

CAAT*news*

IT THIS IS NOT OK

See pages
8-9 for more
on our latest
campaign

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AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE** 

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IN THIS ISSUE...

Welcome to this issue of CAATnews

This issue of CAATnews has plenty for us all to reflect on over the coming months, and act on throughout the year ahead.

In particular, on pages 8 and 9 Anne-Marie O'Reilly and Sarah Waldron outline some of the key issues and actions in our new campaign "This is not OK". Though apparently simple, this campaign statement is clear and powerful and

it stands in opposition to the convoluted excuses and hollow promises that arms trade proponents use to justify their work.

We hope that you will help deliver this message, whether through activities outlined on page 3; in London in September at the DSEi arms fair; in actions with other local campaigners; or in your own personal way!

CAAT plans	3
Arms Trade Shorts	4–5
Ban BAE	6
CAAT around the UK	7
This is not OK	8–9
Military spending	10
BAE in court	11
Parliamentary; They said it	12
National Gathering; Book review	13
Fundraising	14
Get involved	15
Donate	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.

Taking action in 2011

In 2009, one Palestinian medic described the impact of a war in which UK weapons were used:

"For 23 days life was unbelievably horrible. It was one of the worst times that I witnessed in my entire life. It was frightening, horrible, and ugly in all possible ways."

The Government says it intends a "much more rigorous approach" to promoting arms sales than the previous – already zealous – administration. In practice this means more UK arms turned on civilians around the world and more weapons



CAAT supporters at a previous arms fair

placed in the hands of repressive regimes.

Unless, that is, we take action. Government policy on exporting arms is out of step with popular

opinion. We need to join together and make it clear that "This is not OK". We need to break the arms companies' hold on government policy. We need to shut the huge arms fair planned to take place in London in September.

Pages 8–9 have more on plans for campaign action this year.

If you're a student or work at a university, see page 6 for plans to kick BAE off campus.

ANNE-MARIE O'REILLY AND SARAH WALDRON

Get the latest on upcoming actions and events by signing up to CAAT's e-bulletin or visit www.caat.org.uk/events

17 January

The "This is not OK" campaign launches on the 50th anniversary of President Eisenhower's speech warning against the power of the military-industrial complex. See pages 8–9.

10 February

Alternative Careers Event, 6pm, York University. Looks at ethical career options for students and graduates. See page 6.

20 February

Arms show or Baby Show? Action in London. Clarion Events, owner of a number of arms fairs, also hosts this family-friendly event. Join London CAAT to challenge this unsavoury link.

5 March

CAAT Spring Gathering in Manchester. Meet other inspiring campaigners and get the info you need to challenge the arms trade. See page 7.

2 April

CAAT Spring Gathering in Reading. See page 7.

12 April

Global day of action on military spending. Join people all over the world to take action to focus public, political and media attention on the costs of military spending and the need for new priorities.

4 May

Arms giant BAE Systems Annual General Meeting (AGM). BAE claims that it is of vast importance to the UK economy but in fact couldn't get by without taxpayers propping up the company. We want to challenge BAE on its record and its distorting lobbying campaign. If you are interested in becoming a proxy shareholder in order to attend the AGM then please contact ian@caat.org.uk.

14 May

A sinister twist to the Spirit of Summer? Action in London. Show the arms fair owners that weapons and summer fun don't mix.

21 May

Arms show or Baby Show? Action in Birmingham. Cradles at one show and rocket launchers at another? Help challenge the arms fair owners to get rid of their weapons fair portfolio.

BAE latest

- At the end of last year, WikiLeaks outed arms-ambassador Prince Andrew's opposition to the Serious Fraud Office's investigations into BAE corruption.
- BAE's derisory plea bargain of £30 million (despite allegations of corrupt payments totalling over £1 billion) went to court on 20 December.
- See page 11 for more info.

13–16 September

Defence & Security Equipment International (DSEi) Arms Fair. This arms fair is one of the largest in the world. The UK government invites tyrants and human rights abusers to attend. Pencil in the dates and join CAAT for action in London.

29 October

CAAT National Gathering in London. An inspiring, interactive and informative day to meet other campaigners, attend workshops and look at the way forward following the descent of the world's arms dealers on London during the previous month.

UK sales

The UK is closing in on an \$11bn jet deal: an Indian government report backed the Eurofighter over US, Russian and French rivals in a deal to supply the Indian Air Force. India would become an unofficial "fifth partner" in the jet project if the Eurofighter is chosen.

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, 7/11/10

The UK has faced problems in selling its Harrier jump jets after a representative from India, the most likely buyer, described the aircraft as "iffy" and obsolete.

The Harrier was decommissioned in last year's defence review, and there are hopes it can be sold on to make some money.

FINANCIAL TIMES, 3/11/10

UK firms turned out in force at the Libyan arms fair LIBDEX last November, eager to tap into an emerging market ending reliance on Russian equipment.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 24/11/10

South Korea and the UK have signed a military equipment co-operation agreement. This reflects the UK's interest in foreign military sales to offset declining domestic procurement, and South Korea's export aspirations.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 17/11/10

BAE Systems

BAE axed 9,000 UK staff last year, ostensibly in response to the defence review. Yet Chief Executive Ian King described the firm as "far from downcast", noting growth opportunities in export markets and scope for expansion in the US, where the company generates "50 per cent of its business, compared with 18 per cent in the UK."

OBSERVER, 28/11/10

BAE has won a contract to provide the FBI with IT systems over the next eight years, and may win a large portion of a £30bn project to overhaul FBI technology.

TIMES, 2/11/10

The Ministry of Defence spent nearly £4bn with ten subsidiaries of BAE Systems in 2009-10: equivalent to £64 for every man, woman and child in the UK. BAE received more than the entire budget of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (£2.24bn) or the Department of Energy and Climate Change (£2.52bn).

GUARDIAN, 1/12/10

Corporate influence

Private Eye suggests that the way to win the favour of Government department UKTI is via the bosses' bellies. It has uncovered figures showing that Richard Paniguan, head of UKTI's Defence & Security Organisation (UKTI DSO), was entertained on 115 occasions during the 15 months to June 2010, generally by arms firms.

"Top schmoozer" was BAE Systems, which, for most of this time, was the subject of corruption investigations.

PRIVATE EYE, 29/10/10

Arms sales are to spearhead the "export-led growth" promoted by the coalition Government, with Vince Cable co-chairing an "Asia Task Force" with former Thatcher advisor Lord Powell. Powell works for arms companies including BAE Systems, Rolls-Royce, Thales and Textron.

PRIVATE EYE, 26/11/10

Aircraft carriers

Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown's first speech from the backbenches saw him call for the maintenance of two controversial aircraft carriers (see page 12) to be carried out at a Scottish shipyard rather than in France.

The outgoing Chief of Defence staff claimed that Brown's government had rejected plans by military chiefs to avoid over-spending by cutting planes, ships and other equipment.

TIMES, 1/11/10

Corruption

A former French defence minister has admitted that kickbacks took place in arms deals with Pakistan during France's 1995 presidential election campaign. Non-payment of these "sweeteners" was linked to a bomb attack in Pakistan that killed French engineers, although Al-Qaeda has also been blamed for the attack.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, 19/11/10

Concerns about Kenya's procurement process have been raised during parliamentary investigations, including a probe into the upgrade of Panhard armoured cars.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 1/12/10

A former Croatian defence minister has been sentenced to four years in jail for mismanaging state funds and abuse of power in a 2004 deal over Iveco military vehicles.

BBC NEWS, 6/12/10

Mercenaries

Simon Mann has gone back to work in Equatorial Guinea advising the leader whom he tried to overthrow in a bungled 2004 coup. Mann has a long association with mercenary companies but has refused to give details of his latest advisory role.

INDEPENDENT, 25/10/10

Skills redeployment

Business Secretary Vince Cable has announced an industry-led group created to explore how skilled workers in the military sector affected by the Strategic Defence and Security Review can be redeployed elsewhere in manufacturing.

DEPARTMENT FOR BUSINESS, INNOVATION AND SKILLS, 21/10/10

AgustaWestland

The Yeovil-based AgustaWestland helicopter programme escaped spending cuts last autumn, and was

Priority targets for UK arms promotion

(THE UKTI DEFENCE & SECURITY ORGANISATION'S PRIORITY MARKETS FOR 2010/11)

Algeria	Australia	Brazil
Brunei	India	Iraq
Japan	Kuwait	Libya
Malaysia	Mexico	Oman
Pakistan	South Korea	Saudi Arabia
Turkey	UAE	USA

Source: Hansard, 28 June 2010, Col. 418-9W



awarded an extra £32m for the development of its civil helicopter programme.

BBC NEWS, 20/10/10

Cluster bombs

A cable posted on the WikiLeaks website towards the end of last year suggested that the Foreign Office deliberately withheld from Parliament a loophole that allows the US to store banned cluster bombs in the UK on a "case by case basis". The Convention on Cluster Munitions, which supposedly bans cluster munitions from UK territory, came into force last year.

TIMES, 2/12/10

RAF drones

The RAF has armed Reaper drones operating over Afghanistan with thermobaric Hellfire missiles. The designation "thermobaric" is controversial and, although used by the weapon's manufacturers Lockheed Martin, is not the UK's preferred term.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 20/10/10

Militarisation

Military firms have discussed police procurement policies with the Government in order to counter civil disobedience and disorder. Possible

orders include armoured vehicles and body scanners, and discussions coincide with Government-backed attempts to introduce the use of spy drones in UK airspace.

GUARDIAN, 13/11/10

Pakistan

The US has announced a \$2bn arms deal with Pakistan to fight the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. It is to be spread over five years and amounts to approximately a 30 per cent increase in US funding for weapons sales to Pakistan. The military aid comes on top of \$7.5bn in civilian aid already promised for the next five years.

GUARDIAN, 23/10/10

Syria

Russia is going ahead with the sale of its Yakhont missile system to Syria despite protests from Israel and the US. Moscow has rejected concerns that the technology might be passed to insurgents in Lebanon and Gaza or to Iran.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 29/09/10

Venezuela

Venezuela has had a \$4bn loan from Russia to buy Russian arms. The kind of arms are not specified but have been described by Venezuelan

President Chavez as "defensive weapons" to protect the country "from the threat posed by the empire and its allies."

DEFENSE NEWS, 30/11/10

Germany

Germany, currently the world's third largest weapons exporter, is considering loosening arms export controls.

Spiegel Online speculated that such a move could make up sales in the wake of proposed cuts to the country's own military budget.

SPIEGEL ONLINE, 11/12/10

India

India is set to spend more than \$30bn on the fifth-generation fighter aircraft (FGFA) project that it is developing with Russia. The aircraft is likely to be India's most expensive materiel acquisition.

JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, 13/10/10

Free guns

Customers have been offered a free AK-47 assault rifle with every purchase of a used truck at a dealership in the US. The Florida shop more than doubled sales in the first week. "It's just a promotion," said the sales manager.

TIMES, 16/11/10

Ban BAE – a momentous launch

Universities Network Coordinator Abi Haque gives an update.

The Ban BAE campaign (which aims to counter BAE Systems' recruitment efforts on university campuses) has launched with actions at Edinburgh, Exeter, Bristol, London, Southampton, Warwick, York, Kings College, Kent, Birmingham, Cambridge, Swansea and Oxford Universities! The sheer number of protests meant that BAE had to pay for its own private security at events, hampering the company's efforts to recruit students.

Campaign supporters' actions show the passionate and effective resolve of many students to have their universities cut ties between the arms trade and education. Edinburgh Student Liam O'Hare commented that BAE is "being given a platform to persuade people to join their company, and we are opposed to them being given that platform."

Media coverage has been very powerful in promoting the campaign, with a staggering 66 articles written about actions by CAAT's Universities Network in the first two months of last term. Many of these can be accessed via the Universities Network website at <http://universities.caat.org.uk>.

The Guardian

The *Guardian* newspaper has been instrumental in exposing the shady activities of BAE Systems, so we were surprised to hear that BAE would be appearing at a *Guardian*-sponsored Graduate Fair. The news spurred Ban BAE supporters into action and a protest took place at the event, disrupting both the BAE stall and the company's presentation. We are now in the process of petitioning the *Guardian* and The Careers Group to exclude BAE Systems from future events. Our argument is that it is unacceptable for the careers service of an institution of learning, and for a newspaper that prides itself on its



Campaign launch actions took place at 13 universities around the UK

award-winning investigations into claims of BAE corruption, to have any kind of dealings with BAE Systems, and to lend legitimacy to its corrupt and damaging practices.

What's new?

Alternative careers event: we've been told by many engineering and science students that they had little option not to speak to companies like BAE Systems about job opportunities, given the hostile jobs market and the fact that these were the employers picked by their university to attend careers fairs. In response, we're teaming up with organisations, including Scientists for Global Responsibility, to have speakers come to universities to talk about ethical careers and industries.

Ban BAE workshop: the National Gathering was a fantastic opportunity to have the first Ban BAE workshop.

The Universities Network website: this has been transformed into an excellent resource. It features action updates, photos, downloadable guides and other resources, as well as all the key arms trade news as it happens.

What's coming up?

Lobby your student union: We will be creating a template and guide advising how best to lobby

student unions to exclude arms companies from campus.

Careers service: similar to the student union motion, we will be creating a template and guide advising how best to lobby careers services to exclude arms companies from careers events.

Online petition: We've launched a petition that highlights and challenges the immense amount of funding awarded to the arms trade while education faces severe cuts. This is available on the 'Act now' section of the CAAT website.

For more information on the Universities Network see <http://universities.caat.org.uk> or email universities@caat.org.uk.

Clean Investment

The Clean Investment campaign is still going strong with Cambridge and Oxford student journalists using Freedom of Information requests to look at their universities' investments in the arms trade.

Meanwhile, in December, Swansea University Union voted to adopt a policy of lobbying the university to divest its shares in BAE Systems and Cobham.

Corruption of Christmas

Santa and his elves turned up at Kensington Olympia on 7 November to protest about the spirit of Christmas being corrupted by the owners of the DSEi arms fair.

The Spirit of Christmas Fair was taking place and the organisers, Clarion Events, claimed no contradiction between holding an exhibition for the gift trade and organising the world largest arms fair.

Campaigners distributed hundreds of leaflets explaining the links

between Clarion and DSEi. A number of people were concerned by the connection between this fun event and the arms trade.

The demonstration was organised by London CAAT as part of the campaign to get Clarion to sell its portfolio of arms fairs. Ian Pocock from London CAAT said: "I find it disgusting that Clarion Events is happy to run such family-friendly events as the Spirit of Christmas Fair while also organising the destructive, harmful DSEi arms fair."



See page 3 for dates of upcoming actions at Clarion's events.

CAAT gatherings this spring!

Come to a CAAT gathering this spring and go away buzzing with new links to other campaigners, fresh ideas and information, and some top tips.

These day-long events will focus on our work to end DSEi, the huge arms fair planned to take place in September in London. The gatherings will cover case studies on the impact of UK weapons sales, ways of tackling arms company spin and taking on local arms producers, top tips on working with the media and more!

- **5 March**, Manchester – 10.30am-5pm at MERCi, Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick Street, M4 7HR (this will include a session with local campaign group Target Brimar)
- **2 April**, Reading – 10.30am-5pm at RISC, 35-39 London Street, RG1 4PS (this will include a workshop on being a speaker for CAAT)

Book now and invite your friends to come along. It's a great introduction to CAAT for new people and an energising, informative day for all. Contact Anne-Marie at the CAAT office or outreach@caat.org.uk.

Coventry remembers the arms trade

The event Coventry CAAT organised last November to explore the role of arms manufacturing in the Blitz through song, poetry and discussion was very stimulating.

Particularly valuable were stories from workers in the arms factories who had tried to stop arms trading through union solidarity – such as the export of arms to South Africa and

Chile and the use of UK weaponry in the Falklands war. These and other stories will go in the e-book we are compiling on arms manufacture and trading in Coventry. **PENNY WALKER**

If you have any information for the e-book, please contact Penny on 02476 664616 or info@covpeacehouse.org.uk.

New group to challenge local arms manufacture

Wyre Forest's newly formed CAAT group held its first public meeting on 4 November.

CAAT supporters from Worcestershire and the West Midlands attended to hear peace campaigner Chris Cole deliver a presentation on the arms trade and the use of armed drones, or Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, by the UK and US military. It was followed by a lively discussion. Our attention partly focused on local company, Roxel (UK Rocket Motors) Ltd, the

world's third largest manufacturer of missile rocket motors.

Following the success of the evening, a second public meeting is planned. Prior to that we will be investigating the role of our county council in arms company investment, lobbying our MPs and raising awareness through our digital and local media. Get in touch with us at info@wyreforestcaat.org.uk if you want to know more or would like to join us, or see our website at wyreforestcaat.org.uk. **MARTIN LAYTON**

"RESPONSIBLE" WEAPONS SALES?

Anne-Marie O'Reilly and Sarah Waldron introduce CAAT's new campaign, This is not OK.

The UK government claims UK arms exports are "managed responsibly". Yet taxpayers' money helps sell weapons to human rights abusers and conflict zones.

- **Sri Lanka:** the UK government claimed that it only issued licences for Sri Lanka that would not provoke or prolong the conflict or be used for internal repression. But after the Sri Lankan government's final offensive against the Tamil Tigers raised "grave concerns" for human rights and resulted in the deaths of at least 7,000 ethnic Tamil civilians, the UK was unable to provide a guarantee that its equipment had not been used.
- **Saudi Arabia:** the repressive Saudi government is the UK's biggest customer. UK-supplied weaponry was probably used by Saudi Arabia in air strikes in Yemen in 2009 that killed many civilians. The UK's deals with Saudi Arabia have been riddled with corruption and give legitimacy to a regime where torture of detainees and detention without trial is prevalent and the death penalty continues to be used extensively, discriminating in particular against women, migrant workers and poor people.
- **Israel:** in 2009, the UK government admitted that UK arms were "almost certainly" used in Israel's attacks on Gaza, which killed 1,400 people and destroyed infrastructure. For instance, Israeli

The UK's role in arming the world is out of step with the priorities of UK citizens. We need your help to collect diverse voices delivering the same message: **This is not OK.** The words and statements of ordinary people and key figures will be used to create a powerful lobbying exhibition to bring our message to the public, to decision-makers and to DSEi's organisers, the Government and Clarion Events.

Please sign the enclosed campaign postcard and email for campaign materials – campaign@caat.org.uk.

F-16s contain essential components supplied by the UK.

These are some of the Government's "responsible" weapons sales. **This is not OK.**

In their own words

Peter Luff, the Defence Equipment Minister has said: "There will be a very, very, very heavy ministerial commitment to [arms sales]. There is a sense that in the past we were rather embarrassed about exporting defence products. There is no such embarrassment in this Government."

And Foreign Minister William Hague has given assurances that he is already "very much on" to promoting BAE products to the rest of the world. Hague said: "I myself have been raising in quite a few countries Hawk and Typhoon sales. We take a much more rigorous approach to this than the last Government."

The military, or "defence", budget was saved from the worst cuts (see page 12). It was reduced by only 8 per cent compared to a 19 per cent average for all departments – at the expense of welfare and public

"There will be a very, very, very heavy ministerial commitment to [arms sales]."
Peter Luff

"I myself have been raising in quite a few countries Hawk and Typhoon sales."
William Hague

services. Cuts to education, local council budgets and welfare will hit the poor hardest. Public spending priorities are out of step with the concerns of ordinary people. **This is not OK.**

DSEi

The Government and arms lobby are pushing for the UK to maintain its position as one of the world's largest arms exporters. From 13–16 September this year the UK is due to host a huge arms fair, "DSEi" (Defence & Security Equipment International) in London. These two pages feature calls to action against several targets. We need to make our message clear: **This is not OK.**



Man injured in Gaza in 2009
Photo: Rafahkid

“Mass murder is a crime under international law. It was committed by the Israeli forces in Gaza. They massacred hundreds of women and children, and even the aged and handicapped people lost under the rubble of their homes.”

Emergency Medical Technician in Gaza, following an attack in which UK weapons exports were used in indiscriminate attacks against civilians

DSEi: the arms bazaar

What it does

The arms fair DSEi brings together buyers and sellers from across the world – whether or not those countries are under arms embargo. China, for example, attended DSEi in 2009. This year Israel is due to host a huge pavilion of its “battle-tested” exports. Countries that are at threat of war with each other – such as India and Pakistan – will shop side-by-side.

DSEi publicity boasts that the arms fair will be “even bigger” this year, and will host the “Largest Unmanned & Robotics Demonstration area in Europe”.

What do they say?

DSEi publicity describes the fair as “A place to do business”. **This is not OK.**

What we can do

There may well be a DSEi exhibitor based in your local area. CAAT can support you to highlight its presence in your local media, at local campaign meetings, or with a street stall or public meeting. We would like you to collect people’s statements about why “This is not OK” in order to build our lobbying exhibition. Please also try to get a group from where you live to come to the national actions in London during DSEi on 13–16 September 2011.

UKTI DSO

What it does

The UKTI Defence & Security Organisation (UKTI DSO) helps any arms company with a UK trading address to maximise its sales. This has meant: parking a UK warship on Angola’s coast to sell UK weapons to a developing country emerging from civil war; UKTI DSO staff touring the world to recommend UK weapons at arms fairs hosting delegations from Zimbabwe, Burma, Rwanda, China; “high-level” interventions to encourage authoritarian and corrupt regimes like Libya and Algeria to buy our weapons. In fact, these last two countries are both among UKTI DSO’s “key markets”.

What do they say?

As little as possible. CAAT has complained after a long series of Freedom of Information requests were delayed and refused. This lack of transparency suggests that there’s a few things to hide. **This is not OK.**

What we can do

Pressure the Liberal Democrats to put their party’s policy into practice and shut down UKTI DSO. Help make this the Labour Party’s policy while they’re the Opposition. Tell the Conservative Party that their position on arms exports is out of step with public opinion. Information on campaign actions and events will be on CAAT’s website and in the e-bulletin.

Clarion Events: DSEi’s owners

What it does

Clarion Events is an events company that continues to host family-friendly events such as the Baby Show, the Horse Show and the Spirit of Christmas. However, since 2008 it has acquired six arms fairs and joined the arms industry trade body A|D|S. Clarion sees arms fairs as big business and a key area for growth in profits.

What do they say?

In response to CAAT’s campaign, Clarion says: “A small minority have tried to convince others that DSEi helps to perpetuate the illegal arms trade. This is not true.” Clarion argues that because what it does is legal, it is legitimate. Our message is simple: **This is not OK.**

What we can do

Attend CAAT’s demonstrations at Clarion’s family events and encourage visitors and exhibitors to challenge Clarion to drop their arms portfolio. See page 3 for dates and details of events coming up this year, and also visit our website www.clarionarmsfairs.com.

See page 7 for news and a picture from the excellent CAAT demonstration at the Spirit of Christmas Fair 2010.

Echoes of Nimrod

Former union official Tim Webb writes of military spending decisions around the Nimrod jet – and shows how issues surrounding the project remain as relevant as ever.

One of the decisions made in the Strategic Defence Review (see page 12) was to scrap a submarine-hunting jet, the Nimrod maritime patrol aircraft. The original Nimrod MR1 came into service in 1969. When the project needed updates, it was decided that surplus MR1s should be equipped with the new advanced early warning radar (AEW) made by UK-based GEC. Notably, Nato had decided to buy the American E-3 radar and the RAF was also demanding the same system.

A furious tussle ensued between the RAF and the UK suppliers with the Ministry of Defence caught in the middle. GEC's AEW radar won. But there was a problem: the AEW's computer memory was too small. It didn't do the job it was supposed to do.

The axe was poised to fall on Nimrod-AEW in 1986 and GEC's public relations people went into overdrive, suggesting that nothing less than the future of UK electronics was at stake. The workforce heard talk of mass redundancies and unions were asked to lobby politicians.

Lobbying

My union, MSF, represented aerospace designers and professional engineers.

For us, there was no problem about arguing that the Government should buy from the UK rather than from the US, if all things were equal, but if the British option was a proven failure, what was the best solution? It was a question we left unanswered. If that seems less than straightforward, I can only say that the whole military equipment supply

scenario was riddled with awkward questions. We were part of the system, and the problem.

We were also part of a delegation that lobbied the Minister for Defence Procurement. We pressed the case for AEW and opposed the American E-3. The minister was polite, but a senior RAF officer also at the meeting stared at us with undisguised hostility.

We said that if the contract was given to the US, UK jobs and skills would be lost and we claimed that aerospace was a vital and successful part of the UK manufacturing industry. One of our number talked about the technical superiority of the British system. The RAF man shifted in his seat, leant forward and asked the man if he had any military experience. No, came the reply. The air force officer picked up his pencil, snapped it in half and threw the pieces into his cap. There was no specific outcome to the meeting, nor any attempt to sum it up.

Lessons

Nimrod-AEW was cancelled soon after this and the RAF ordered seven planes equipped with American radar. So that was that and everybody said lessons had been learned.

However, if they had, they were soon forgotten. In 1996 the Defence Secretary decided we needed a new Nimrod aircraft. Whose submarines was it supposed to hunt? The Cold War was over. There was no conventional military threat to Europe or the US.

British Aerospace (now BAE Systems) was awarded the Nimrod MR4 contract, with the price fixed at £2.2 billion for 21 aircraft and the date of initial delivery estimated at 2002. By 2005, the cost had risen to an estimated £3.8 billion and the delivery date had moved to 2010. In July 2006 the contract was reduced to 12 planes; BAE Systems would carry out much less work but would be paid the full amount agreed for

the original order. In effect, the Ministry of Defence took on delays and cost over-runs as its sole responsibility, leaving the taxpayer bearing the cost of both its own and the manufacturer's incompetence.

Public money

In total, £4.5 billion of public money was flushed away on Nimrod. Even more will follow because, in the same defence review that scrapped the MR4, the decision was made to go ahead with two aircraft carriers (see page 12). One will have no aircraft for nine years and the other will be put into dry dock to await a possible buyer. The carriers' problems and delays will follow a similar pattern to that of Nimrod.

Security

During the early years of the Nimrod debate, I never heard anyone explain why these new aircraft were essential to our defence – and this was nothing new; UK defence procurement has always been based on the temporary reconciliation of military, financial and political interests. The problem is, our security is not just a military matter. It also involves the protection of health, education, civil industries, employment and welfare. The shambles that is military procurement and the failure of successive governments to resist the power and influence of the military lobby have repeatedly put these at risk.

Tim Webb is the former Assistant General Secretary of the trade union MSF (now Unite) and the author of *The Armour-Plated Ostrich – the Cost of Britain's Addiction to the Arms Business* and the CAAT booklet, *Bribing for Britain*.

A longer version of this article can be found on the CAAT website.

BAE's shame revealed in court

Ann Feltham reports on the BAE Systems court case last December.

The media was unanimous. "Plea deal is a sorry end to BAE affair" said the *Financial Times'* editorial on 22 December. This was echoed by the *Morning Star*: "A sorry end to a sordid affair" and the *Daily Mail*: "few people outside the arms trade can be satisfied with a system under which BAE haggled its way to a settlement worth a fraction more than 0.1 per cent of last year's sales."

The background

The Serious Fraud Office (SFO) started investigating allegations of bribery around BAE Systems' arms deals back in 2004. Corrupt payments totalling over £1 billion were reported to have been made in Austria, Chile, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Tanzania. The investigation into Saudi Arabia was famously stopped by then Prime Minister Tony Blair in December 2006, but the SFO was still actively pursuing at least some of those in eastern Europe and Africa right up until a plea bargain was agreed in February 2010. Under this, BAE pleaded guilty to failing to keep proper accounting records made in connection with the sale of military radar to Tanzania; radar which did not meet the specification and was far more expensive than the civil radar actually needed.

December's hearing

The sentencing hearing at Southwark Crown Court on 20 December was told that BAE used to have "overt" and "covert" agreements with its advisers. These included, for the Tanzania deal, Shailesh Vithlani. He received a total of \$12.4 million from BAE – 1 per cent of the contract price direct from the company for his "overt" work, and a rather more lucrative 30 per cent for his "covert"



work, which reached him via two offshore companies. The first, owned by BAE, passed the money to the second, owned by Vithlani.

A clearly unhappy Judge Bean, frustrated by the "plea agreement", repeatedly pressed the SFO and BAE's lawyers about the \$12.4 million. His sentencing remarks make it clear that BAE was making the payments to Vithlani "with the intention that he should have free rein to make such payments to such people as he thought fit in order to secure the Radar Contract for the defendants, but that the defendants did not want to know the details."

The judge felt "moral pressure" to fine BAE just £500,000 so as to keep as much as possible of the £30 million payment agreed between BAE and the SFO as compensation for the "victims", the people of Tanzania.

The Prince's view

One person who will undoubtedly be pleased by the end of the BAE scandal is Prince Andrew. It is not exactly a surprise to see "Airmiles

CAAT supporters demonstrate outside Southwark Crown Court on 20 December 2010

Andy" promoting arms exports, but WikiLeaks revealed that he had talked to business leaders about the "idiocy" of the SFO investigation almost scuppering BAE deals with Saudi Arabia. The Prince's ire was, in particular, focussed on those *Guardian* journalists "who poke their noses everywhere".

Not quite the end

While the investigation of BAE is at an end, that of its auditor has started. The Accountancy & Actuarial Discipline Board announced in October 2010 that it was looking at the conduct of KPMG Audit as BAE's auditor from 1997 to 2007 "in relation to the commissions paid by BAE through any route to subsidiaries, agents and any connected companies". We wait with interest for any developments on this new front.

Arms companies dictate security spending

Weird, wacky, wasteful and definitely dangerous – that seems a fair summary of recent Government pronouncements on security and military spending, says Kaye Stearman.

Released on 18 October by the new National Security Council, the report *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty* outlines fifteen threats to UK security. The most serious Tier 1 threats are international terrorism, attacks on UK cyberspace, a major accident or natural hazard and an international military crisis between states that draws in the UK. Interestingly, only two threats involve direct military attacks on the UK – either nuclear or biological (Tier 2) or conventional warfare (Tier 3).

Strategic Defence and Security Review

The Strategic Defence and Security Review, released the following day, was supposedly linked to the outcomes of the National Security Council's report. However, the emphasis of the Review soon turned to conventional military threats, which conveniently fits the arms industry agenda. For example, Ministry of Defence spending was to be cut but by a mere 8 per cent over four years and the Review showed support for continued spending on platforms and weaponry.

Saving and spending

The Review suggested that savings would be made by cuts in staff (military and civilian), cuts in tanks and heavy artillery, scrapping some aircraft (Hercules, Sentinel, Harriers and Nimrods) and immediately decommissioning the Ark Royal aircraft carrier. A decision on Trident renewal was delayed until 2016.

However, there will be new helicopters, joint strike fighters, armoured vehicles, hunter-killer submarines and multi-role destroyers,

while Tornado and Typhoon air fleets will be retained. This means plenty of new toys for the military – and new orders for arms companies.

Aircraft carriers

The headline item from the Strategic Defence and Security Review has been the Government's decision to continue with two new aircraft carriers. No matter that they will not enter service for several years or cannot perform basic functions for several years more, nor does it seem to matter that one will be mothballed or sold. Originally estimated at £3 billion, costs of the carriers have risen to over £5 billion. No surprise then that the carriers are being built by the three musketeers of the arms world: BAE Systems, Babcock Marine and Thales UK.

Prime Minister Cameron confirmed that cancellation would cost more than construction because of the "unbreakable contract" that the Labour government had signed with BAE Systems. It seems that Gordon Brown swallowed the dubious arms trade "jobs" arguments hook, line and sinker – especially as the jobs were in Scotland, near his constituency.

The cross-party Treasury Select Committee remarked that BAE "...had effectively held a gun to the head of the Government". They should have added, "... and the public will pay the ransom."

'They said it'



"This was an agreement entered into by consenting adults. I stated why the contract had been signed, what they were getting and the objective and that it was very important strategically and to our industrial capability."

IAN KING, BAE CHIEF EXECUTIVE, ON AIRCRAFT CARRIER CONTRACTS, DAILY EXPRESS, 23 OCTOBER 2010

"This letter shows what an impossible position the Government were put into by this contract, BAE effectively held a gun to the head of the Government... This is an absolutely crazy situation... we also need to know how to prevent this from ever happening again."

ANDREW TYRIE, CHAIRMAN, TREASURY SELECT COMMITTEE, ON AIRCRAFT CARRIER CONTRACTS, 4 NOVEMBER 2010

"This Government has been clear from the outset, and so have I: we are proud to support the biggest defence exports drive in decades... One final point, I'm a Minister for Her Majesty's Government, not an arms salesman."

GERALD HOWARTH, MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY, UKTI DSO SYMPOSIUM, 3 NOVEMBER 2010

"You're just a crusty old Admiral."

JEREMY PAXMAN TO LORD WEST, BBC2 NEWSNIGHT, 10 NOVEMBER 2010

"Guilty."

DAVID PERRY QC, REPRESENTING BAE, WESTMINSTER CROWN CROWN, 23 NOVEMBER 2010

Spending and cutting

The background to military spending plans is departmental spending cuts that average 19 per cent, compared to just 8 per cent at the Ministry of Defence. Some areas go much deeper. For example, the Communities and Local Government budget will be cut by a third, spending on school buildings will be cut by two-thirds and there will be large cuts in welfare benefits and legal aid.

My first National Gathering

CAAT supporters gathered in London on 6 November for our annual National Gathering. The event was a huge success, with everyone going away inspired and motivated. Priya Soman attended the Gathering and gave this description of the day:

"As I stood in the queue to sign in for my first-ever National Gathering, I couldn't help but feel the excitement as the atmosphere was electric. It turned out to be such a fabulous experience with the mix of talks, networking and the fantastic workshops. The gathering was also the perfect platform to meet fellow

campaigners and to hear stories about their resilient fight against the arms trade.

The stories of brave, persistent and imaginative direct action campaigners like the Raytheon 9 and the Decommissioners were simply inspirational. In a world that is more cynical by the day, I think the day's discussions made me feel re-energised and believe that every action matters, however big or small.

Mark Thomas' fantastic address was the biggest highlight for me, personally. His hilarious narration of his experience walking along the Wall was a raw reminder of what

the arms industry stands for - the lives that are destroyed along its ruthless path to making profits.

As governments across the world collaborate and join hands to improve trade relations by promoting the arms industry, I truly believe that this is the time to raise our voices and stand up to fight. CAAT's National Gathering has spurred me on to stay motivated and focused on fighting the arms trade. Thank you CAAT for your inspirational work!"

See page 7 for info on CAAT gatherings taking place this spring.

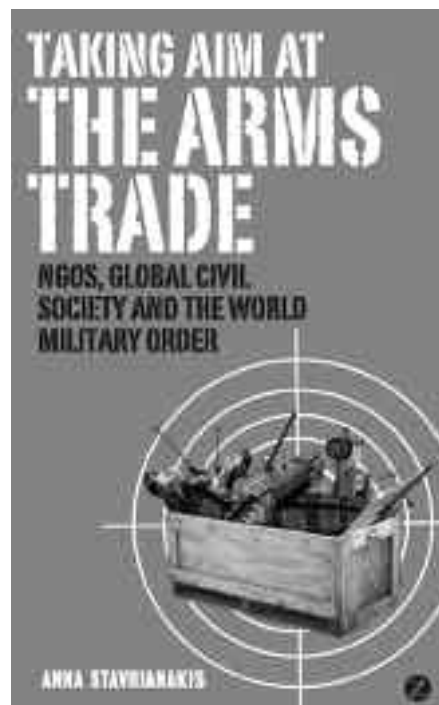
Book review

***Taking Aim at the Arms Trade: NGOs, Civil Society and the Global Military Order* (Anna Stavrianakis, Zed Books 2010)**

Any organisation campaigning to control the arms trade must be doing good, mustn't it? After all, look at the way that arms companies in the global North use bribery to flood the South with weapons, corrupt politicians and add to conflict in the process. These must be worthy targets for any radical campaigner and their campaigns surely deserve strong support from anyone committed to peaceful social change.

Scrutiny

Anna Stavrianakis's new book, *Taking Aim at the Arms Trade*, puts these assumptions under the microscope. She takes a hard look at several UK non-governmental organisations (NGOs), including Oxfam, BASIC, Saferworld and CAAT, looking beyond the immediate arms trade opposition to the awkward question of whether much of the campaigning has the effect of



bringing a degree of control to the arms trade rather than determinedly seeking its abolition. If so, does this actually help consolidate a deeply unequal North-South power relationship?

Questions

It is easy to respond with standard formulae such as, "some people are never satisfied; at least we're trying to make a difference," but that really is not enough. Many development and peace NGOs do genuinely have a valuable impact, but there is a singularly powerful argument that they are still working within a deeply unjust system rather than going for fundamental change.

This book addresses that issue head-on, concentrating on the arms trade but in a manner with a much wider significance for campaigning NGOs in general. It provides no easy answers, but is certainly food for thought and, as such, is worth reading by any CAAT supporter.

PAUL ROGERS

Paul Rogers teaches in the Department of Peace Studies at Bradford University.

Taking Aim at the Arms Trade is available at good bookshops.

Raising funds for CAAT



Fundraising Co-ordinator Henry McLaughlin suggests some ideas for raising money.

Sponsored runs

If you are struggling to keep up with a New Year's resolution to get fit, why not add to your motivation by taking part in a sponsored run for CAAT? We are looking for a team of people to take part in the Great South Run in Portsmouth on 30 October, so why not register for Team CAAT?

In 2010 our brilliant team of runners raised £2,000 for CAAT from the Great South Run. Runners and walkers in Bristol and London took the total to over £3,000.

If you would like to take part in the Great South Run, or another sponsored event closer to where you live, please email fundraising@caat.org.uk or call Henry on 0207 281 0297.

CAAT will provide plenty of support – we will set up an online sponsorship page for you and help you to keep motivated. Places for



James Cracknell, who took part in a sponsored run 'Run to the Beat' in 2010 to raise funds for CAAT

runs get filled very quickly so please get in touch straight away.

Volunteering on festival bars

If propping up the bar is more your style, then please consider supporting CAAT by volunteering as a server on festival bars. CAAT volunteers worked on the bars at Glastonbury, Latitude, Leeds and Reading in 2010, and raised over £2,000. Now we need volunteers for 2011.

You will work one shift a day and the rest of the time will be yours to enjoy the festival. You don't need any previous bar experience and will receive training at the start of your shift. The Workers Beer Company (which organises the volunteering) lays on free coaches to festivals from major cities, and will provide you with a couple of meals and drinks a day and often a party on the last night! You will also get to camp in a separate Workers Beer campsite with showers.

If you're interested, please email fundraising@caat.org.uk or call Henry on 0207 281 0297 for info.

Setting up a Direct Debit

Thank you to the hundreds of CAAT supporters who have now set up a regular donation through Direct Debit. Donating by Direct Debit rather than Standing Order cuts down on our admin costs. Regular donations such as this help us plan the campaign for the long-term. If you would like to set up a Direct Debit then please send us the form on the back of CAATnews or visit www.caat.org.uk.

Steering Committee

There were nine valid nominations for the ten elected places on CAAT's Steering Committee. This means that there will not be an election this time around and that **Pat Allen, Angela Broome, Kathryn Busby, Sharen Green, Symon Hill, Richard Kirkby, Barnaby Pace, Chris Rosedale** and **Nicholas Russell** will be on the Steering Committee.

Five of them will serve the full four-year term and four of them the two years until March 2013. In addition, four people will be co-opted to the Steering Committee for two years. They will be selected on the basis of their skills and experience to complement those named above and to increase diversity of background.

The next call for nominations for elected members will be in two years time in the autumn of 2012. We hope that more supporters will want to stand on that occasion.

ANN FELTHAM

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 payment, or by taking part in a fundraising event.

Campaign locally

CAAT's campaigns are effective because people like you take action around the country. The "to do" list on this page gives a few ideas, but if you'd like to do that bit more for CAAT in your area why not consider one of these roles?

- **Join or start a local CAAT group** – why not start with a street stall or public meeting?
- **Become a Supporter Media Activist** – with the help of monthly briefings from CAAT.
- **Join the CAAT Speakers Network** – help spread the word!
- **Become a Local Contact** – co-ordinate local campaign activities or keep a local campaign group updated on CAAT's work.
- **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 outreach@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 Universities Network wiki – universities.caat.org.uk

- Join the Universities Network and get the monthly ebulletin: www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/universities/getinvolved.php
- Contact universities@caat.org.uk for any questions or if you want to share a planned action.

CAAT Christian Network

The network raises arms trade issues within national church structures and local churches. Contact CAAT 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 020 7281 0297 to discuss the different ways you can remember CAAT.



Campaigners' "to do" list

- **Add your voice** to our **"This is not OK"** campaign. See pages 8–9 and sign the enclosed postcard and return it today.
- **Order "This is not OK" action materials** – tick the boxes on the postcard or contact campaign@caat.org.uk.
- Book to attend a **CAAT Spring Gathering** in Reading or Manchester – contact Anne-Marie at the office or outreach@caat.org.uk (see page 7).
- Let us know if you'd like to enter a **sponsored event** or **work at a festival** for CAAT this summer – email fundraising@caat.org.uk (see page 14).
- If you're a **student or work at a university**, contact Abi for support with actions and events on campus – universities@caat.org.uk (see page 6).

Donate today!

You can donate to CAAT by either visiting our website at www.caat.org.uk, or by completing the form below (in block capitals) and returning to: CAAT, Freepost, LON4296, London, N4 3BR.



Name

Address

Postcode

- I enclose a cheque for £___ made payable to CAAT.
 I wish to donate by credit/debit card and have completed my card details.
 Please send me the CAATnews quarterly magazine.
 Please send me CAAT's monthly email bulletin.
 I wish to set up a Direct Debit (complete form below)
 I'd like information on setting up a legacy to CAAT.

Telephone number

Email address

Card details

Credit/debit card type (please tick appropriate box):

Solo Switch/UK Maestro Visa Visa Delta

Credit/debit card number:

Cardholder's name

Start date

Expiry date

Security number (3 digit number on back of card)



A direct debit is the most convenient and cost effective way to support CAAT. £10 a month will make a real difference.

Service User Number: 250347

Instruction to your Bank or Building Society to pay by Direct Debit

To: The Manager Bank/Building Society:

Banks/building societies may not accept Direct Debit Instructions from some kind of accounts.

Address of Bank/Building Society

Postcode

Name(s) of account holder(s)

Bank/building society a/c no.

Sort code

I wish to donate £_____ every month/quarter/annually (please delete).

Reference (CAAT use only)

Please pay Campaign Against Arms Trade Direct Debits from the account detailed in this Instruction subject to the safeguards assured by the Direct Debit Guarantee. I understand that this Instruction may remain with Campaign Against Arms Trade and, if so, details will be passed electronically to my bank/building society.

Signature(s)

Date

