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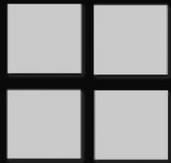
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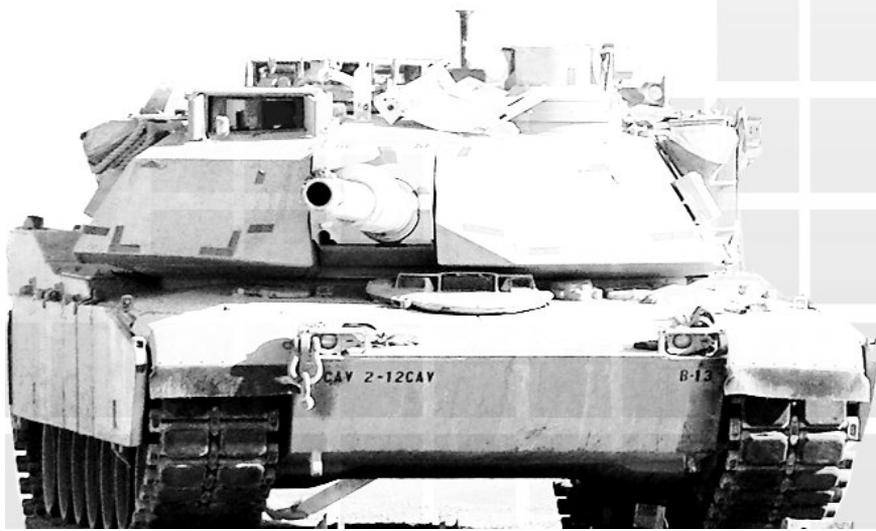




# GLOSSARY



<b>ASI</b>	<b>Adam Smith International</b>
<b>BCCB</b>	<b>British Consultants and Construction Bureau</b>
<b>CBI</b>	<b>Confederation of British Industry</b>
<b>CPA</b>	<b>Coalition Provisional Authority</b>
<b>CRG</b>	<b>Control Risks Group</b>
<b>DFI</b>	<b>Development Fund for Iraq</b>
<b>DfID</b>	<b>UK Department for International Development</b>
<b>DTI</b>	<b>UK Department of Trade and Industry</b>
<b>EPAP</b>	<b>CPA Emergency Public Administration Programme</b>
<b>FCO</b>	<b>UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office</b>
<b>GCPP</b>	<b>Global Conflict Prevention Pool</b>
<b>IDP</b>	<b>Iraq Development Programme</b>
<b>IPOA</b>	<b>International Peace Operations Association</b>
<b>KBR</b>	<b>Kellogg Brown and Root, Halliburton subsidiary</b>
<b>KRG</b>	<b>Kurdish Regional Government</b>
<b>MEED</b>	<b>Middle East Economic Digest magazine.</b>
<b>MoD</b>	<b>UK Ministry of Defence.</b>
<b>PFI</b>	<b>Private Finance Initiative</b>
<b>PMC</b>	<b>Private Military Company</b>
<b>PSC</b>	<b>Private Security Company</b>
<b>PSP</b>	<b>Private Sector Participation</b>
<b>SEEA</b>	<b>South of England Export Association</b>
<b>SOE</b>	<b>State Owned Enterprises</b>
<b>UKTI</b>	<b>UK Trade &amp; Investment</b>
<b>USACE</b>	<b>US Army and Corps of Engineers</b>
<b>USAID</b>	<b>The US International Aid Department</b>
<b>WDM</b>	<b>World Development Movement</b>



# FOREWORD



## British Hyenas in Iraq

In 1935, Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler, the most decorated US military officer of his day, published the polemical essay *War is a Racket*.<sup>1</sup> Butler spelled out in meticulous detail the huge profit that war generates for a privileged elite. The 1914-18 war, according to Butler, created at least twenty one thousand American millionaires and billionaires.

Butler's essay highlighted a dirty little secret that had hitherto been kept from public debate: war can be great for business. The wars that he had fought in Central America had been prosecuted for one reason: to make the region safe for US corporate and banking interests. The US military was merely strong-arming for the US business elite. In a speech in 1933, Brigadier General Butler observed: 'Looking back on it, I feel that I could have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three districts. The marines operated on three continents.'<sup>2</sup> This report presents fresh evidence that the 2003 invasion of Iraq is simply one more in a long line of war rackets.

The 2003 invasion of Iraq was undoubtedly motivated by need to control oil in the face of competition from China, Russia and Europe. But it was also a war that was fought for the penetration of US capital into the Iraqi- and wider Middle Eastern - economy. It is for this reason that corporations were recruited into playing a decisive role in the invasion and subsequent occupation. There are three facets to the corporate invasion that tell us corporations are beginning to play a more active role in their own protection racket.

**First**, corporations were given a strategic role in planning the invasion and occupation of Iraq. In the Autumn of 2002, whilst the UN inspectors were still in Iraq looking for Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, Phillip Carroll, a former CEO of Shell USA, and head of Fluor Corp (one of the prime contractors hired by the Department of Defense for Iraq reconstruction) drafted a Pentagon strategy for the development of the Iraqi oil industry.<sup>3</sup> In preparation for the invasion, the UK oil firm BP tutored British troops in maintaining and running the oil fields they seized in southern Iraq.<sup>4</sup> Dick Cheney's Halliburton was charged with repairing and rebuilding the oil infrastructure and in this role accompanied the troops into the oil fields. The military capture of the Iraqi oil fields therefore depended largely upon the collaboration of US and British oil companies.

**Second**, we have seen the open deployment of private military and private security corporations on a scale never experienced in the recent history of conflict. The number of private military and armed security personnel employed by Western PMCs in Iraq is thought to number something in the region of 30,000 with perhaps 6,000 of these contractors serving in armed tactical roles.<sup>5</sup> In contrast with Butler's wars of the early and mid- 20th century, regular military forces no longer have a monopoly on the protection racket.

**Third**, the speed and intensity with which Western corporations have been encouraged to enter the reconstruction economy indicates something new about the role that has been carved out for private corporations in the occupation of Iraq. The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) speedily delivered around \$20 billion in Iraqi reconstruction funds (revenue that was derived mainly from Iraqi oil confiscated during the sanctions regime, and from oil that was sold during the occupation) into the hands of corporations from the coalition states. One analysis concluded that Iraqi firms received just 2 percent of the value of those contracts.<sup>6</sup> It is an aspect of the invasion that has received little scrutiny in the mass media, but the CPA's principle achievement was the immediate delivery of Iraqi oil revenue into the hands of Western corporations.

### *Neo-liberalism and Corporate Invasion*

The pallets of \$100,000 cashpacks handed out by the CPA provided the raw material for the corporate invasion of Iraq, but at the same time the occupiers were acutely aware of the need for a legal infrastructure to support the transformation of the economy. Under Saddam, the economy had been dominated by nationalised and state-run enterprises. In order to facilitate an invasion of private capital, a new set of rules was needed to provide the foundations of a new economy. During 14 months in power, the CPA introduced a neo-liberal, corporate-friendly system of laws that is comparable to the classic neo-liberal 'shock therapy' experiments in Chile and Indonesia (and to some extent in the former Soviet Union post-1991). In Iraq, a series of legally binding orders handed down by the CPA, erected the pillars of a neo-liberal economy. Those included the abolition of state production and commodity subsidies (order 12); the deregulation of wage protections and the labour market (order 30); tax reforms to favour business (order 37); monetary reform and reforms in the banking sector (orders 18, 20, 40, 43, 74 and 94); the establishment of international trade rules based on the World Trade Organisation (WTO) model (orders 54, 81 and 83); and the privatisation of state enterprises (orders 39, 46 and 51). The new economy was therefore founded on the mythical neo-liberal principle of 'trickle down' economics: the idea that wealth can be created and development stimulated by creating favourable terms of investment for foreign capital. If this was the excuse, the truth was simply that the aim was to facilitate the high speed entry of foreign - mainly US - capital into Iraqi markets.

In Iraq the political situation has its own specific complexities which made this task more urgent than the neo-liberal experiments of Chile and Indonesia. In the absence of a friendly Iraqi dictator or minority regime the entry of US corporations into the economy had to be secured quickly, to ensure that the economy would become dependant upon US and international capital. The intensity of the corporate invasion of Iraq can therefore be explained partly as a result of the urgent need to exert external control on the economy in the absence of an easy transition to US clientelism in government. Western corporations (Halliburton, Bechtel, Fluor, AMEC and so on) are now firmly in place as the guardians of infrastructure, re-building the roads, hospitals, schools, and the water, electricity and sewerage systems. Those corporations have effectively been embedded in the social fabric of the country, as prime contractors, major employers, providers of essential goods and services and so on.

The overcharging, fraud and bribery that has plagued the reconstruction projects has left the Iraqi economy in the red and it is estimated that \$8.8 billion spent by the CPA is still unaccounted for. The profligate waste of Iraq's oil revenue has contributed to a deepening crisis in infrastructure. There are insufficient funds to maintain essential provision in existing health, water, oil and electricity supply, never mind fund badly needed new projects. The shortfall in the Iraqi budget is now almost \$5 billion. The historical origin of Iraq's deficit is in the sanctions regime imposed by the UN. But the windfall profits that were gifted to the hordes of corporations entering the country in the aftermath of the invasion wiped out any prospect of economic independence or prosperity. The first IMF loan to Iraq was approved on the 24th December 2005 and the national debt is certain to mushroom. The people of Iraq are now paying a heavy price for this neo-liberal smash and grab operation.

### *Hyena Capital*

In March 2003, days after the invasion, UK Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Patricia Hewitt lobbied Washington on behalf of British industry to demand a better share of reconstruction contracts. It was a somewhat ignominious spectacle to see the representative of a government - recognised almost universally across the world as the docile servant of the Bush regime in the Iraq conflict - crawl to the US government to beg for a few crumbs of the war spoils. It was yet more humiliating that her response from the government agency USAID was that British companies were free to bid for sub-contracts just like those from any other coalition state.

The 'prime contractors' were all US firms. These are the corporations appointed by the US to manage the major reconstruction projects and who sub-contract to other firms and therefore act as the gatekeepers of the corporate invasion.



With the exception of AMEC, who gained access to the market by forming a partnership with the American Fluor Corporation, British firms were excluded from the 'prime' contracts. This had a profound effect on how the war spoils were carved up. In one period examined between 2003 and 2004, more than 80% of prime contracts were given to US companies, with the remainder of the revenue split between UK, Australian, Italian, Israeli, Jordanian and Iraqi companies.<sup>7</sup> So although some British firms subsequently picked up some sub-contracts funded by prime contractors and from Iraqi ministries, they were pushed to the periphery as US corporations captured the core of the reconstruction market.

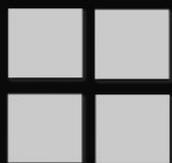
As this report demonstrates, British firms, due to their exclusion from the economic core, have been forced to seek out their profits on the fringes of the reconstruction markets. In Iraq, British business has adapted itself to a supporting role in the corporate invasion. Perhaps most significantly, Iraq has proved crucial for consolidating UK prominence in the expanding market for 'private military companies' (PMCs), formerly known as mercenaries. It is estimated that an average of 30% of reconstruction contracts are now spent on private security and armed escorts.<sup>8</sup> And the British mercenary industry has adapted quickly to fill this commercial gap. With firms such as Erinys and Aegis, formed shortly before the invasion to exploit the new Iraqi market, the British firms have also taken the lead in facilitating the penetration of Western capital into Iraq. This has essentially centred around two activities. British firms have been the prime movers in the conference circus of Iraq 'reconstruction' meetings, also comprehensively detailed in this report for the first time. The role of those meetings is to accelerate the reconstruction process by providing a mechanism for businesses to meet and discuss collaborations with officials from Iraqi and coalition governments. UK firms have also provided a crucial network of information and public relations services which provide the propaganda, intelligence and knowledge provision and the communications links required to sustain the corporate occupation.

If US business is the dominant predator here, then British business is the scavenger. As US companies prey on Iraqi markets in 'reconstruction', British firms are the hyenas of business, sustained by their opportunism and their ability to pick up the scraps. This report provides an invaluable analysis of the hyenas of British capital.<sup>9</sup>

For the first time since the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the profits accrued by British business as a result of the occupation are detailed here. As such it significantly extends our ability to explain the motivations for the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq, to understand its legacy, and to focus our opposition to an occupation that continues to generate human misery and corporate profit in equal measure.

Dave Whyte, University of Stirling, 5th of June 2006





# executive SUMMARY

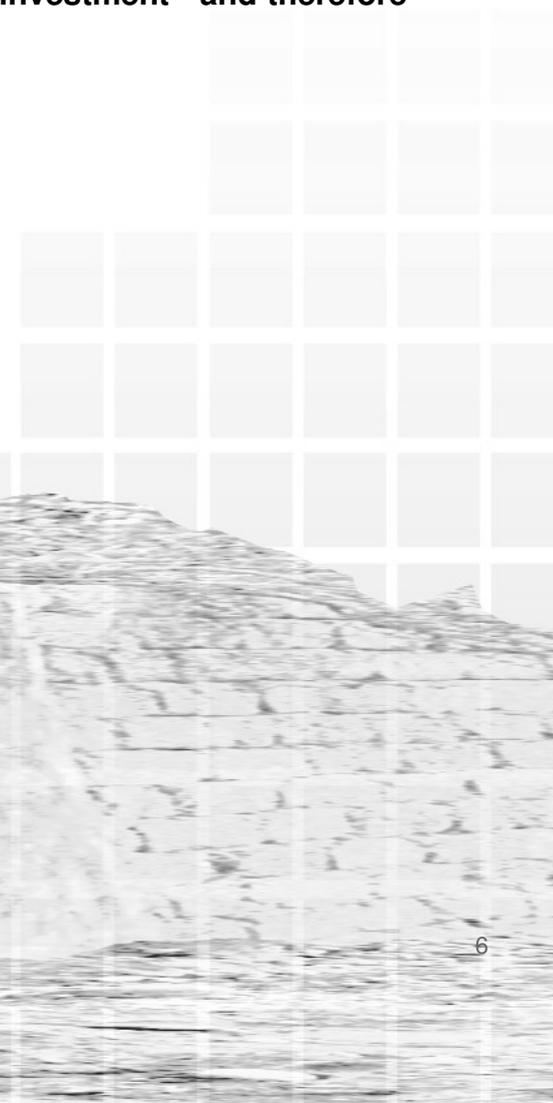


**This report analyses the role of UK corporations in post-Saddam Iraq. To date, we have uncovered evidence for £1.1 billion worth of money. Most of this was received either from the US and UK reconstruction aid budgets or from the Iraqi ministries.**

**This figure of £1.1 billion is certain to be an underestimate, as the value of several large contracts is not known. These unknown contracts include the printing of the new Iraqi Dinar by De La Rue and Datasat's 'major telecomms contract', and those won by successful security firms such as Control Risks, ArmorGroup and Olive.**

**UK companies are mainly to be found as subcontractors to US firms or working on small contracts. However, in the areas of consulting and private security UK companies are just as significant as their US counterparts.**

**UK corporations are playing a key role in creating an Iraqi economy and political establishment that will be based on attracting corporate investment - and therefore friendly to corporate interests - for decades to come.**



# TOP TEN



This report lists 89 companies that are operating in Iraq. The top ten UK winners from the occupation of Iraq, in terms of money made so far, are summarised below.

**1. AMEC**

<http://www.amec.com/>

Power/water

£500m

**2. Aegis Defence Services**

<http://www.aegisworld.com/>

Private security

£246.52m

**3. Erinys**

<http://www.erinysinternational.com>

Private security

£86m

**4. Petrel Resources (Anglo-Irish)**

<http://www.petrelresources.com/>

Petroleum

£56.6m

**5. HSBC**

<http://www.hsbc.com/>

Financial

£36.88m

**6. Cummins UK**

<http://www.cummins.com/eu/pages>

</en/distributors/uk/index.cfm>

Power

£25.8m

**7. PB Power**

<http://www.pbworld.com/>

Power

£24.88m

**8. Control Risks**

<http://www.crg.com/>

Private security

£23.5m

**9. MerchantBridge**

<http://www.mbih.com>

Financial

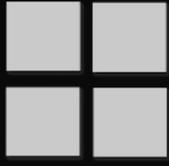
£22.07m

**10. Global Strategies Group**

<http://www.globalgroup.com/>

Private security

£15.48m



# INTRODUCTION

## The Lions Share



***Iraq is viewed as an important market by UK firms, many of whom did business there prior to the Gulf War of 1990-1. British firms have always been, and remain committed to playing an active part in the reconstruction process, and the UK Government is committed to supporting them to do this. UKTI spokesperson, 26/09/05<sup>0</sup>***

As a member of the 'coalition of the willing' that invaded Iraq, the UK government expected its corporations to reap significant rewards in terms of reconstruction and oil contracts. This expectation has not been fully met - the hundreds of millions of dollars that UK companies have made in Iraq must be compared to the many billions that US companies have received. This reflects the subordinate role that the UK has in the so-called 'special relationship' with the US. While the hopes for major reconstruction contracts have not been realised, the UK private sector has been a very important player in the creation of a new, pro-corporate, Iraq. In the fields of pushing privatisation, through providing consultants to the Iraqi ministries, and in the provision of private security to guard the reconstruction, British based and British managed companies have played a role almost equal to the US.

The winners of the real prize - direct exploitation of Iraqi oil - have yet to be decided. When the oil fields are opened up, it is likely that the two British majors, BP and Shell, will be heavily involved. They are both already significant buyers of Iraqi oil, but their involvement will be far more lucrative if they manage to position themselves as key players in the production of Iraqi oil.

So far oil companies have been surveying the oil fields, preparing development plans and signing agreements with the Iraqi Oil Ministry in the hope that these will pay off as soon as the necessary legal and security framework is put in place. The oil majors realise the importance of creating a safe and stable environment and realise how any agreements might be valueless without a stable political system. The memory of the oil company nationalisations of the 1970s is still strong. According to Phillip Watts, former head of Shell, commented in 2003:



***There has to be proper security, legitimate authority and a legitimate process... by which we will be able to negotiate agreements that would be longstanding for decades. We wouldn't go into that situation unless these conditions were satisfied because we are a long-term business doing long-term projects and we need the framework in which we can make this sort of investment decision.<sup>11</sup>***

The oil companies' favoured plan for Iraqi oil is the establishment of a system of production sharing agreements (PSAs) between multinational oil companies and the Iraqi government. If implemented, PSAs are likely to cost the Iraq up to \$194 billion in lost revenue over the lifetime of the contracts.<sup>12</sup> Few countries with reserves the size of Iraq need to enter into agreements as unfavourable as PSAs. Only 12% of the world's oil reserves use PSAs, and none of the major oil producers in the Middle East.<sup>13</sup> Iraq's industry is large enough to support a nationalised system, as Iraq, in fact, has done for many years.

The kind of Iraqi government and economy that UK companies are helping to construct is one that will deliver these 'agreements that would be longstanding for decades'. The British government will also continue to expect some pay off for their companies in return for UK involvement in the war. This means that resistance to the corporate carve up must be focused upon British, as well as US, corporations.

The economic capture of Iraq is not yet accomplished. There is still time for both the military and the economic occupation to be reversed. Eventually this could lead to a 'reconstruction' of Iraq using its wealth of minerals and skilled workers. An alternative reconstruction, rather than the corporate-led version, could create an economy controlled by the very people whose own society is being re-made.



## Creating a New Iraq

The UK's long historical involvement in the Middle East, and leading role in the invasion and occupation of Iraq, is paying off for a great number of UK-based consultancy firms. Just as privatisation and the private finance initiative (PFI) in the UK opened up a new arena of profits, so the restructuring of Iraq's economy is providing fertile opportunities for an army of consultants.

In the years following the ejection of the British-backed monarchy in 1958, much of Iraq's economy was taken over by the state. Several UK firms, such as the bank Standard Chartered<sup>14</sup>, and the oil companies BP and Shell, had their Iraqi assets nationalised.<sup>15</sup> These corporations are now operating in Iraq again and state control over sectors such as banking and oil revenue is being eroded.

More than that, there is the assumption by the US and UK occupiers that Iraq will be transformed into a market economy. In their terms, this means an economy run according to 'free market' principles, which is to say, dominated by corporations. In 2006 the senior British officer in Iraq, Sir Robert Fry stated that one of the biggest challenges for the coalition forces is 'to take what was an entirely moribund state socialist economic system and begin to introduce it to the disciplines of the market.'<sup>16</sup> Already laws have been passed by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to allow the privatisation of over 200 state owned enterprises (SOEs).<sup>17</sup>

However, to transform the running of an entire country involves more than simply passing a few laws; the entire system of political and economic management has to be shifted. The Department for International Development (DfID) recognises this:



***Reform has begun with the introduction of a single currency, the creation of an independent Central Bank and agreement on a budget. But the new Iraqi Transitional Government will have to tackle energy pricing, commercialise the food distribution system, and reform the State Owned Enterprises sector if it wants to create a market economy. These reforms are politically sensitive. They will need to be carefully planned and staged to minimise adverse social and political consequences. ( Iraq: Interim Country Assistance Plan, DfID, February 2004)***

Ibrahim Bahr al-Uloum, who was Oil Minister both under the US-run CPA and under the transitional government of Ibrahim al-Ja'afar, was quoted by the Financial Times as saying that 'The Iraqi oil sector needs privatisation, but it's a cultural issue.'<sup>18</sup> So to assist sympathetic Iraqi politicians in this sensitive process of privatisation, various private firms with experience in this field have been selected by DfID.

No firm is more experienced than Adam Smith International (ASI). This is an offshoot of the right-wing think-tank the Adam Smith Institute, which provided the Thatcher governments with much of their ideological backing in privatising the UK state owned industries.<sup>19</sup> DfID is aware of the discomfort with which many will view ASI, and has stated that:



***The Adam Smith Institute is a free market think-tank which is concerned with trying to influence UK domestic policy. Adam Smith International Ltd is not part of the institute but an independent development consultancy which advises governments around the world on various aspects of government and economic reform.***<sup>20</sup>

In fact, both organisations have the same directors (Dr Madsen Pirie and Dr Eamonn Butler). There is no doubt about the ASI commitment to privatisation especially in the form of 'private sector participation' (PSP), which it advises on in countries such as India, Botswana and Nepal, as well as in Iraq.<sup>21</sup> In the period 1998-2003 ASI received payments of over £34m from DfID for its 'development' work worldwide.<sup>23</sup>



In Iraq, DfID have awarded ASI contracts totalling over £4m, for services including 'Economic Support to Coalition Provisional Authority' and 'Support to the Centre of Government'. ASI is also taking part in the DfID 'Emergency Public Administration Programme' (EPAP), described as 'providing technical support to the Iraqi Prime Minister's office, other government institutions and three ministries which are key for reconstruction: Finance, Municipalities and Public Works, and Planning and Development Co-operation. The project aims to build the foundations for a modern professional and accountable civil service.'<sup>24</sup> What this means is that Adam Smith International was involved in the foundation of the US-led Iraq government, and continued its work in influencing the new government and the ministries' civil servants. ASI seems to be involved in reordering Iraqi government operations at the most basic level, 'in fact physically restructure them, even suggesting how the minister's office should be laid out', as MP Quentin Davies reported in 2005 after a fact-finding mission.<sup>25</sup>

Another favourite of the Thatcher governments, now involved in Iraq, is Tim Bell, who ran the Tories' election campaigns in 1979, 1983 and 1987. His PR firm Bell-Pottinger has been involved in 'A strategic campaign to promote bigger concepts such as the return of sovereignty, reconstruction, support for the army and police, minority rights and public probity'.<sup>26</sup>

Other UK consultancy firms in Iraq include Enterplan, the Hedra Consortium (a specialist in PFI),<sup>27</sup> and PA Consulting, which in 2005 was set to make £19m from a contract on the UK government's ID cards scheme.<sup>28</sup> Solace Enterprises are working with US firm Research Triangle Institute (RTI) to 'support the development of local institutions'.<sup>29</sup>

The presence of these consultants in Iraq is a part of the UK government's policy to push British firms as lead providers of privatisation support. DfID 'has positioned itself as a champion of privatisation in developing countries' according to a *Want* report.<sup>30</sup> The central part that UK firms are playing in reshaping Iraq's economy and society lays the ground for a shift towards a corporate-dominated economy. This will have repercussions lasting long after the end of the military occupation.





## Bodies of Armed Men

**Success for UK companies, in terms of scale of contracts and personnel deployed, has come in the private security industry, which is experiencing an unprecedented and possibly unrepeatable boom in Iraq. Ironically, the costs of providing security and insurance cover have drastically curtailed operating margins for companies, such as Amec, which are trying to do business in the country.**<sup>30</sup>

*Financial Times, 14/04/05*

Attacks by insurgents; armed robbery; kidnapping. All of these factors have made it hard for foreign companies to operate in Iraq. And these self-same 'security issues' are what has led to the 'Baghdad boom' in private security work. While UK companies may be playing second fiddle to the US as far as main Iraq reconstruction contracts go, in commercial terms British private security companies (PSCs) and private military companies (PMCs) are easily neck and neck with their US counterparts.

The private security companies in Iraq perform a range of functions, from major operations that command thousands of armed operatives, to tiny outfits that provide hostile regions training, 'risk management' and bodyguarding for companies and governments. There are two main areas of employment for the PSCs: government security contracts and as security subcontractors to corporations. In total there seems to be 20-30,000 security contractors in Iraq<sup>32</sup>. The Erinys Oil Protection Force (2003-05) alone numbered 14,000.<sup>33</sup>

There is no generally accepted definition of a PSC or PMC. The term 'private military company' is redolent of freebooting outfits such as the now defunct Executive Outcomes and Sandline, hired for military operations in Africa during the 1990s.<sup>34</sup> However, the thread common to all these companies is their role in providing armed protection; other common themes include the employment of ex-military personnel. The PMC/PSC industry worldwide grew from \$900m in 2003 to \$1.7bn in 2004. Similar growth was expected for 2005; Iraq business accounts for at least one third of this total<sup>35</sup>. This boom in security provision is mirrored by the rapid growth of many security companies in Iraq - which have leapt from tiny start-ups to major corporations in the course of the years 2003-2005.

A British PSC industry can be identified from common membership of certain trade associations. The Private Security Companies of Iraq (PSCAI) grouping (<http://www.psc.ai.org/>) includes most PSCs operating in Iraq, including British, US, South African and Iraqi companies. UK member companies include Aegis, Armor Group, Control Risks, Hart, Olive and Janusian. This list indicates the solidarity that exists across the Iraq-based security industry. Aegis is run by a management team that includes Tim Spicer and other former members of the notorious Sandline.<sup>36</sup> It has been rejected once for membership of the International Peace Operations Association (IPOA), a trade association that prefers to style its sector the 'peace and stability industry'.<sup>37</sup> IPOA is run by a board including top members of Armor Group and Hart - companies that are happy to work with, and work under the direction and scrutiny of Aegis in Iraq<sup>38</sup>. Aegis is perhaps the biggest UK security success story in Iraq, having won the \$430m Pentagon contract to oversee the other security companies' operations.<sup>39</sup>

The UK Foreign Office has stated that there is nothing new about the use of armed subcontractors to protect diplomatic posts, 'Primary responsibility normally resides with local authorities augmented where necessary by the employment of specialist security contractors'<sup>40</sup>. Nevertheless the scope and extent of such use in Iraq is clearly unprecedented, and the Department for International Development (DfID) has diverted over £278m from its Iraq reconstruction budget to pay for increased security.<sup>41</sup>

Foreign Office guidelines for dealing with PSCs in Iraq state that 'Many companies in this sector employ former members of the Armed Forces or of the Diplomatic Service. You should ensure that this does not give the companies privileged access beyond that available to other companies, or outside the terms of this guidance.'<sup>42</sup> This statement conceals, as the FCO must know, the fact that most PSCs have wealth of contacts with the UK military. From a former minister of defence, all the way down to former SAS soldiers, there is a major public/private crossover between the armed men active in Iraq. FoOffice guidelines also state that 'In the case of Iraq we have a real interest in helping PMCs/PSCs with legitimate operations'.<sup>43</sup>



**A brief list of major ex-military/MoD figures now with a PSC includes:**

**Aegis Defence Services**

- Major-General Jeremy Phipps (retired), ex-SAS; former head of British special forces 1989-1993.<sup>44</sup> Formerly of Control Risks; now head of Aegis operations in Iraq.
- Lieutenant Colonel Tim Spicer, OBE (retired), ex-Scots Guards, ex-SAS. Founder of Sandline, along with Simon Mann (now jailed for plotting a coup in Equatorial Guinea).<sup>45</sup> Chief Executive of Aegis.
- Nicholas Soames MP (Conservative, Sussex Mid). Former Minister of state, ministry of defence (1994-1997), non-executive director of Aegis.

**Armor Group**

- Sir Malcolm Rifkind MP (Conservative, Kensington and Chelsea); former Secretary of State for Defence. Non-executive director and chairman of ArmorGroup.

**Control Risks Group**

- General Sir Michael Rose (retired), KCB, CBE. Commander of the 22nd SAS regiment, 1979-1982. Commandant of school of infantry, of staff college, Camberley, and the first Director of UK special forces, 1988-89; commander of the UK protection force, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1994-95. Non-executive director of Control Risks.<sup>46</sup>

**Hart Group**

- Richard Bethell, Lord Westbury, former SAS officer. Hart founder.

**Janusian Security Risk Management**

- Major General Walter Courage (retired). Former commander of 4 Armoured Brigade, Munich (1984-87) and Chief of Staff of UN force in Cyprus (1987-90). Director, Business Development, Risk Advisory Group (Janusian parent company).<sup>47</sup>

**Olive Security**

- Harry Legge-Bourke, ex-Welsh Guards captain. Former aide-de-camp to chief of defence staff Sir Charles Guthrie. Olive operations chief.<sup>48</sup>

The wealth of senior military and MoD political figures emerging to be the managers and directors of PSCs, provides evidence that the revolving door relationship between regular and private military has clearly paid off. Contacts between the former military men in PSCs and those currently serving would also be maintained through informal mechanisms, such as shared membership of London clubs like the Special Forces Club<sup>49</sup>; university, staff college and public school alumni societies and a network of shared friends.

There have been a number of scandals around the activities of private security contractors in Iraq. Aegis personnel have filmed themselves shooting at Iraqis' cars<sup>50</sup>; Erinys employees have allegedly brutally interrogated suspected thieves<sup>51</sup> and Hart and Armor Group have both employed confirmed terrorists (from South Africa<sup>52</sup> and Northern Ireland<sup>53</sup>, respectively). An Iraqi Minister of the Interior has accused private security companies of being behind death squads that have carried out sectarian killings<sup>54</sup>.

In 1995 Home Office minister David Maclean stated that 'the private security industry is very important. It is also a large industry which is important to Britain's export needs.'<sup>55</sup> In the Iraq of today this is even more the case



## How UK government and industry groups facilitate the corporate occupation

The entry of UK companies into Iraq has been helped by close and frequent contact with US, UK and CPA officials and with Iraqi government ministers. This level of contact has been facilitated by events organised by private organisations, such as the 'Iraq Development Programme' and by government organisations, such as UK Trade and Investment.

UK Trade and Investment department (UKTI), formerly UK Trade Partners, established an Iraq unit in August 2003, later divided into working groups in the areas of education, healthcare, oil and gas, power, water and telecomms.<sup>56</sup> The UK government also appointed a special representative for Iraqi reconstruction (Brian Wilson, MP for Cunninghame North).<sup>57</sup> The British Consultants and Construction Bureau (BCCB) and the South East Exports Agency (SEEA) have been two prominent private partners of UKTI.

The presence of UK officials in key positions in the Coalition Provisional Authority undoubtedly smoothed the entry of some UK companies into Iraq. The UK special representative for Iraq sat on the CPA 'Programme Review Board', which made decisions on project spending.<sup>58</sup> During December 23-30, in the absence of Paul Bremer and his deputy, the UK representative was acting head of the CPA.<sup>59</sup>

One of the most significant organisations in the game of selling Iraq is the UK-based 'Iraq Development Programme' (IDP), also known under a series of other names, including 'Iraq Procurement', 'Windrush Communications' and 'Omega Marketing'. This group specialises in organising corporate conferences and boasts of hosting the 'number one business summit for Iraq'.<sup>60</sup> It has held a number of conferences that bring together representatives of the coalition governments, procurement officials, Iraqi ministries, the prime contractors and other corporations hoping to do business in Iraq.<sup>61</sup> Those conferences normally take place in London; in Amman, the capital of Jordan; in Kuwait and in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates.

The following list details the key events organised to facilitate the corporate occupation

### **Iraq Reconstruction Update, 15 July 2003, London**

Organised by Middle East Economic Digest (MEED), New Civil Engineer magazine and Construction News. Speakers included Nick Griffiths, Deputy Head of the Iraq Policy Unit at the FCO; Gregor Lusty, Head of the Iraq Unit at Trade partners UK (now UKTI); Kevin Stovell, Managing Director of Mott Macdonald; and Gary Wood, Director of The Risk Advisory Group.<sup>62</sup>

### **Iraq Industry Conference, 21 November 2003, London**

Organised by UKTI. CPA officials explained their procurement strategies and the setting up of the new project management office.<sup>63</sup>

### **Iraq - a nation to be rebuilt, December 9-11 2003, Amman, Jordan<sup>64</sup>**

Organised by the Risk Advisory Group and the Middle East Association, which promotes trade between the UK and the Middle East and North Africa.<sup>65</sup> It was also sponsored by the UKTI, the confederation of British industry (CBI) and the British Consultants and Contractors Bureau (BCCB).<sup>66</sup>

### **Rebuild Iraq 2004, January 19-23 2004, Kuwait**

The South of England Export Association (SEEA) was appointed by UKTI to lead a subsidised trade mission to this event.<sup>67</sup> Around 100 British companies attended, as did CPA officials. Brian Wilson was the UK government representative.<sup>68</sup> 'UK Trade & Investment considers this an excellent opportunity for UK companies to meet like companies and organisations and meet key decision makers involved in the redevelopment of Iraq'.<sup>69</sup>

#### **Iraq: Trading & Investing, 20 February 2004, London (DTI offices)**

Organised by UKTI 'to provide firms seeking to do business in Iraq with practical advice on trading and investing in the market, covering areas such as the legal framework in Iraq, security, the finance and banking infrastructure, the business environment and how to identify potential business partners in Iraq'; 'speakers will include Mike O'Brien MP, Minister for Trade & Investment, Maurice Collis, of HRD International, who runs the Business Facilitation Centre in Umm Qasr, and Matthew Kirk, First Secretary Commercial in the British Trade and Reconstruction Office, Baghdad.'<sup>70</sup>

#### **Private Sector Development Conference, 24 February, 2004, London (DTI offices)**

Organised by UKTI. Ayad Alawi, Iraqi Minister for Trade, spoke on the historical and legal context. Tom Foley, CPA Director of Private Sector Development ('senior official responsible for economic reform and foreign investment in Iraq') covered 'construction, agriculture, consumer goods, healthcare, petrochemicals, retailing, telecommunications, franchising and subcontracting for supplemental fund expenditure'.<sup>71</sup>

#### **Seminar on Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR), 26 March 2004, London, (DTI offices)**

Organised by UKTI specifically to teach UK companies about applying to the Iraq Project Management Office (PMO) for subcontracts. 'During this seminar Senior Department of Defense personnel will explain FAR regulations which affect PMO sub-contractual opportunities, and will be available for guidance and answering questions.'<sup>72</sup> The line up featured Mike O'Brien, Minister for Trade and Investment and Admiral Nash (Retired), Director of the CPA Program Management Office, plus a speaker from Amec<sup>73</sup> and Parsons Brinkerhoff.<sup>74</sup>

#### **Iraq Procurement 2004 - 'Meet the Buyers', 26-28 April 2004, London**

Organised by The Iraq Development Programme (IDP). A major conference featuring over 200 companies and with presentations from Iraqi ministries (including agriculture, communications, construction and housing, electricity, health, interiors, science and technology, trade, transport and water resources) and the Governor of Basra. There was also representation from the Central Bank of Iraq and the Iraqi Board of Tourism. Brian Wilson and Larry Crandall, director of USAID, spoke, plus Joseph V. Schwan of the US Department of Commerce. Businesses there included JP Morgan Treasury Service and Control Risks Group.<sup>75</sup>

#### **Fluor AMEC Subcontracting Conference, 5th May 2004, London**

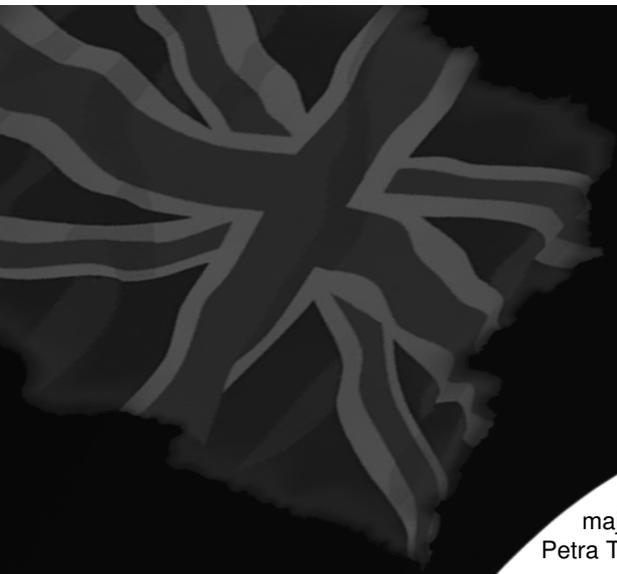
Organised by UKTI and AMEC, this event focused on sharing the expertise of Amec in getting USAID subcontracts. Speakers included Bill Henderson, Director, International Trade Development Group; Brian Wilson, UK special representative for Iraq reconstruction; Ian Thomas, Business Development Director, Amec; and David Herman, Business Development Director, FluorAmec LLC.

#### **Iraq-Kurdistan Trade, 4 June, 2004, London (DTI offices)**

Organised by the UKTI and the Kurdish Development Corporation, this forum was designed to showcase the Kurdish north, and its UK-friendly political elite. To underline this, the Prime Minister of the Kurdish Regional Government, Nechivan Barzani, opened the event.<sup>76</sup>

#### **British Consultants and Construction Bureau meeting, 22 July 2004, London**

Speakers included: David Raines, formerly head of one of the six CPA reconstruction sectors (public buildings, health, education); Andy Bearpark (now head of the British Association of Private Security Companies); Michael Gillibrand, formerly at the Iraqi Minister of Industry and Minerals, working on private sector development; Dr Khodeir Abbas, formerly Minister of Health.<sup>77</sup>



#### **Iraq Oil & Gas, 21-22 August 2004, Amman, Jordan**

A 'special meeting involving senior figures from the Iraqi oil industry and major global corporations operating within the sector'. Organised by the IDP and Petra Travel & Tourism.<sup>78</sup>

#### **Working with the UN and World Bank in Iraq 4 November 2004, London (DTI offices)**

Organised by the UKTI and BCCB to provide 'detailed insights into UN and World Bank plans for Iraq over the next 6 -12 months' and 'effective bidding in aid-funded business'. Speakers included the Executive Co-ordinator of the UN Iraq Trust Fund and staff from Crown Agents; British Embassy, Baghdad; and UK companies presently deployed in Iraq.<sup>79</sup>

#### **Iraq Procurement 2004, 22-24 November 2004, Amman, Jordan**

Organised by the IDP and sponsored by companies including Shell, Volvo, Statoil, Pfizer, Raytheon and Microsoft.<sup>80</sup> The SEEA led a UKTI-supported British trade delegation to this event, under the name 'About Iraq'. The delegation's itinerary included a briefing from UKTI and the British embassy, 'lunch with a multinational' and an ambassador's reception in the evening. Each delegate received a UKTI travel subsidy of £400.<sup>81</sup> Speakers included the Iraqi Minister of Electricity, a Kurdish regional government representative, plus the chairman of the Iraqi-British Business Council.<sup>82</sup>

#### **Rebuild Iraq 2005, 4-7 April 2005, Amman, Jordan**

The UK delegation was led by SEEA and UKTI; 50 stalls reserved for UK firms in the main hall. Each delegate received a UKTI travel subsidy of £400.<sup>83</sup>

#### **Iraqi Petroleum Conference 2005, 29-30 June 2005, London**

Organised by Entrac Petroleum and sponsored by companies including BP, Addax Petroleum, the Middle East Monitor and the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce. Speakers included experts from Shell, Statoil (Norway), and senior experts and managers from the Iraqi Oil Ministry.<sup>84</sup>

#### **Iraq Development Program summit, Amman, 28-30 June 2005**

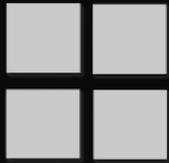
Organised by the IDP. Sponsors included Eriny's, Bayer Health Care, DHL and Royal Jordanian Airlines. Speakers included the acting Jordanian Minister of Industry and Trade; John Glassey, Director, Iraq Development Program; Iraqi Minister of Water Resources; Minister of Communications and the Iraqi Minister of Education.<sup>85</sup>

#### **Iraq Mobile Telecommunications Conference, London, 21-22 July 2005**

Organised by IDP, with the Iraq National Communications & Media Commission (NCOM) and with the support of the Iraqi Ministry of Communications. Speakers included the head of the NCOM, and the CEOs of the companies that held the Iraqi telecomms contracts from 2003-05: Orascom Telecom, Atheer Telecom and AsiaCell. There was also a presentation from Robert Paterson of PriceWaterhouseCoopers on licensing process.<sup>86</sup>

#### **Iraq Security, Technology & Communications Summit, 16-17 January 2006 Abu Dhabi, UAE**

Organised by the IDP and sponsored by companies including Aegis, Janusian, Control Risks, ArmorGroup and Land Rover. Iraq officials scheduled to attend included the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Science & Technology, the Minister of Communications and the Minister of the Interior.<sup>87</sup>



# the directory: UK COMPANIES IN IRAQ

This list includes all companies known to be involved in Iraq since 2003. Wherever possible, the date that involvement began is given.

Each entry is structured as follows:

**Company name**  
**Company website, where known**  
**Type of business they are pursuing in Iraq**  
**Total known money from Iraq. Source of money, where known**  
**General description of the company's activities**



## Explanation of business types:

**Construction.** Building or designing sites in Iraq  
**Computers.** Selling or maintaining software or hardware systems  
**Consulting.** Covers advice, to Iraqi politicians or civil society, usually as part of a USAID or DfID programme. 'Advice' from an occupying power is, of course, unusually hard to ignore.  
**Education.** Training and education materials  
**Financial.** Banking and currency services  
**Legal services.** Legal advice on regulatory and contracting issues  
**Logistics.** Usually transportation-related services  
**Media.** Creating either media products or Iraqi media organisations  
**Petroleum.** Involvement in the oil sector - usually exploration and prospecting but also includes pipeline systems  
**Power.** Selling/building/repairing power stations or emergency generators  
**Private Security.** Any work focused on protecting government or company operations. Includes armed bodyguarding and site protection as well as the disposal of mines and road-side bombs, etc.  
**Procurement.** Purchasing goods and/or services for another company  
**Services.** Services management  
**Telecoms.** Electronic communication services and systems  
**Water.** Work involving the water and/or sewer systems



# COMPANIES

## 1. Adam Smith International (ASI)

<http://www.adamsmithinternational.com/>

Consultants

£4,147,331 from DfID<sup>88</sup>.

ASI is involved in several Iraqi ministries as part of DfID's Iraq programme. This includes 'reviewing PSP [private sector participation] options for the Ministry of Municipalities and Public Works.'<sup>89</sup>

## 2. AD Consultancy

PO Box 153, Sutton, Surrey SM39WF

Private security.<sup>90</sup>

## 3. Aegis Defence Services

<http://www.aegisworld.com/>

Private security

£246.52m from the US military

Aegis holds a three-year \$430m Pentagon contract to coordinate the top military/security companies in Iraq: 'a workforce the size of a military division; and may rank as the largest corporate military ever assembled' (awarded June 2004, extended by another year in 2005)<sup>91</sup>. The turnover of Aegis has gone from £554,000 in 2003 to £62m in 2005; three-quarters of this is from work in Iraq.<sup>92</sup>

## 4. Aggreko

<http://www.aggreko.com/>

Power

Aggreko provided Bechtel with 21 megawatts (MW) of emergency diesel generators at Umm Qasr (June 2003)<sup>93</sup>. It has since gained further contracts to supply power projects in Iraq.<sup>94</sup>

## 5. AKE Group

<http://www.akegroup.com/>

Private security

According to Pipeline Magazine, AKE are 'Another of the major companies operating in Iraq... Formed by Andrew Kain after he left the UK's SAS in 1991'.<sup>95</sup>

## 6. Al Hashemite Corp

Logistics

Has supplied protective clothing to the UN.<sup>96</sup>

## 7. ALSTOM

<http://www.alstom.com/>

Power

Alstom is 'carrying out wide ranging operational upgrade contracts for older gas turbine plant installed at two major power stations in southern Iraq, as the nominated contractor to two US-based prime contractors'.<sup>97</sup>

## 8. AMEC

<http://www.amec.com/>

Power/water

£500m from USAID

AMEC holds some of the biggest USAID contracts. With US firm Fluor it has received \$500m to construct, repair, operate and maintain power generation facilities' (March 11 2004).<sup>98</sup> It has also received \$500m and \$600m from

USAID for water resource projects in Northern and Southern Iraq, again, in a joint contract with Fluor (March 11 2004).<sup>99</sup> Amec is also a subcontractor on a \$154m Fluor contract to restore electrical power systems (Feb 2004).<sup>100</sup>

and has received an unknown sum from a Centcom contract.<sup>101</sup> According to Building Magazine, 'Federal spending in Iraq has helped Amec make a positive start to 2005'.<sup>102</sup>

## 9. ArmorGroup

<http://www.armorgroup.com/>

Private security

£11,471,284 from FCO and DfID

One of the preferred providers of security to the FCO, ArmorGroup received at least £1,314,000 for FCO security (July 2004).<sup>103</sup> It also gained an unknown sum from Bechtel for 'Temporary services for unexploded ordnance' (April 2003)<sup>104</sup> and £5,300,000 from DfID for Iraqi police mentoring (June-Dec 2004);<sup>105</sup> plus £4,857,284 for phase two of the Iraq police project (March-August 2005).<sup>106</sup> Malcolm Rifkind (formerly UK Foreign Secretary and Defence Secretary) is a non-executive chairman of ArmorGroup.<sup>107</sup>

## 10. Baker Wilkins

<http://www.bakerwilkins.com/>

Construction

Won an 'undisclosed contract' (April 2003).<sup>108</sup> Has operated in Iraq for 30 years and pulled out in 1987. In 2005 Baker Wilkins stopped sending personnel to Iraq.<sup>109</sup>

## 11. BBC World Service Trust

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/>

Media

£6.7m from DfID

Worked on DfID project for 'Re-establishment of radio and television broadcasting capacity in the four southern governorates'.<sup>110</sup>

## 12. Bell-Pottinger

<http://www.bppa.co.uk/>

Media

£3,016,000 from DfID

Bell-Pottinger worked on DfID's programme of 'promoting democracy' before July 2004 elections (March 2004).<sup>111</sup>

## 13. Birks Sinclair & Associates

<http://www.birks-sinclair.com/>

Consulting

Birks Sinclair is part of DfID's 'Iraq Directorate Framework Agreements Social Development Sector'.<sup>112</sup> Birks specialises in 'socio-economic development'.

## 14. Black & Veatch Consulting

<http://www.bvl.bv.com/>

Construction/power

Black and Veatch has provided 'design-build services', and also maintained power facilities, for the US Dept of Defence.<sup>113</sup>

## 15. B-Plan Information Systems

<http://www.b-plan.com/>

Computers

£4.5m from the Kurdish Regional Government and Iraqi government

£2.866m from Ministry of Oil

Received an estimated \$5m from the Ministry of Oil, 'To help conduct technical studies providing the ministry with advice, analysis and training for Rumaila field' (Jan 2005).<sup>118</sup>

B-Plan has received £1m for a computer network for Sulaimani university in North Iraq<sup>114</sup> and £3.5m to supply software to hospitals (December 2004).<sup>115</sup> It has provided technology and services to: 'Ministry of Education, Erbil; Iraqi Ministry of Municipalities and Public Works; University of Suleimani; Suleimani - Land Registry and Taxation Offices; Asia Cell; Kurdistan National Assembly.'<sup>116</sup> B-Plan was originally a spin-off company from the Manchester Royal Infirmary. Shirko Abid, co-founder and chief executive, is a long-term opponent of Saddam and associate of the Kurdish PUK party.<sup>117</sup>

## 16. BP Global

<http://www.bp.com/>

Petroleum

£2.866m from Ministry of Oil

Received an estimated \$5m from the Ministry of Oil, 'To help conduct technical studies providing the ministry with advice, analysis and training for Rumaila field' (Jan 2005).<sup>118</sup>

## 17. British Council

<http://www.britishcouncil.org/>

Education/consulting

£3,131,151 from DfID

Employed by DfID<sup>119</sup> on projects including 'Education Team to Support Coalition Provisional Authority'; Iraq: Political Participation Fund; Iraq: Civil Society Fund. The British Council removed anti-war articles from its website in September 2005.<sup>120</sup>

## 18. Cargostore International

Heston Court, 19 Camp Rd, London SW194UW

Logistics

Cargostore provides shipping and storage services, including renting containers.<sup>121</sup>

## 19. Chiltern Broadcast Management

<http://www.chilternbroadcast.com/>

Media

£1,370,000 from DfID

Was employed by DfID, via the GCPP, for management of the Iraqi Media Network.<sup>122</sup>

## 20. Clyde & Co

<http://www.clydeco.com/>

Legal services

Clyde & Co is a law firm that opened an office in Baghdad in 2003. It advises clients on issues including telecoms regulations, banking and security contracts.<sup>123</sup>

## 21. Conren

<http://www.conren.com/>

Construction

Conren won a £20,000 contract to supply 'specialist coatings' for a USACE-run airbase (June 2004).<sup>124</sup>

## 22. Conrico International

<http://www.conrico.com/>

Private security

Conrico has supplied armoured vehicles for FCO operations in Iraq.<sup>125</sup>

## 23. Control Risks

<http://www.crg.com/>

Private security

£23.5m from the FCO and DfID

Control Risks received an unknown proportion of Parsons' \$500m USAID buildings contract, as security subcontractor<sup>126</sup> (March 2004). It has also gained £23.5m from the UK government for protection squads. Although this figure is disputed by CR, some reports indicate the figure could be much higher (March 2004)<sup>127</sup>. Control Risks is 'One of the largest British PSCs in Iraq', with over 250 personnel in Iraq (June 2005).<sup>129</sup> Its 2004 turnover was £80m.<sup>130</sup>

## 24. Costain

<http://www.costain.com/>

Construction

£15m from KRG<sup>131</sup>

Costain has worked for the Kurdish Regional Government on three contracts worth £15m near Erbil (May 2005).<sup>132</sup>

Costain has also worked in the oil sector for the USACE.<sup>133</sup>

## 25. Crown Agents for Overseas Government

<http://www.crownagents.com/>

Procurement

£7,992,112 from DfID

Crown Agents received £4,642,112<sup>134</sup> from DfID for projects including 'Support to Iraq Coalition Provisional Authority'; 'DfID Seconded to Iraq Coalition Provisional Authority'; 'Senior Advisor to Ministry of Electricity'. £3.35m from DfID, via GCPP, for support to Ministry of the Interior; and police oversight.<sup>135</sup> Crown Agents is a privatised body, run by a foundation, whose members include Barclays, BCCB, Securicor, Standard Chartered, Unilever and Tate&Lyle.

As Crown Agents Consulting (Washington)

It received an unknown sum for 'procurement, transport and warehouse management of goods and materials' as subcontractor for USAID contractor International Resources Group, \$38m (2003).<sup>136</sup> It has also won a contract with US consultants Bearing Point.<sup>137</sup>

## 26. Cummins UK

<http://www.cummins.com/eu/pages/en/distributors/uk/index.cfm>

Power

£25.8m from the CPA

Cummins has made \$45m (£25.8m) from the sale of power stations to the CPA: 'To date we have supplied four power stations: 2MW for the Forum in Baghdad, 4MW for the El Rasheed Hotel (USAID), 5MW for the airport and 8MW for the US army.'<sup>138</sup>

## 27. Datasat

<http://www.datasat.com/>

Telecoms

Datasat has worked on 'several projects all around data and voice communications infrastructure and services' for the



CPA (Nov 2003)<sup>139</sup>. Datasat won a 'major telecoms contract' according to Mike O'Brien, Foreign Minister for Trade (Nov 2003).<sup>140</sup>

### **28. De La Rue (DLR)**

<http://www.delarue.com/>

Financial

DLR printed the new Iraqi Dinar (Nov 2003)<sup>141</sup>. Its shares rose 9% on the news that it had gained the Dinar contract (2003)<sup>142</sup>. De La Rue 'never disclosed the size or value of the Iraq contract'. DLR profits for 2003 were \$48.1. For 2004 profits were £53.5m.<sup>143</sup> Sir Jeremy Greenstock, former UK special representative to Iraq (2003-4) is a non-executive director.<sup>144</sup>

### **29. DfID: anonymous contractors**

£1,155,068<sup>145</sup>

Consulting

Many DfID procurement contracts have no name attached, possibly for security reasons or to avoid naming particular individuals. Most contracts are for consulting work.

### **30. Dynamic Processing Solutions (DPS)**

Petroleum

£12m (approx) from the Ministry of Oil

DPS is a part of the consortium developing the Khurmala Dome oil field in North Iraq, in a \$136m (£72m) deal; the first contract awarded by the post-Saddam Ministry of Oil (December 2004).<sup>146</sup> 'It is the most substantial contract in our company's history,<sup>147</sup> (DPS engineering manager). Experts estimate that DPS has probably received \$20-30m of this.

### **31. Eaton Electric Europe (EEE)**

<http://www.eatonelectrical.com/uk/>

Power

EEE has a base in Iraq (as Westinghouse US and MEM UK) as of June 2005. It also formed a consortium with the Iraq company Al-Ghufran and with Santec and Glantec.<sup>148</sup>

### **32. Edgar Brothers**

<http://www.edgar-brothers.co.uk>

Private security

Supplies Glock handguns to customers in Iraq, under licence from Kröll.<sup>149</sup>

### **33. Enterplan Ltd**

<http://www.enterplan.co.uk/>

Consultants

£4,531,591 from DfID<sup>150</sup>

Projects that Enterplan worked on include: Analytical Economist for the UN; Economic Management; Non Food Subsidies Policy Adviser; Advisor on the Fiscal Impacts of Transition.<sup>151</sup> Enterplan's work generally includes partnering with corporations such as KPMG, Crown Agents, Vodaphone and PriceWaterhouseCoopers.<sup>152</sup>

### **34. Erinys**

<http://www.erinysinternational.com/>

Private security

£86m from the CPA/DFI

Erinys received \$50m from the USACE for security work.

Won a \$100m contract to protect Iraq's oil sites fields, 2003 to December 2004.<sup>153</sup>

### **35. ERIS**

<http://www.eris.org.uk/>

Consultants

£61,012 from DfID

Employed by DfID as a 'Public Information Adviser' (November 2004).<sup>154</sup>

### **36. European Land Solutions (ELS)**

<http://www.landmine-solutions.com/>

Private security

ELS has cleared landmines for Bechtel and other USAID contractors, including Great Lakes & Dock Company at Umm Qasr (July 2003) and has also worked with the UN in Northern Iraq.<sup>155</sup>

### **37. Exploration Consultants (ECL)**

<http://www.ecqc.com/>

Petroleum

ECL received an unknown sum to carry out an 'integrated reservoir study for Kirkuk oil field' for the Ministry of Oil.<sup>156</sup>

### **38. Findel**

<http://www.findel.co.uk/>

Education

Findel has supplied education equipment to USAID contractors.<sup>157</sup>

### **39. Findware**

<http://www.findware.com/>

Telecoms

Findware is providing and maintaining telecoms links between Iraqi businesses and other Gulf countries. The company is also training Iraqi engineers in Dubai.<sup>158</sup>

### **40. Foster Wheeler UK**

<http://www.fwc.com/>

Petroleum

£4.873m

Gained \$8.5m to 'Provide program management office support for the oil sector' (March 2004).<sup>159</sup>

### **41. Global Strategies Group**

<http://www.globalgroup.com/>

Private security

£15.48m from the CPA

Global Risk has 2,000 staff in Iraq.<sup>160</sup> It received a \$27m contract to distribute the new Dinar (May 2004).<sup>161</sup> Guarded part of Baghdad airport (May 2004).<sup>162</sup>

### **42. Halcrow**

<http://www.halcrow.com/>

£6,815,441 from DfID

Construction/consulting

Halcrow received £1,712,956 from DfID for projects including 'Set up of the Coalition Provincial Authority'.<sup>163</sup> Also \$8.9m (£5,102,485) for 48 DfID reconstruction projects in South Iraq.<sup>164</sup> Halcrow is a Bechtel USAID subcontractor<sup>165</sup> and also worked on the CH2M Hill and Parsons \$28.5m contract (March 2004).<sup>166</sup> It has refurbished government buildings in Nasiriyah, Amarah and Samawah (Feb 2006) and wants to build the Baghdad metro.<sup>167</sup> The Halcrow team leader in Iraq (William Newcombe) got an OBE in December 2004 as part of Blair's special 'Iraq Honours' list.<sup>168</sup> Halcrow chair, Tony Allum, is head of the UK Iraq Industry Working

Group, and also father of the co-owner of Olive Security.<sup>169</sup>

#### 43. Hart Group

<http://www.hartsecurity.com/>

Private security

According to its profile on the Iraq Development programme, Hart is the largest security company in Southern Iraq (2004).<sup>170</sup>

#### 44. Hedra Consortium

<http://www.hedra.com/>

Consulting

£245,540 from DfID

Employed by DfID as CPA 'Governance Teams Facilities Managers'.<sup>171</sup> Hedra is one of the UK's top PFI firms.<sup>172</sup> It is a major firm and its fee income grew by 23% in 2003.<sup>173</sup>

#### 45. HSBC

<http://www.hsbc.com/>

Financial

£36.881m from Iraqi investors

HSBC has bought 70% of Iraq's Dar es Salaam Investment Bank, which has assets of \$91.1m.<sup>174</sup> The HSBC share is therefore £36,881,225. HSBC's profits from its Middle East business rose 25% in 2004.<sup>175</sup>

#### 46. HTS Development (now HTSPE)

<http://www.htspe.com/>

Consulting

HTS is part of DfID's Iraq 'Framework Arrangements Infrastructure'.<sup>176</sup>

#### 47. Inchcape Shipping Services (ISS)

<http://www.iss-shipping.com/>

Logistics

ISS has provided freight services for KBR.<sup>177</sup> It also provides all 'logistics requirement' in the Middle East for US Navy and Coast Guard ships. In January 2006 ISS was sold to a Dubai investment firm for \$285m.<sup>178</sup>

#### 48. International Consortium for Iraqi Tertiary Education (ICITE)

Consulting

The ICITE has been created by a number of companies to 'assist Iraq to reconstruct its tertiary education' (i.e. universities). The lead company in the ICITE is Fisher Scientific, the UK's leading supplier of laboratory products and inorganic chemicals.<sup>179</sup>

#### 49. Inclarity Plc

<http://www.inclarity.co.uk/>

Telecoms

£10m (approx) from Iraqi customers

Inclarity is a subcontractor to Asia Cell, Kuwait (Jan 2004), providing mobile services. 'Most of the £18 million company's revenue comes from the Iraq business.' It operated in North Iraq during the 'safe haven' period after the 1991 Gulf War.<sup>180</sup>

#### 50. International Computer Systems (London) (ICS)

<http://www.icslondon.com/>

Computers

ICS has a contract with the Bank of Baghdad to comput-

erise the bank's head office and branches.<sup>181</sup>

#### 51. Janusian Security Risk Management

<http://www.janusian.com/>

Private security

Has run secure trade missions to Baghdad and also operates a secure house in Baghdad for visiting businessmen.<sup>182</sup> Janusian is part of the Risk Advisory Group, a company with close ties to US think-tank the Rand Corporation.<sup>183</sup>

#### 52. John Reid & Sons

<http://www.reidsteel.co.uk/>

Construction

Has provided blast proof structures to KBR.<sup>184</sup>

#### 53. Kroll Associates

<http://www.krollworldwide.com/>

Private security

Has provided security for USAID contractors (Nov 2003).<sup>185</sup>

#### 54. LeBeck International (LBI)

<http://www.lebeckinternational.com/>

Private security

LBI has provided security for the UN in Iraq.<sup>186</sup> It was previously helped by UKTI to win £130,000 of business in Saudi Arabia (2005).<sup>187</sup>

#### 55. Llewelyn Davies Yeang (LDY)

<http://www.llewelyn-davies-ltd.com/>

Consulting

LDY is helping to prepare a master plan for the rebuilding of the holy city of Najaf, for the Ministry of Public Works. This firm formerly worked on the creation of Milton Keynes. LDY has received an unknown proportion of the initial £1.6m so far spent on this development.<sup>188</sup>

#### 56. Mabey and Johnson

<http://www.mabey.co.uk/>

Construction

According to UKTI, Mabey won a 'large contract' to supply the US army with mobile bridges.<sup>189</sup>

#### 57. Maxwell Stamp

Abbots Court, 34 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AX

Consulting

£3,208,096 from DfID

Worked on DfID's 'Economic Reform (phase one)' programme.<sup>190</sup>

#### 58. MerchantBridge

<http://www.mbih.com>

Financial/consulting

£22,072,550 from Iraqi investors

MerchantBridge was appointed 'lead advisor' to the Iraqi Ministry of Industry and Minerals for the 'Lease of Industrial Factories Programme,' (Jan 2004).<sup>191</sup> In September 2005 MerchantBridge launched the Mansour Bank, with \$38.5m; 90% from Iraqi investors.<sup>192</sup>

#### 59. Meteoric Tactical Solutions (MTS)

£270,000 from DfID<sup>193</sup>

Private security

Meteoric was originally employed to provide bodyguards and drivers by DfID in 2003.<sup>194</sup> Meteoric also had a

Pentagon contract to train the new Iraqi police force and was employed by the Swiss government to protect their diplomats. However, the revelation in 2004 that two owners of MTS were involved in the coup attempt in Equatorial Guinea caused MTS to lose contracts in Iraq.<sup>195</sup>

#### **60. Minetech International**

<http://www.minetech.co.uk/>

Private security

Is contracted by the UN to clear mines and unexploded bombs.<sup>196</sup>

#### **61. Minimal Risk**

<http://www.minimalrisk.co.uk/>

Private Security

It has done security training in Iraq for DfID. Minimal Risk is also subcontracted by another security firm to carry out the 'recruitment, deployment, communications, training, risk assessments and day to day operational management' for UK government security teams.<sup>197</sup>

#### **62. Mott MacDonald**

<http://www.mottmac.com/>

Power/water

£1,237,311 from DfID

Mott worked on a range of DfID projects, including emergency infrastructure, water advisor and 'Southern Iraq employment and services programme' (2003-2005).<sup>198</sup> It received an unknown fee to produce a briefing for the MoD 'identifying the key issues to the reconstruction work required in the Basra region of Iraq'.<sup>199</sup> Mott is managing a £20m DfID emergency infrastructure project in Southern Iraq (March 2004)<sup>200</sup> and is in talks to take over work done by the Royal Engineers, in the event of an army pull-out.<sup>201</sup>

#### **63. Mowlem**

<http://www.mowlem.com>

Construction

£3m from unknown source

Received £3m for Basra hotel refurbishment (Nov 2003).<sup>202</sup>

#### **64. Nottingham University**

<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/>

Education

Received £609,300 from DfID for running a human rights programme from September 2004 to November 2005.<sup>203</sup>

#### **65. Olive Security**

<http://www.olivegroup.com/>

Private security

Olive received an unknown sum from Bechtel for security during USAID work (April 2003).<sup>204</sup> An existing agreement between Olive and Bechtel meant that the contract was awarded without competition.<sup>205</sup> Olive has also worked for Great Lakes Dredging, Titan Salvage, SSA and GE.<sup>206</sup> Olive co-owner Jonathan Allum is the son of the chair of Halcrow and allegedly had a role in securing the Bechtel contact.<sup>207</sup> Olive's turnover shot from £6.4m in 2003 to £10.6m in 2004.<sup>208</sup>

#### **66. Oxford University**

<http://www.ox.ac.uk/>

Education

Participated in a USAID archaeology consortium with a total budget of \$4,131,274.<sup>209</sup>

#### **67. PA Consulting Group**

<http://www.paconsulting.com/Home>

Consulting

Members of two DfID framework agreements for Iraq, covering environmental policy and infrastructure (June 2004).<sup>210</sup> PA is also involved with the UK government's identity card scheme.<sup>211</sup>

#### **As Infrastructure and Development Services**

£427,548 from DfID for 'emergency response fund' (April 2005).<sup>212</sup>

#### **68. Paladin Protection**

23 Sussex Street, London SE1V 4RR

Private security

Paladin is supplying security equipment to Kroll. UKTI helped it get the necessary export licenses.<sup>214</sup>

#### **69. PB Power (Parsons Brinckerhoff UK and Parsons US)**

<http://www.pbworld.com/>

Power

£24.88m from Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund

Received \$43.4m from a contract to 'Provide program management office support for the electrical services sector' (March 10 2004).<sup>215</sup>

#### **70. Penspen International Ltd**

<http://www.penspen.com/>

Construction

Penspen has worked as a subcontractor to Scott Wilson on oil and gas projects in the South of Iraq for the USACE.<sup>216</sup>

#### **71. Petrel Resources (Anglo-Irish)**

<http://www.petrelresources.com/>

Petroleum

£56.6m from Ministry of Oil

Petrel was awarded a \$197.4m (£113.17m) contract to develop Subba and Luhais oil fields by the Ministry of Oil in September 2005).<sup>217</sup> Petrel has formed a joint venture with Makman oil and gas, in which each will take 50% of this sum.<sup>218</sup>

#### **72. Powertecnicque**

<http://www.powertecnicque.com/>

Power

Received an unknown sum for supplying two 3MVA diesel generators in Abu Al Kasib (June 2005).<sup>219</sup> Listed as 'success story' by UKTI.<sup>220</sup>

#### **73. Satcom Solutions**

<http://www.satcom-solutions.com/>

Telecoms

Has provided a computer network and electronic payment facilities for 80 banks in Iraq (October 2003).<sup>221</sup>

#### **74. Schneider Electric UK**

<http://www.schneider.co.uk/>

Power

Has an office in Iraq (June 2005)<sup>222</sup> and exhibited at Rebuild Iraq 2004;<sup>223</sup> probably hopes to get involved in hydroelectric

Erbil, North Iraq, for an eventual capacity of 1.5 million passengers/35,000 tonnes of freight per year. Scott Wilson created the 'concept' for the airport (completed May 2004).<sup>225</sup> It has also provided water project design services to US Dept of Defence contractor Washington International<sup>226</sup> and worked on oil and gas projects in the South of Iraq for the USACE.<sup>227</sup>

#### **76. Secure West International**

Private security  
Have provided security for USACE.<sup>228</sup>

#### **77. Serco**

<http://www.serco.com/>

Services

£7.5m

Received £5m a year for an 18-month USAID contract for airport management (2004).<sup>229</sup> Serco are a major donor to Save the Children UK, which allegedly has muted criticisms of the Iraq war under pressure from Save the Children USA (Nov 2003).<sup>230</sup>

#### **78. Shell (Anglo-Dutch)**

<http://www.shell.com/>

Petroleum

Received an unknown sum 'To help conduct technical studies providing the ministry [of oil] with advice, analysis and training for Kirkuk field' (Jan 2005). Shell is working on the Gas Master Plan with the Ministry of Oil. Is also involved with developing the Maysan field in the south.<sup>231</sup> Shell was in Iraq from the 1920s, until its assets were nationalised in 1973.<sup>232</sup>

#### **79. Siemens**

<http://www.siemens.com/>

Power

Received an unknown fee from USAID for work on the Daura power plant, 'one of the most important electrical projects in the country'.<sup>233</sup> Pulled out in April 2004<sup>234</sup> but returned in June 2005.<sup>235</sup>

#### **80. Solace Enterprises**

<http://www.solaceenterprises.com/>

Consulting

Received an unknown fee as the sole UK subcontractor for US firm Research Triangle Institute (RTI), as part of a USAID programme to 'develop local institutions'<sup>236</sup> (Nov 2003). Solace's Iraq mission included Gurbux Singh, sacked former head of the Commission for Racial Equality.<sup>237</sup>

#### **81. Standard Chartered**

<http://www.standardchartered.com/>

Financial

Part of the consortium running the Trade Bank of Iraq, which was created by the CPA (August 2003).<sup>238</sup> Standard Chartered pulled out all British staff in May-June 2004.<sup>239</sup> Operated in Iraq in the first half of the 20th Century, until its Iraqi holdings were nationalised in the 1950s.<sup>240</sup>

#### **82. TCI Group**

<http://www.tcigroup.biz/>

Construction

TCI is involved in roadbuilding and construction projects.<sup>241</sup> Has worked in Iraq for 60 years and proclaims itself 'well set to effectively market and distribute products throughout the country as the market unfolds. Unlike other agents, we have a wide influence, both at local and Government level'.<sup>242</sup>

#### **83. TPS Consult**

<http://www.tpsconsult.co.uk/>

Engineering/private security

TPS has worked as a subcontractor to US firm Parsons on a \$900m USACE programme to build police stations, border control stations, fire stations, courthouses and prisons (March 2004).<sup>243</sup>

#### **84. TQ Education & Training**

<http://www.tqstructures.com>

Education

£5.73m from Iraqi Ministry of Education

TQ holds a \$10m contract from the Ministry of Electricity to train staff in 'English language, management, IT and training' (Feb 2005). Support from UKTI and British Embassies 'was invaluable'.<sup>244</sup>

#### **85. University College London**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/>

Consulting

UCL's Development Planning Unit received £221,556 from DfID for supplying two senior advisors to the CPA in the fields of public works (2003).<sup>245</sup>

#### **86. United Mesopotamia for Security**

<http://www.umssecurity.com/>

Private security

British/Iraqi company with offices in Jordan and Northern England.<sup>246</sup>

#### **87. University of London**

<http://www.lon.ac.uk/>

Consulting

Received £62,148 from DfID for help guiding their 'Political Participation Fund' (May 2004).<sup>247</sup>

#### **88. Vodaphone**

<http://www.vodafone.co.uk/>

Telecoms

Vodaphone provides a mobile phone network service based around Basra, from a license granted by the Ministry of Defense, for security and reconstruction efforts (2003).<sup>248</sup>

#### **89. Weir**

<http://www.weir.co.uk/>

Petroleum

Received an unknown sum for a 'Small contract' doing oil assessments as subcontractor for KBR.<sup>249</sup> Weir has been in Iraq since May 2003<sup>250</sup> but under Saddam it made £2.5m from oil-for food programme contracts.<sup>251</sup>



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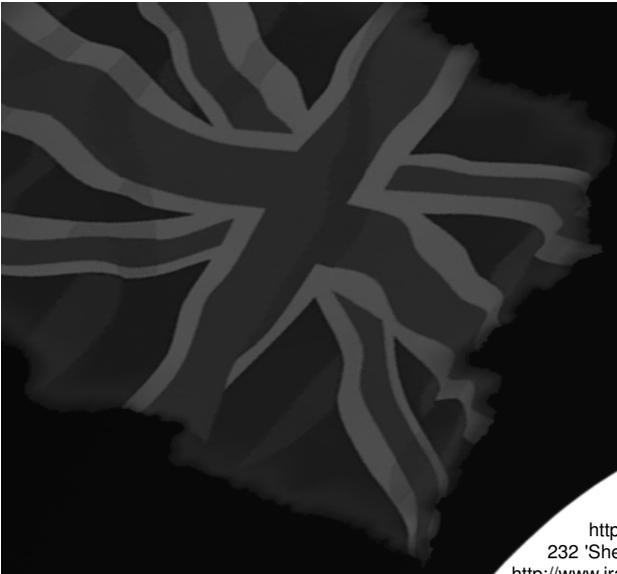
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**NOTES:**

