.

The Great South Run is a flat ten mile course through Southsea and Portsmouth and has over 20,000 runners. If you'd like to join them and help raise vital funds for CAAT, please contact sally@caat.org.uk or call 020 7281 0297. We'll help keep you motivated and set up an online fundraising page to make it easier for you to collect sponsorship.

Please don't delay. Places for this race are filled quickly, so get in touch soon if you'd like to take part.

Also please let us know if you're already entered for this race or any other and would like to use it to raise money for CAAT.

Raising funds locally

Our thanks go to supporters Judith Clegg and Rowena Dawson in Leicestershire, who raised almost £100 for CAAT by holding a coffee morning back in November.

If you're thinking of holding a similar event or would like ideas and advice about how to raise funds for CAAT in your community why not order our Local Fundraising Guide? You can do this by using the form on the back page.



If the thought of running leaves you cold, perhaps you'd prefer to help us raise money from the comfort of your own home. New fundraising scheme Dinner4Good will allow you to do just that. In fact, it requires you to do nothing more than invite your friends round for dinner then relax and enjoy the company of your guests.

Dinner4Good makes planning really easy. Invitations can be sent through the website to guests, who can then accept and make a secure donation of their choice to the Trust for Research and Education on the Arms Trade (TREAT). TREAT has kindly agreed to donate all money raised to CAAT to help fund our research and education work.

For more information visit www.dinner4good.com/TREAT

Workers Beer Company

Though the summer seems a long way off during these chilly days, we're already looking for volunteers to help us raise money at this year's music festivals by working with the Workers Beer Company.

Last year's volunteers worked at Glastonbury, Latitude, Reading and Leeds and raised around £2,700 for CAAT.

CAAT volunteers gain free entry and, in some cases, travel, to the festivals and work one shift a day in the festival beer tents alongside volunteers from many other trade union and campaigning organisations. They also get to camp



in the Workers Beer Village, which rumour has it, possesses facilities of a higher standard than those enjoyed by regular festival-goers. Volunteers' wages are donated to CAAT to help fund our ongoing campaigns.

Volunteers have always sent back great reports of their work and have particularly enjoyed the camaraderie of working with other CAAT supporters and volunteers from a wide range of organisations. If you're interested in volunteering and would like more information, please email sally@caat.org.uk.

SALLY CAMPBELL

Mobile phone recycling

If you were given a new mobile phone for Christmas or made the gift of a phone to a friend or relative, please don't forget CAAT when you're thinking of how best to dispose of old phones. TREAT has a mobile phone recycling partnership with Zonzoo, which donates £2 for every recycled phone. TREAT donates all of the proceeds from the scheme to help fund CAAT's research and education work.

It costs you nothing to send your phone – email sally@caat.org.uk to order Freepost envelopes or simply send the phone(s) to TREAT, Zonzoo, FREEPOST LON17592, Mitcham CR4 3UZ. Thank you!

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 or visit 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.

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 to find out if there is a group near you or contact Anne-Marie 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 Supporter Media Activist – help build CAAT's profile by contacting media with the help of a briefing from CAAT. Contact David at david@caat.org.uk.

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 speaker's pack with information and presentations.

Become a Key Campaigner – receive campaigner updates from CAAT and help spread the word about CAAT in your area.

More information on how to campaign locally can be found at 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.

Universities Network

Join our vibrant network of students and staff taking action for clean investment, stopping the arms trade's graduate recruitment and exposing the arms trade's research involvement in universities.

- Visit our new Universities Network wiki – wiki.caat.org.uk.
- Join the discussion and planning list – send an email to caatunis-subscribe@lists.riseup.net
- Contact universities@caat.org.uk to find out more and sign up for our monthly email!

CAAT Christian Network

The network raises arms trade issues within national church structures and local churches. Contact Alun Morinan at 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 your Lobbying Pack to take action with CAAT in the run up to the election.
- Add CAAT's exciting plans for the year to your diary. See pages 6–7 and the A4 poster enclosed with this CAATnews.
- Contact Rhiannon to book your place at a CAAT Gathering this spring – rhiannon@caat.org.uk. See page 7.
- Consider taking part in the Great South Run or volunteering with Workers Beer this Summer. See page 14.
- Contact us for help to link up with other campaigners in your area – annemarie@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.

Name

Address

Postcode

Tel

Email

I enclose a cheque/postal order for £

I do not want to receive an acknowledgment ☐

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.

Name

Bank address

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, FREEPOST, LON4296, London N4 3BR.

If you DO NOT wish to receive CAATnews please tick here ☐

CAAT use only.
Please quote ref

Order form

PLEASE TICK BOX AND MARK QUANTITY REQUIRED

Selected publications

- ☐ **No Nonsense Guide to the Arms Trade**, September 2009, by Nicholas Gilby, (£8.75, postage included) Quantity
- ☐ **Making Arms, Wasting Skills: Alternatives to Militarism and Arms Production**, April 2008, by Steven Schofield (£3) Quantity
- ☐ **Local Campaigns Guide**, September 2008 (free) Quantity
- ☐ **Local Fundraising Guide**, April 2009 (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
- ☐ **Mobile phone recycling envelopes** (free) Quantity
- ☐ **Introduction to CAAT** (free) Quantity
- ☐ **Recruiting leaflet** Counting the Cost (free) Quantity
- ☐ **Green Tree greetings card** £4.50 for 10 cards and envelopes. Quantity packs.
Please include 50p postage for each pack of cards.
- ☐ **Housmans 2010 Peace Diary**, with World Peace Directory (£8.95) Quantity
(For bulk orders visit www.housmans.com)

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.

Name

Address

Postcode

Email

Telephone

Would you like to receive our monthly email bulletin?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Please return this form to:

CAAT
11 Goodwin Street
London N4 3HQ

