CAATNEWS

OUR ARMS





OUR STRUGGLE



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CAATHEWS

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IN THIS ISSUE...

Welcome to this issue of CAATnews

We start this issue on page 3 with a very human side to the arms trade – an interview with Maryam Al-Khawaja from Bahrain. We regularly feature news and information on arms sales to oppressive regimes but Maryam's story adds something different: the directness of her own words is a reminder of the human dimension behind the news.

As usual at this time of year, on pages 8 and 9 we outline some of our plans for the coming twelve months. We hope you can join in. Plans include a month of action in September against local weapons company sites: turn to page 7 for news of an imaginative action that's already taken place in Hastings!

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Campaign Against Arms Trade works to end the international arms trade. The arms business has a devastating impact on human rights and security, and damages economic development. Large scale military procurement and arms exports only reinforce a militaristic approach to international problems.

Bahrain: "Stop the arms sales, now"

After William Hague's claim that there are no fundamental flaws with UK arms exports (see page 12) Sarah Waldron asked Maryam Al-Khawaja, head of Foreign Relations at the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, about the situation in her country and the UK's arms sales there.

The interview took place in November, a few days before an independent report confirmed widespread violations of human rights during the crackdown.

SW: What's the situation like today?

MAK: The situation today in Bahrain is basically what's been happening since mid-March, when the [Gulf Cooperation Council] forces, mainly made up of Saudi Arabia and the UAE, came into the country. It's basically continuing protests, almost on a daily basis, or a nightly basis, and the Government continues to use excessive force against protesters; the killings are still ongoing; the torture's still ongoing, the arrests, the sackings and so on.

SW: A year ago the UK was selling things like sniper rifles, teargas to Bahrain.

MAK: There are several countries around the world that are selling arms to Bahrain and of course it's very concerning because when you have countries that talk about human rights and democracy and all these different values and then sell arms to authoritarian regimes like the Bahraini government or the Saudi government which is taking part in the crackdown in Bahrain, then it becomes a question of: are they really acting based on their values or is about making an extra buck through these arms sales?



Maryam Al-Khawaja

SW: What are you looking for from the international community?

MAK: One of the things that I think is important to know about Bahrain is that people in Bahrain are not calling for a foreign military intervention, they actually reject foreign interventions, whether it's Saudi Arabia, Iran, or otherwise. The only thing they're asking for is enough international pressure to stop the human rights violations.

SW: What can people here do?

MAK: The people in Bahrain feel abandoned by the governments abroad so when they make appeals today, their appeals are always directed at the public of these different countries.

I think that change is only going to come to Bahrain if it comes from the people. If these different countries, if people here in the UK decided to go out and say "enough is enough and human rights violations need to stop and our government can't be friends and allies with a government that's authoritarian and violating human

rights," I think that's when we're going to see a change in policies.

In the UK, people have the power of their votes: telling politicians here that something needs to be done about Bahrain.

SW: Some arms deals to Bahrain were stopped in February 2011, but the UK's now resumed arms promotion and sales.

MAK: The fact that the UK government is selling arms to Bahrain and at the same time saying they are putting pressure on the Government to make reforms is very hypocritical.

If you're really serious about pushing through these values, of human rights and democracy and respecting citizens, you shouldn't be selling arms to a country that uses them against civilians. And I think that's a message that needs to be sent very clearly to the UK government along with the others: stop the arms sales, now.

See pages 8-9 for more on the action we can take to keep the pressure on this year.

BAE

BAE Systems has finally paid Tanzania the fine imposed on the company as part of a plea bargain agreed between the Serious Fraud Office and BAE at the conclusion of corruption investigations over Tanzania, including investigations into the sale of a £30 million military radar system to the country (see CAATnews 222).

Parliament's International Development Committee is also urging the Tanzanian government to pursue in court bribery allegations related to the deal.

BBC NEWS, 30/11/11

An inquiry set up to investigate links between the London School of

Economics (LSE) and Libya has reported that an employee from the BAE marketing team helped Muammar Gaddafi's son Saif allslam to apply for a place at the LSE. His studies began in 2002 and the employee was formally seconded to Saif's charity between 2004 and 2006.

GUARDIAN, 1/12/11

Decorated US Marine Dakota
Meyer has settled a lawsuit with
BAE. While working at the company
Meyer emailed his supervisor
expressing his concern that better
military equipment was being sold
to Pakistan than that used by US
soldiers. The lawsuit filed by Meyer
alleged that after he resigned from
BAE, his supervisor told a hiring
manager at another company that

Meyer was "mentally unstable" and had a drinking problem.
CBS NEWS, 29/11/11; BBC NEWS,
16/12/11

Taxpayers might have to meet the bulk of the costs of 3,000 redundancies made by BAE in September last year. A complex procurement agreement between the Government and the company means that the taxpayer will pay between £60m and £110m.

FINANCIAL TIMES,

24/11/11



Egypt

Egypt is due to have a presence at the International Armoured Vehicles arms fair in Farnborough this February. UK-Egypt weapons relations don't end there: the *Independent on Sunday* has revealed that some of the tear gas used by Egyptian security forces in Tahrir Square came from UK-manufacturer Chemring Defence (see page 9).

Egypt's attempts to stock up on tear gas supplies from the US caused controversy when Egyptian port officials initially refused to accept two shipments for fear they would be used against protesters.

INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY, 4/12/11; BIKYAMASR, 28/11/11

Kuwait fair

The UK Trade & Investment Defence & Security Organisation (UKTI DSO) attended the Gulf Defense and Aerospace (GDA) arms fair in Kuwait in December. Military delegations from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain were also invited.

UKTI WEBSITE, 16/11/11

Sales to Libya

The UK has pushed ahead with plans to renew arms sales to war-torn Libya. UKTI is due to take arms manufacturers to Tripoli this February in the hope that the National Transition Council will become a lucrative customer.

INDEPENDENT, 5/11/11

Surveillance

JOURNALISM, 1/12/11

In December The Bureau of Investigative Journalism reported that the UK surveillance industry is thriving, in part due to sales of products that have ended up being used by regimes with poor human rights records. These include Iran, Indonesia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria. WikiLeaks' and Privacy International's 'Spy Files' suggested links to companies including Hampshire-based Gamma Group and Cobham, Dorset-based Telesoft Technologies, QinetiQ and Essexbased Hidden Technology Solutions. THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIVE

Cluster bombs

Last November the US and other cluster bomb manufacturers and stockpilers, including Russia, China, Israel, India and Pakistan, attempted to get an international agreement approving the continued use of the weapons. They were blocked in doing so by a coalition of countries led by Norway, Austria and Mexico. The US and others had pressed for a protocol to be added to a UN convention so that the continued use of cluster bombs had some legitimacy.

GUARDIAN, 25/11/11; CLUSTER MUNITIONS COALITION, 26/11/11

Swiss jet deal

Switzerland has agreed to buy lower cost Saab Gripen fighter jets, with the Dassault Rafale and Eurofighter Typhoon losing out on the deal.

AVIATION WEEK, 1/12/11

Turkmenistan

Former UK Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon, now executive senior vicepresident of international business for AgustaWestland, met with the President of Turkmenistan in December to pitch unspecified projects. Hoon was suspended from the Parliamentary Labour Party in 2010 after being secretly filmed offering his consultancy services and saying: "One of the challenges ... I'm really looking forward to is translating my knowledge and contacts about the international scene into something that, bluntly, makes money."

EURASIANET.ORG, 8/12/11

Swedish exports

Sweden's military exports set a record in 2010 despite reduced sales to the home market. The significant increase was motivated by a Swedish government policy to look to the wider international market for off-the-shelf weapons and equipment solutions.

The Netherlands was the biggest recipient of Sweden's military exports, with purchases valued at \$300 million.

DEFENSE NEWS, 14/12/11

Aid/trade links for India

International Development Minister Andrew Mitchell has said that the Government's decision to continue giving aid to India is directly linked to developing trade and investment opportunities, including the hoped-for sale of Eurofighter jets to India. The decision to spend £1.2bn over the next five years has been controversial as India has more billionaires than the UK and an aid programme of its own.

INDEPENDENT, 17/12/11



An exhibitor at the DSEi arms fair in London's Docklands

2012 arms fairs

Some of the year's military and security exhibitions. UK events are highlighted.

January

- 15-17: UAE, Intersec
- 19–21: Bahrain Airshow
- 31-2: Farnborough, Security & Policing
- 31–2: Australia, Pacific 2012

February

- 14–19: Singapore Airshow
- 20–23: Farnborough, International Armoured Vehicles

March

- 26-28: Qatar, DIMDEX
- 27-1: Chile, FIDAE
- 29-1: India, DEFEXPO

April

- 16-19: Malaysia, DSA
- 23-26: Poland, SECUREX
- 25–26: London, Counter Terror Expo

May

- 3–6: Kazakhstan, KADEX
- 8–10: Jordan, SOFEX
- 16-18: Romania, BSDA
- 22-24: London, ITEC

June

• 11–15: France, Eurosatory

July

• 9–13: Farnborough International

September

• 19-21: South Africa, AAD

October

 22–26: Australia, Land Warfare Conference

November

- 7-11: Pakistan, IDEAS
- 7–10: Indonesia, Indo Defence
- 15: Netherlands, NIDV
- 26–28: Qatar, MILIPOL Qatar

December

• 4–7: Chile, Exponaval 2012

Kicking out arms companies



Campaigners take action in London

Students campaigned hard to kick arms companies off campus last term and organised some great actions. There were protests in Lancaster, Edinburgh, Leicester, Warwick, Bristol, Sheffield and London.

London

In London, activists were escorted from the London Graduate Fair by the police for their protest against the presence of arms companies BAE Systems and Raytheon.

One student who travelled down from the University of Warwick for the action said:

"The London Graduate Fair showed its priorities when it conspired with the police to forcibly eject us for simply informing students about the nature of companies represented at its event. Sadly, blood money trumps freedom of speech."

Bristol

Students at the University of Bristol held a die-in to protest the attendance of Barclays at their Autumn Careers Fair. The protest was attended by elected officers of the University of Bristol Student Union.

Edinburgh

In Edinburgh, students disrupted a BAE stall at their careers fair. Edinburgh Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) stood in front of the stall with a banner and informed people of BAE's record over a megaphone. Members of Edinburgh CAAT were also at the event to flyer students. BETH SMITH

Student Gathering

In February we will be holding a CAAT Student Gathering. This will be a great opportunity for students to find out more about the arms trade and to meet student activists from other universities.

If any student or group thinks that they may be able to host the Student Gathering at their university, or wants to be kept up-todate with plans, please get in touch (universities@caat.org.uk).

Get involved

Find out what's happening at http://universities.caat.org.uk. If you're interested in finding out more or getting involved, please email me at universities@caat.org.uk.

BETH SMITH

Solidarity with Egypt

Last autumn Occupy London protested in solidarity with Egyptian activists demanding an end to military trials. The protesters read testimonies from Egypt and went on a 'tour of shame" that included the London offices of BAE Systems and QinetiQ, two of the arms companies that had accompanied David Cameron on his so-called "democracy tour" of the Middle East in February.

Massacred

The protest was in response to the following callout from Egypt, published on the website No Military Trials for Civilians on 3 November:

"Since the military junta took power, at least 12,000 of us have been tried by military courts, unable to call witnesses and with limited access to lawyers... On October 9th, the Army massacred 28 of us at Maspero... they ran over us with tanks and shot us down in the street... They are systematically targeting those of us who speak out."

Withhold support

A statement from Occupy London said: "Wars and arms dealing have no part in a sustainable, equal and democratic global system" and urged the UK government "to withhold all support to the Egyptian military and to cease participating in arms deals in the region until power has been handed over to a civilian government."

SARAH WALDRON

Activists threatened with arrest at protest triathalon

The last CAATnews featured news of local action to blockade General Dynamics in Hastings during the DSEi arms fair. Campaigners returned a few weeks later with an unusual form of protest. Maya Evans of Hastings Against Warreports.

Two members of Hastings Against War were threatened with arrest during a protest triathlon between the three Hastings branches of General Dynamics, the world's sixth largest arms company.

Activists "swam" (on land, wearing flippers and snorkels), ran and cycled between the three sites, giving out leaflets before blockading the entrance to General Dynamics' offices on the Churchfields Industrial Estate.

During the blockade two of the protestors were threatened with arrest after trying to place leaflets about General Dynamics on the windscreens of employees' cars.

John Lynes (83, from St Leonards) was part of a team of bikers who cycled between the plant on Castleham Estate and offices at Churchfields Industrial Estate. He said: "General Dynamics UK was



A break from the swim

recently caught selling arms to Colonel Gaddafi. It's also involved with the production of the nucleararmed Trident submarines. Companies who partake in such immoral business shouldn't have a place in our community or anyone else's."

September 2012 has been appointed a Month of Action against your local arms company (though don't feel obliged to restrict yourself to them!). Find out more on page 9.

A brilliant, really inspiring event

CAAT's National Gathering took place in October, giving us a chance to reflect on our action during the DSEi arms fair and gather inspiration and energy for future campaigning. We were lucky to hear from Will Self who described the arms trade as a "moral scar on the fabric of this nation." (Read more on page 11).

In the words of people on the day, it was:

"A brilliant, really inspiring event and a great opportunity to network locally and build local action."

"Inspiring and motivating, with lots of information and clear ideas to take action."

"An informative, impassioned and humorous introduction to some very heavyweight issues."

The next National Gathering is not until 9 March in 2013. To get your dose of information and inspiration, book soon for our events in London, York, Birmingham and Cardiff in Spring 2012 (see page 8).

A busy year of action in Edinburgh

Edinburgh CAAT had a particularly busy and interesting year of campaigning in 2011. A series of street stalls and displays in public places aroused much interest and confirmed that there is widespread and growing concern over issues such as a deeply flawed arms export licensing system and the use of taxpayers' money to subsidise arms companies and arms fairs. Numerous "This is NOT OK" petitions were taken at Festival time especially.

We had a presence at Edinburgh's Freshers Fair and at Careers events, where we talked with new graduates about the nature of BAE Systems.

Our group has a team of five members trained in making presentations to schools and a schools liaison secretary.

In 2011 our hour-long schools module was taken to schools in Scotland and one in England – and we got invited back.

Though we are growing in number, we are still small for the range of activities being undertaken and we value the network of organisations with which we work. These include Jubilee Scotland, Edinburgh Peace and Justice group and People & Planet. Together with these, we plan a special event in 2012 at which Mark Thomas will be the key speaker.

DAVID TURNER, EDINBURGH CAAT

Still arming the worl

Lessons not learned

A year ago the UK was condemned for its arms sales to authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and North Africa; today the UK is still supplying weapons to authoritarian regimes. In February 2011 the Government was hastily withdrawing arms export licences to Libya; in February 2012 it plans to take a delegation of arms companies to pursue new deals. Arms sales to Bahrain and Egypt quickly resumed, even as repression continued. Sales to Saudi Arabia, where the crackdown on dissent intensified in 2011, never even slowed.

DATES FOR THE DIARY

- Take action in February to tell the Government that putting arms company profits before human rights is NOT OK
- Protest at the Farnborough Air Show - an arms fair to which families are invited – from 9 to 15 July.

Art not arms

The National Gallery hosted the arms dealers' reception when the DSEi arms fair came to London in September 2011. Sponsorship given by arms company Finmeccanica means that the company can use the Gallery as a backdrop for "corporate entertaining" on two occasions each year: July's Farnborough airshow may be the next occasion.



Help us shame those supplying weapons to dictators.



Make it political. Build the pressure on the Government to stop arming repression.

The Gallery's ethical policy says that gifts should not be accepted if by doing so the Gallery's reputation will be seriously damaged. We can't think of much that is more damaging than supporting the arms trade.

• You can tell the Gallery that this is not OK by writing to: Nicholas Penny, Director, National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, London WC2N 5DN.

International solidarity

"The army and police rely on tear gas, bullets and weapons from abroad. No doubt their stock has been replenished by US and other governments over the last nine months. Stock will run low again. We ask you to take action... Shut down the arms dealers. Do not let them make it, ship it."

From Tahrir Square in November 2011 (mosireen.org)

The Egyptian junta browsed an enormous warehouse of weapons in September at the world's largest arms fair in London. As with Mubarak's regime before, they were there at the invitation of the UK

government. We have two years to grow our movement against the arms trade before the fair is due to return in September 2013.

DATE FOR THE DIARY

• 17 April, Global Day of Action on Military Spending. Take action in solidarity with peace protesters around the world.

Get ready for action

Four action-packed days of training, discussion and planning will take place across the UK in Spring. Come along to get the latest information, meet and network with inspiring campaigners from your region, and plan some hard-hitting action for 2012.

DATES FOR THE DIARY

- tbc London
- 17 March York24 March Birmingham
- 21 April Cardiff For more information and to book your place now see www.caat.org.uk/events or call 020 7281 0297.

d: This is not OK

For those who plan very far in advance, the next National Gathering will take place on 9 March 2013!

"Shut down the arms dealers"

Chemring, one of the companies that manufactured CS gas used against protesters in Egypt, has sites in Wiltshire, Ayrshire, Hampshire, Derby and London. Chances are there's an arms company just miles from where you live as well. In 2012, we want to bring them out of the shadows by exposing what's going on.

DATES FOR THE DIARY

- Take part in shareholder action at the BAE Systems AGM on 2 May in London.
- Support Smash EDO's Summer of Resistance at their local arms factory in Brighton – see www.smashedo.org.uk
- In September one year ahead of the massive arms fair in London – take part in our month of action against local weapons company sites.

Make it political

Events of the last year show that UK arms exports are far from "responsible" or "legitimate". With

these examples, now is a key time to educate your MP and persuade him or her to take a stance.

- Help build our mass petition: order postcards now.
- Even if your MP supports arms manufacture, engage him or her in correspondence and challenge the misconceptions that drive that support.
- Ask your MP to support Early Day Motion 2166, a parliamentary petition calling for an end to arms sales to repressive regimes, open for signatures until May.

ANNE-MARIE O'REILLY AND SARAH WALDRON

In 2012, bring your local arms company out of the shadows by exposing what's going on.



BAE job losses: time for change

Anne-Marie O'Reilly and Ian Prichard look beyond headline reactions to BAE job losses.

In September last year the news that BAE Systems was cutting 3,000 jobs was met with widespread anguish. The head of the UK's largest union Unite gave an emergency speech at the Labour Party conference, urging an upgrade to the Typhoon fighter jet. The Anglican Bishop of Blackburn called on every Christian to think "What can I do? How can I help?" and Labour leader Ed Miliband called on the Government to "get stuck in."

Alternatives?

Unite the Union launched a campaign entitled "Back BAE," ignoring the fact that BAE armoured vehicles sold to Saudi Arabia were deployed in Bahrain to help suppress the pro-democracy uprising. The union's policy to support alternatives to arms manufacturing and its tradition of proposing progressive solutions that not only defend members' interests but promote democracy and peace, appeared forgotten. A spokesperson for the union Prospect blamed "the coalition's defence policies" for the job losses, bizarrely absolving the company of responsibility.

Opportunities

Despite this eruption of misplaced moralising, the opportunities presented by a change of direction have begun to emerge. Arms company jobs are heavily subsidised by the taxpayer, with arms exports alone receiving £700 million in support

However, as the President of General Dynamics UK told the Commons Defence Committee in September 2010, "The skills that might be divested of a reducing defence industry do not just sit there waiting to come back. They will be mopped up by other industries that



Mixed messages? Images from Unite's campaign webpage

need such skills." One such sector is renewable energy technologies. Unlike the stagnant arms market, the renewables market is expanding rapidly, with climate change seen by many as the biggest threat faced by the UK. Government investment is needed if UK industry is to claim a substantial share of the market.

Green jobs

One BAE worker was quoted as saying "The one big hope is Siemens' wind turbine factory in Hull, but no one's going to believe that's really coming until we've seen the

Are you a member of Unite?

Please consider contacting your union to highlight that members want to see the union work actively on positive alternatives to arms trade employment.

www.caat.org.uk/issues/jobs/
uniteandbae.php

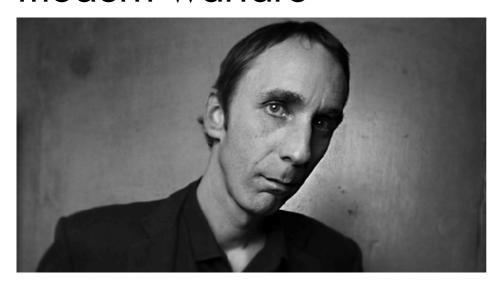
contracts signed." Job skills in the renewables industry are an incredibly close match for those in arms manufacture. Supporting the growth of green jobs in the area could therefore well become an alternative target for public subsidy.

Vince Cable has pointed to the Skills and Jobs Retention Group he set up, designed to help skilled workers find new jobs in UK manufacturing. An EU fund may also be able to aid the transition, with allowances for those in training or looking for work, as well as targeted help. Green industry looks like a viable alternative to BAE's Brough site, near Hull, while the BAE Woodford site may become the site of a new film studio.

Redundancy costs

Meanwhile, BAE has been under attack from surprising quarters: David Davis, the MP for Brough, revealed that the taxpayer may be liable for between £60 million and £110 million in redundancy costs (see 'They said it', opposite). This is yet another reason for the UK to stop propping up a company that profits from arming repression.

Euphemism is integral to modern warfare



Writer Will Self reflects on the language used to justify the UK arms trade.

The elision of business-speak with the foggy verbiage of warfare is perhaps the most deranging aspect of the contemporary arms trade.

The existence of a government unit devoted to promoting arms exports is not that surprising given successive prime ministers have also acted as de facto salesmen for British weapons' manufacturers – that this unit should be called the UK Trade & Investment Defence & Security Organisation – usually abbreviated to a string of inert initials: UKTI DSO – cloaks it with the spuriously prosaic legitimacy of flogging widgets.

Time and again we are told that the arms industry – and by extension, arms exports – is an essential component of our economy and vital for that most vital of things – jobs.

Yet while we can quibble about the precise figures, the Government's own statistics suggest that arms in fact only comprise 1 per cent to 2 per cent of our total exports.

Moreover, it's difficult to think of widget exporters who are promoted – in the way that arms ones have been – by extensive government support.

But anyway, even if large numbers of British jobs were utterly dependent

on selling arms to the Sri Lankans so they could pulverise Tamils, or to that delightful euphemism the Israeli Defence Force, so that they could – employing an apt Biblical figure of speech – smite the Gaza Strip, can that really dignify such labour? Personally, I'd rather flip burgers or sign on for Jobseeker's Allowance than forge death-metal in Vulcan's furnace.

Would I, I hear you ask, actually prefer it if arms exporters and their political sales force dropped all the indirection and cut straight to the chase by admitting freely that weaponry is nothing more or less than the extension of diplomacy by potentially violent means?

Absolutely, let's call a spade a spade, a gun a gun, missile a missile, a cluster bomb a child-killer and a Tactica armoured car a means of brutal civilian repression when it's deployed by the Saudis to support the undemocratic government in Bahrain.

Taken from Will Self's BBC Radio 4 talk 'A Point of View: why euphemism is integral to modern warfare'. Originally broadcast on 29 October 2011, the full transcript is available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-15478001, together with a podcast.

They said it



"This is outrageous: a policy designed to defend our defence capability is being used to make us subsidise the destruction of that capability. A policy designed to defend and protect British jobs is being used to destroy British jobs ... It transpires that when BAE lay off 3,000 workers, it is not BAE's shareholders, but the taxpayer, that meets the lion's share of the costs. This will mean that the British taxpayer will meet between £60 million and £110 million of BAE's costs."

DAVID DAVIS, MP FOR HOWDEN AND HATTENPRICE, PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON BAE, 24 NOVEMBER 2011

"The UK, and Lancashire and Humberside in particular, have through the years provided BAE with a great many reasons to be satisfied, and the UK taxpayer has invested significant resources in supporting the company's operations."

GRAHAM JONES, MP FOR HYNDBURN, BAE DEBATE

"It is important that we continue to have exports around the world and that the Ministry of Defence sees part of its role as maintaining the business model for companies such as BAE Systems and Babcock."
THOMAS DOCHERTY, MP FOR
DUNFERMLINE AND WEST FIFE, BAE DEBATE

"The Government are actively supporting defence export campaigns overseas including those for the Typhoon fast-jet which is competing in various competitions including India, Japan, Malaysia and Qatar and which, if successful, will both protect and create jobs in Lancashire and in other parts of the UK."

PETER LUFF, MP, MINISTER FOR DEFENCE EQUIPMENT, SUPPORT AND TECHNOLOGY, WRITTEN ANSWER, 25 NOVEMBER 2011

Review complete?

It is all very confusing. The Government reviewed its export controls in the light of the Arab Spring. On 18 July, as reported in the last CAATnews, Foreign Secretary William Hague MP (pictured) reported the review's conclusions: "There was no evidence of any misuse of controlled military goods exported from the United Kingdom." Incredulity was expressed, not least by Sir John Stanley MP, a former Defence Minister who now chairs the

Confusion

Lots about the review remains unclear, not least its remit.
Contradictory answers have also been given as to whether the review was confined to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office or whether other departments were involved, particularly the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, of which the export control organisation is part.

Committees on Arms Export Controls.

Then, on 13 October, came another statement from William Hague. He said that the review had identified areas where export controls could be strengthened. It will



be easier, in future, to suspend licences issued for the export of military equipment to governments "experiencing a sharp deterioration in security or stability." This does not, as CAAT and Sir John have been arguing, address the real problem, which is the massive misjudgment that leads to the issuing of the

export licences in the first instance.

Business as usual?

The poor risk assessments come from the support given by successive governments to arms companies. That this is still the case was confirmed by a parliamentary answer on 25 October. The UK Trade & Investment Defence & Security Organisation trade missions that are planned for early 2012 include ones to Kazakhstan, Saudi Arabia and Libya.

The Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee heard from witnesses on 29 November regarding such promotion.

One witness, Intissar Kherigi of Tunisia, said: "there was a sense of déjà vu when David Cameron first visited the region and it emerged that the vast majority of his delegation

By any other name...

In November the Export Credits
Guarantee Department changed
its name to UK Export Finance.
Whatever the name, CAAT is
working alongside other
organisations calling for its reform.
In particular, CAAT would like to
see the organisation ending its
support, by means of Governmentbacked insurance cover, for
military goods and projects.

Interestingly, the Jubilee Debt Campaign recently discovered that much of Egypt's debt to the UK is a result of export credits given in the 1970s and 80s to arms deals with Presidents Sadat and Mubarak



were in fact defence companies and arms traders. I think that sent a mixed signal to the region in terms of whether the UK had really changed its thinking, or whether it was just on the level of rhetoric."

Party conferences

A well-attended fringe meeting at last autumn's Liberal Democrat conference in Birmingham was organised with LibDems for Peace and Security. In a first for CAAT, a serving member of the Government, Defence Minister Nick Harvey MP, was on the platform.

In the lively debate that followed we learned more about the Ministry of Defence's role in the formal export licensing process. It cannot comment unless the equipment might put the UK's own armed forces at risk. This does not seem to stop some Ministers in the department enthusiastically espousing arms sales.

A week later a Labour Party
Conference fringe meeting in
Liverpool, arranged with the
Christian Socialist Movement, heard
from shadow trade minister Lord Wilf
Stevenson, Helen Goodman MP and
Symon Hill, former CAAT Media Coordinator and now member of our
Steering Committee. ANN FELTHAM

Counterpower can help us win

Politics is about power.
At least that was what I was told on the first day of my Politics degree. Bu. in the real world of political activism we seem to talk about it surprisingly rarely.
Often power is seen as a thing rather than the means with which to achieve our enas.

Broadly we can say that any regime exerts power through ideas, through economics, or through physical force. Gene Sharp, a US non-violence theorist, advises campaigners to identify the "Achilles Heel" of the system they are challenging.

Arms trade campaigns

So how can this inform our struggle against the arms trade? Arms manufacturers exert their Idea Power with their adverts, the way they speak of "national interests" and the way they persuade people that the

rotect domestic jobs.
nis links to their
conomic Power –
their constant threat
to governments to
make workers
redundant if their
special interests aren't

aanerea to. Then there's the Physical Power exerted by the companies. Anyone who has ever sought to protest on or near to a weapons site will be familiar with the way that private security and police are used to protect the interests of the war-profiteers.

Our power

But for every aspect of power wielded by arms companies, we have more. We have the Idea Counterpower to debunk their propaganda, to reveal their murky practices to the media and to subvertise their adverts. We have the

Physical Counterpower to blockade their factories and arms fairs and to physically stop them from doing their deals. And we have the Economic Counterpower to stem the flow of human capital by targeting recruitment fairs and stem the flow of financial capital through ethical investment campaigns.

Disarming

So our tactics have the capability to disarm the world's most deadly industry. By continuing to chip away at the pillars that support illegitimate power elites, we can force them to give concessions. But by seriously challenging power elites we can make the whole edifice come crumbling to the ground. TIM GEE

Tim Gee is the author of a new history of protest and social change *Counterpower:* Making Change Happen, New Internationalist, £9.99.

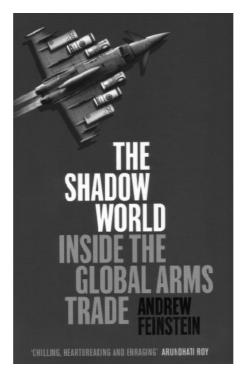
The Shadow World

The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade, Andrew Feinstein, Hamish Hamilton, £25

Described by the publishers as "The first analysis of the global arms trade for over 25 years", Feinstein's book details the corruption and cover-ups behind arms deals around the globe while analysing the relationships that mean the trade and associated corruption continue.

Such heralding suggests a lot of information and the reader isn't sold short. At close to 700 pages when index and references are taken into account, Feinstein's research is extensive and detailed.

It gives full background to the story of the largest weapons deal in



history – the deal between the UK and Saudi governments – and other stories including BAE Systems' controversial deals in South Africa, Tanzania and eastern Europe.

Perhaps most importantly, in a world not short of exposés of corruption and critiques of the Military-Industrial Complex and the arms trade, Feinstein's work is thoroughly engaging. His language concerning this business, which "counts its profits in millions and its losses in lives," is powerful without being sentimental and is backed up by strong argument and extensive research. This research makes the book an invaluable reference work so, at the very least, ask your library to order a copy - and set aside a few hours to get drawn in!

Run the arms dealers out of town

Thank you to everyone who generously sponsored Kat Hobbs' run for CAAT in October. Kat ran the Blenheim Palace 10k. The total raised by Kat, in her third sponsored run, was a whopping £791.

Earlier in the year Kate Byrne raised hundreds of pounds for CAAT from a gruelling cycle journey through Spain, and Daniel Brett organised a sponsored walk to Epping Forest.

Taking part in sponsored events is one of the best ways to help support the campaign. If you could organise a sponsored walk in your area, or would like to take part in a sponsored run or cycle, please do get in touch today. We can help you set up an online sponsorship page and provide sponsorship forms. With every stride or pedal you will contribute to the struggle to end arms exports.



Kat Hobbs ran for a third consecutive year to raise funds for CAAT



Some ideas for events to get involved with:

- Bristol 10k 20 May 2012
- Great Manchester Run 20 May 2012
- Great Yorkshire Run –
 2 September 2012
- Great Scottish Run 2 September 2012
- London Duathlon 9 September 2012
- Great Birmingham Run –
 21 October 2012
- Great South Run, Portsmouth 28 October 2012

If you would like to take part in a sponsored walk, run, cycle, or other fundraising event please contact Henry at henry@caat.org.uk or call 020 7281 0297.

Support CAAT's research through TREAT

You can now donate by text message to support CAAT's research work through the charitable Trust for Research and Education on the Arms Trade (TREAT).

To donate by text:

Text CAAT11 £1, £2, £3, £4, £5 or £10 to 70070





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. 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 website – 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

Share CAAT issues with your Christian community. Order a Christian Network introduction pack and join our mailing list for details of our next Day of Prayer. Contact outreach@caat.org.uk.

Bring your enthusiasm

CAAT is always looking for people to participate in sponsored events to raise much-needed funds for CAAT. So if you would like to run, walk, cycle or do any other sponsored activity which can bring in money, please email henry@caat.org.uk

Volunteer

We are currently looking for a Fundraising Assistant and a Media Assistant to volunteer in the CAAT office one or two days a week. These two roles would be ideal for someone with an interest in fundraising or media looking to gain experience within a campaigning organisation. For more details regarding the post and information about how to apply please visit: http://www.caat.org.uk/getinvolved/vacancies.php

Campaigners' "to do" list

- Book now for an action-packed CAAT training day near you in March or April – see page 8.
- Plan your year of action for 2012 take a look at pages 8–9 now.
- Contact Anne-Marie on 020 7281 0297 or outreach@caat.org.uk if you would like to take part in the Global Day of Action on Military Spending on 17 April, or are planning any other actions you'd like to discuss.
- Order postcards to help build our mass petition 020 7281 0297 or office@caat.org.uk.
- Take part in a sponsored walk, run, or cycle to raise funds for the campaign – see page 14.

CAAT/NEWS JANUARY-MARCH 2012

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	Telephone number
Address	Email 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 CAAT news 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.	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)
DIRECT Debit A direct debit is the most convenient and to support CAAT. £10 a month will make	
Instruction to your Bank or Building Society to pay by Direct Debit To: The Manager Bank/Building Society:	I wish to donate £ every month/quarter/annually (please delete). Reference (CAAT use only)
Banks/building societies may not accept Direct Debit Instructions from some kind of accounts. Address of Bank/Building Society	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.
Postcode Name(s) of account holder(s)	Signature(s) CAMPAIGN AGAINST APMS
Bank/building society a/c no. Sort code	AIVIN