

# CAAT NEWS

The quarterly magazine for Campaign Against Arms Trade

Issue 271  
Winter 2024/25



## PLUS

Israel arms suspension **P8-9**  
The US elections **P10**  
Change at CAAT **P12-13**



CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST  
ARMS  
TRADE

A 50th anniversary is a bittersweet moment for an organisation like CAAT. On one hand it is a moment to commend the work of activists and staff over the course of decades. But it is also a reminder of how long the arms industry has existed and how much damage it has done and is still doing.

We want to thank everyone who has built CAAT and worked for peace, and all hope that in 50 years time we are living in a world where CAAT is no longer needed.

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**Printed by** Castle Fulfilment on 100% recycled paper using only post-consumer waste.

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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.

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Photo: UK Prime Minister | Source: Flickr



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Photo: Chamber | Source: Wikipedia



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# STOP ARMING ISRAEL: LEGAL UPDATE

CAAT's partners GLAN and Al-Haq are taking the UK government to the High Court over continued weapons exports to Israel, despite the ongoing violations of international law and UK rules that demand an immediate halt of all export licences.

The next hearing in the case will take place as we go to press on 18th November. It will be a one day procedural hearing where key issues between the parties will be discussed, and there is the possibility of securing a date for a full three-day hearing on the case.

One of the most significant aspects of this hearing is that any legal documents mentioned in court will become part of the public record, including recent submissions made by the UK government.

This is made more important given that the Government have made very few of the details around the suspension of the 30 licences public, including which specific licences these are, which licences used by the IDF have not been suspended, and how the Government made these distinctions.

GLAN has filed extensive evidence with the High Court detailing the allegations of unlawful and unreliable use of torture-derived information by

Israel to justify attacks on medical personnel and facilities as well as aid workers, which undermines the UK's reliance on Israeli assurances in their response to the case.

CAAT has submitted a Witness Statement to the case, including exclusive information on the licences received through FOIs. We have published some of this information in our latest briefing on the F-35 suspension exemption (see P8-9).

The F-35 is almost certainly the single largest and most important part of the UK arms trade with Israel. This makes the UK directly complicit in Israel's genocidal acts.

A lot of UK arms sales to Israel are done via the opaque "Open Licence" system, which means that key information does not need to be published. However, we found that in 2023, the F-35 "Open General Export Licence" (OGEL) was used to deliver equipment to Israel a total of 14 times, more than in any other year since it was issued in 2016. (The next highest

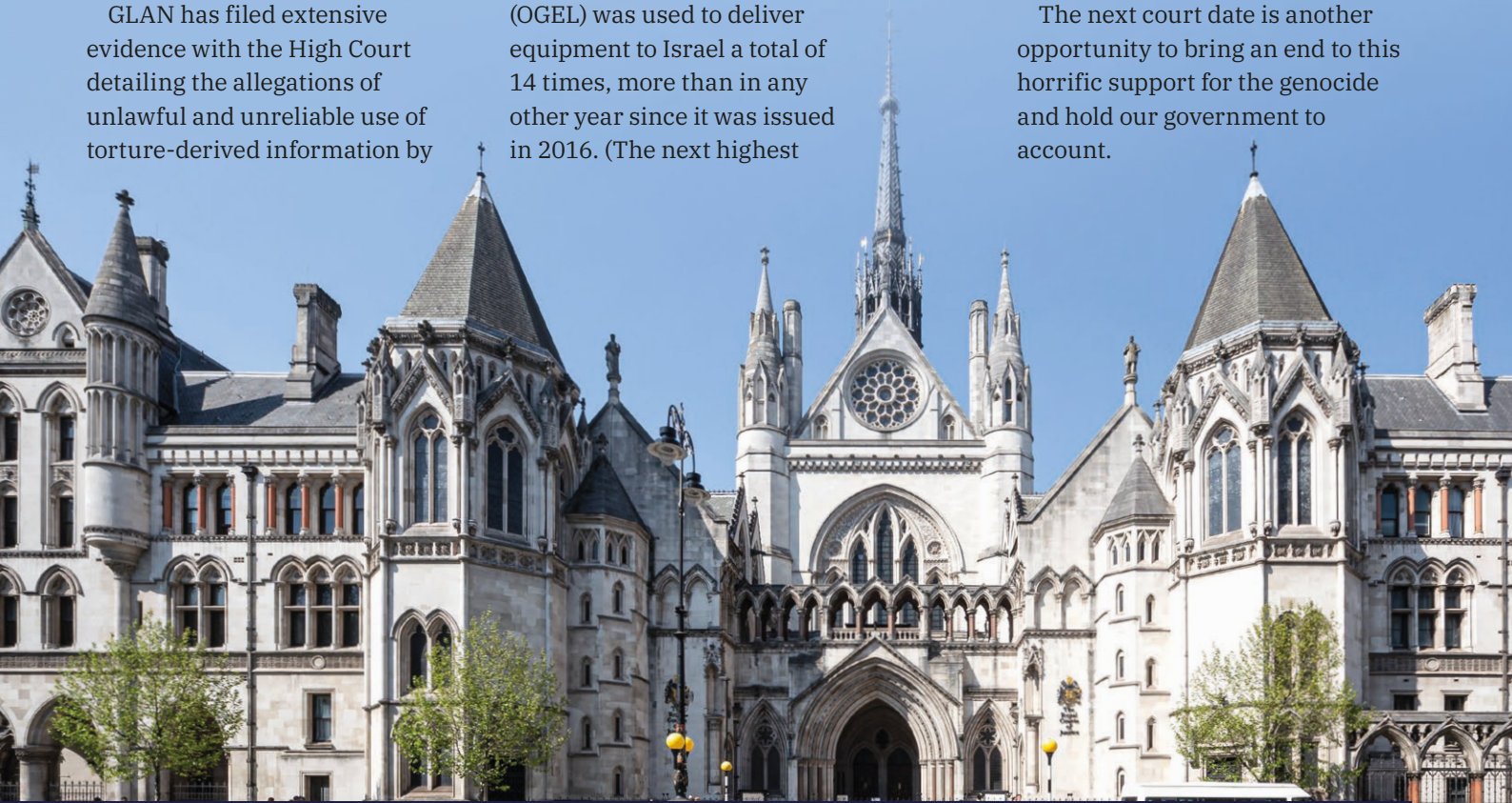
number in a single year was five).

Given the secretive nature of the Open Licences system, and that the Government claims that it doesn't even collect information on exactly how much is sent, let alone the monetary values, this information is the clearest indication we have that extensive additional spare parts have come from the UK to Israel since October 2023.

The value of UK parts in the 39 planes delivered to Israel so far since 2016 is about \$468m, or roughly £360 million. This is almost three times as much as the value of all the other aircraft-related licences to Israel over the same period.

This is one reason why the figures often given in the media, based on Government data for the value of UK arms exports to Israel, are vastly understated, as all the F-35 exports are excluded.

The next court date is another opportunity to bring an end to this horrific support for the genocide and hold our government to account.





## Germany



Photo: Florellino | Source: Wikipedia

The German government has lifted curbs on arms sales to Turkey, which were introduced following its invasion of Northern Syria in 2016. Germany has approved more than €100 million in military exports to Turkey so far this year. Exports are reported to include anti-aircraft missiles worth several hundred million euros.  
**DW.com, 19 October 2024**

The UK government has welcomed investment from German arms giants Helsing and Rheinmetall, which are set to open new factories in the UK. The latter will be the first time that artillery gun barrels have been produced in the UK for 10 years, with production set to begin in 2027.  
**UK Defence Journal, 23 October 2024**

## European Union



Photo: Tom Parnell | Source: Flickr

EU members should favour the bloc's own arms industry when buying weapons, according to former Italian Prime Minister and European Central Bank President Mario Draghi, who has authored a report on EU competitiveness.

Three quarters of the €75 billion EU countries spent on arms between June 2022 and June 2023 went outside the bloc according to Mr Draghi's analysis, with 63 percent going to the U.S.  
**Politico, 09 September 2024**

## Israel

The US has approved the sale of a further \$20 billion worth of arms to Israel, despite escalating atrocities in Gaza. Sales are said to include fighter jets, armoured vehicles, missiles and other offensive equipment.

**Al Jazeera, 13 August 2024**

The Australian Foreign Minister, Penny Wong, has backed the UK's decision to suspend some arms sales to Israel, saying that "Palestinian civilians cannot be made to pay the price of defeating Hamas" and adding that "Australia is working with partners – including the UK – to put pressure to see a real change in the situation in Gaza."

**Middle East Eye, 10 Sept 2024**

## Ukraine

The UK government will lend Ukraine £2.26 billion as part of a much larger planned loan from the Group of Seven nations backed by frozen Russian central bank assets. The loan will help Ukraine to buy weapons and rebuild infrastructure that has been damaged in the ongoing Russian invasion.

UK Defence minister John Healey has said the money would be solely for Ukraine's military and could be used to help develop drones capable of travelling further than some long-range missiles.

**MoD, 22 October 2024**

## Croatia

Croatia has signed an agreement with Germany to purchase 50 Leopard tanks. The deal has been done at a reduced rate to compensate the Croatian Army for its planned transfer of used M-84 tanks and M-80 infantry fighting vehicles to Ukraine.

**Defense News, 29 October 2024**



# Raytheon/ RTX

The Pentagon has signed a contract with arms giant Raytheon for the largest-ever order of the company's AIM-120 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles, said to be worth \$1.2 billion.

The deal will provide munitions to Bahrain, Bulgaria, Canada, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine and the UK, in addition to the US Navy and US Air Force. **Flight Global, 13 September 2024**



RTX Corporation, formerly known as Raytheon, has agreed to pay more than \$950 million to resolve allegations that it defrauded the US and paid bribes to secure business with Qatar.

The sum is said to include penalties in the criminal cases, as well as civil fines, restitution and the return of profits derived from inflated Defense Department billing and business from alleged bribes paid to a high-ranking Qatari military official. **Associated Press, 17 Oct 2024**

# China

China has threatened to take "countermeasures" in opposition to a \$2 billion US arms package to Taiwan. The deal, which is awaiting the approval of Congress, includes an advanced air defence missile system battle-tested in Ukraine. **The Guardian, 27 October 2024**

The US has warned that China is rapidly expanding its nuclear arsenal. The Defense Intelligence Agency previously claimed that China had around 200 warheads in 2020 and that it would reach at least twice that by the end of the decade. Now it says that China has already reached 500 such weapons and will have more than 1,000 by 2030. **Defense News, 24 October 2024**

# United States

The US has approved the sale of \$2.2 billion worth of arms to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The sale is reported to include missiles, ammunition for artillery systems, machine guns, and tanks. **Defence Arabia, 12 Oct 2024**

## The 10 largest exporters of major arms and their main recipients, 2019–23

The arms trade is a global industry, with buyers and sellers around the world. Our friends at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) have charted trends in the industry, with data showing the biggest importers and exporters of recent years.

For full data sets and to find some of the most comprehensive information available about the global arms trade, visit [Sipri.org](https://www.sipri.org)

### Largest arms dealers



### Largest arms buyers



# FOCUS ON LANCASHIRE

## The Red Rose County's Thorny Problem with Arms Trade

Tourists riding the steam trains of the East Lancashire Railway, or enjoying the Blackpool illuminations could be forgiven for thinking that the troubles of the world are very far away. They might be surprised to discover that Lancashire actually sits at the very heart of the UK arms trade, and the death and destruction it causes.

The UK's biggest arms company, BAE Systems, operates two large arms factories / aerodromes in the county: one in Warton, west of Preston, the other in Samlesbury to the east of the city.

Warton has a "rich history of over 100 years of aviation innovation," according to the Warton Aviation Enterprise Zone. That's certainly one way of putting it. More accurately, Warton is the site where the Tornado and Eurofighter Typhoon fighter jets are built.

These aircraft have been central to the Saudi-led coalition's brutal bombing in the war in Yemen. Since 2015, over 277,000 people have died as a result of the conflict, either killed directly by the bombing or as a result of the destruction of food supplies, healthcare facilities, and transport links.

Before that, Warton was also responsible for the production of the Hawk Jets sold to the Indonesian forces attacking East Timor. The export of one of these jets was delayed after anti-arms



*CAAT and Demilitarise Education's report, "Weaponising Universities," exposed BAE's deep links with Lancaster University, to persuade Science Technology Engineering and Maths students to work for the company both in Lancashire and Cumbria*

trade activists crept onto the site in 1996 and set about it with a hammer.

The site at Samlesbury has been the focus of campaign activity this year. It proudly boasts that it makes the rear fuselage of the F35 warplane, an aircraft that Israel has been using in the bombing of Gaza, and that was also reportedly used in Israel's attacks on Yemen. UK components make up some 15% of the warplane's value. A life-size model of the F35 can be found outside the factory.

Local group Blackburn4Palestine have been organising regular demonstrations at the Samlesbury site, some with hundreds of protesters in attendance, making it very clear that the factory needs to stop making weapons being used in a genocide. Protests continue despite intimidating policing.

BAE Systems co-opts other organisations in the area. For example, as shown by CAAT and Demilitarise Education's report earlier this year "Weaponising Universities" (available on the CAAT website) the company has deep links with Lancaster University, with which it aims to persuade Science Technology Engineering and Maths students to work for the company in Lancashire and Cumbria. The report and its findings were presented to students at a conference at Lancaster over the summer.

The company even tried to use Lancashire Libraries to host summer holiday "Cyber Security" sessions for kids, hosted by BAE Systems trainers. This was stopped by a determined campaign led by local people. It was a clear attempt to draw young, talented people into an industry that spreads war and misery.

As the protests at arms factories, university encampments, even local libraries show, it is time for the area to peacefully transition away from weapons making. The Red Rose of the county symbolises a long and proud history. It is high time that it also symbolised peace.





# ARMS FAIRS AND ARMS TRADE EVENTS IN 2025: A FORWARD LOOK

2024 has been a busy and deadly year for the arms trade and, unfortunately, 2025 looks to be more of the same.

Arms fairs are a key part of the industry, taking some of the biggest weapons companies in the world to communities all across the UK.

If you'd like to find out more, or perhaps get involved with organising protests and action in opposition, contact us on [outreach@caat.org.uk](mailto:outreach@caat.org.uk)

## International Armoured Vehicles 21–23 January

The International Armoured Vehicles arms fair was previously hosted at Twickenham Rugby Stadium. An event focused on tanks and fighting vehicles, it involves a number of the major arms companies including BAE Systems, Teledyne, Ultra Electronics and Leonardo, all of which are complicit in the current bombing of Gaza.

When it was Twickenham Arms Fair through to 2024, the fair attracted increasingly boisterous protests,

with many local people objecting to the use of a sporting venue – aimed at promoting peaceful competition between nations – to instead promote death and destruction.

Now it has moved to Farnborough, local groups are coming together to plan actions. Although it may have been kicked into touch by Twickenham, arms fairs should not happen anywhere, and it is important to be in solidarity with all those affected by the weapons shown.

## ADS Dinner 2025

In January 2025, arms dealers and their customers, as well as MPs and Government ministers, will gather for their annual feast. The ADS Group is a trade body with representation from some of the biggest exporters of war in the world.

Their annual dinner, which takes place every year in an upmarket venue in central London, is a champagne-fuelled affair that only the wealthy can attend. Tickets cost an eye-watering £275 per head for members, and an eye-watering £550 for non members.

Top of the agenda will be business. It is where the arms trade gathers to celebrate

their lavish profits, made off the back of escalating tensions and destruction in conflict zones around the world.

Although the recent focus has been on Gaza, conflicts fueled by arms exports continue to take lives in Sudan, Yemen, Syria, and many other countries around the world. The victims of the trade often experience great deprivation as food, water and medical supplies are cut, while, at the same time, those profiting get the chance to enjoy the finest food and wines in opulent surroundings. As usual there will be protesters setting out to make them consider the devastating impact of their business.



## DESI arms fair

Finally, on 9-12 September 2025, Europe's biggest arms fair, Defence & Security Equipment International (DSEI), plans to make a return to ExCel Centre in the Docklands, East London.

Planning is already underway to work out how to resist this deadly fair – one of the world's largest, and featuring everything from tanks to missiles to warplanes to warships to small arms, and so much more. It is a who's who of the world's worst arms companies and

their client regimes: many of which have long been on the UK government's own list countries of human rights concern – and yet they get invited to come to London to shop for weapons.

If you or your group would like to help organise against the fair, Stop the Arms Fair would love to hear from you. Contact them via the details on this page: [stopthearmsfair.org.uk/contact](https://stopthearmsfair.org.uk/contact) or email [resistDSEI@protonmail.com](mailto:resistDSEI@protonmail.com)



# SUSPENSION OF EXPORT LICENCES TO ISRAEL – HOLES YOU CAN FLY AN F-35 THROUGH

On 2 September, the UK government announced it was suspending around 30 export licences for arms it assessed as being for use in Gaza, including components for combat aircraft, helicopters and drones, and targeting equipment.

This was out of a total of 350 military and dual-use licences currently valid. It made this decision having assessed that Israel was not complying with International Humanitarian Law (IHL) in Gaza in two respects: its failure to allow aid into Gaza, i.e. starving the Palestinian people, and its treatment of detainees, i.e. torture. Extraordinarily, it claimed it was unable to conclude whether Israel's bombing campaign and military operations in general violated IHL.

## What about the other 320 licences?

The licences that were not suspended likely fall into several categories.

**a)** Dual-use licences, for equipment with both military and civil uses. Most of this is likely to be for civilian industry, although dual-use equipment can include e.g. information security equipment used to surveil and monitor internet communications.

We expect that a majority of the licences that were not suspended were for dual-use equipment.

**b)** Some military goods licences are for things like body armour or armoured vehicles for diplomatic, humanitarian, or media users. These are unlikely to be used in violation of IHL.

**c)** Components supplied to the Israeli arms industry to be included in equipment for export. These would not have been suspended as they are not for use in Gaza, but CAAT still considers these licences to be highly problematic as they support the Israeli arms industry which is responsible for so much of the death and destruction in Palestine, and which is highly dependent on exports.

**d)** 60 other licences were for arms for the Israeli military that the UK government considers not for use in Gaza. These items include components for training aircraft and naval equipment. However, any such arms exports are still

being used to build the genocidal Israeli war machine. Trainer aircraft, for example, may not be used in Gaza, but they train the pilots who are bombing Gaza.

*By far the biggest omission was the decision to continue to allow the export of components for the F-35 combat aircraft to Israel, provided they go via the US or other countries*

## The F-35 exemption

However, by far the biggest omission was the decision to continue to allow the export of components for the F-35 combat aircraft to Israel, provided they go via the US or other countries, rather than directly to Israel. This is despite the fact that the F-35 has been used regularly by Israel to bomb Gaza, Lebanon, and Yemen.

On the very day of the Government's announcement, a Danish NGO revealed that an F-35 was used in a devastating attack



on a Gaza refugee camp in July, using three 2000lb bombs, killing 90 people. The UK produces 15% of the value of every F-35 made.

The components still permitted to go to Israel include those sent to the US for the production of new aircraft (Israel currently has 39 F-35s, with 36 more on order), and spare parts that go into global hubs, from where they may be sent to any of the roughly 20 countries that use the F-35, including Israel.

Such spare parts are absolutely crucial to keeping Israel's F-35s flying, as combat aircraft require a huge and constant supply of spares, especially when they are being used so intensely.

The Government claims that it would not be possible to stop the supply of such components to Israel without risking disruption to the entire F-35 global supply chain, which they describe as crucial to maintaining "global peace and security." However, this claim is highly dubious.

All F-35 components are tagged and serial numbered, and are subject to an electronic tracking system that could easily be used to ensure that UK components do not end up in Israel. The real reason for the exemption is more likely that the UK does not want a political dispute with the US, that might jeopardise the UK's place in the F-35 programme, worth billions to the UK arms industry.

The Government did not claim that there is no risk that the F-35s will be used to "commit or facilitate serious violations" of IHL, which, according to the Government's export licensing criteria, should prohibit their export. Rather, as they later confirmed, this was a "departure" from the criteria, with an ad-hoc exception made specifically for this purpose.

The Government claims this is allowed by the laws governing export controls. This would render the criteria, the core of the UK's supposed "rigorous and robust" export control system, almost meaningless, allowing the

Government to basically make up the rules as they go along. This will undoubtedly be tested in the legal challenge against arms sales to Israel brought against the Government by GLAN and Al-Haq (see P3).

*The real reason for the exemption is likely that the UK does not want a political dispute with the US, that might jeopardise the UK's place in the F-35 programme*

### **Incorporation licences – an unanswered question**

F-35 components are not the only indirect UK arms supplies to Israel. Many arms exports involve the supply of components to one country, for inclusion into larger systems that are then re-exported to another, governed by so-called "incorporation licences."

A recent Freedom of Information request revealed that, since October 2021, there were 26 such incorporation licences, worth £165 million, for the export of components to the US with Israel as a permitted onward export destination. Many of these licences listed Israel as the only such final destination, and many were still valid on 1 September, before the partial suspension. The Government has refused to answer the question as to whether any of these licences for indirect arms sales to Israel were suspended. If not, this is another glaring loophole in the government's decision.

The partial suspension is a step forward, and has come only as a result of tireless campaigning by CAAT supporters and our allies. But it falls far short of what is needed to end this horrific genocide. We must continue to press hard for a complete arms embargo.



Photo: UK Prime Minister | Source: Flickr

# US ELECTIONS

**Few CAAT News readers will have celebrated the election of Donald Trump. His brand of racist, bigoted and anti-climate politics is unlikely to find much support in the peace movement.**

The scale of his victory surprised a lot of people, winning the popular vote as well as the electoral college with a campaign that centred on attacking minority communities and spreading the same hate and fear that characterised his first presidential term.

One of the groups that will have been celebrating were the arms dealers and war lobby, who have always had a friend in Donald Trump. During his previous White House tenure, Trump increased military spending every year and kept arms flowing to many of the most brutal and repressive regimes in the world.

Among the first international trips that Trump made during his last presidency was a high-profile visit to the Saudi Arabian regime to promote \$110 billion worth of arms sales at the same time as Saudi forces were inflicting a humanitarian crisis on the people of Yemen. Not all the deals he promoted came to fruition, but they cemented his role as the arms dealer in chief.

Trump's record on Israel and the ongoing genocide in Gaza is especially concerning, with his rhetoric being particularly extreme.

Unfortunately there is no reason to believe he will respond to the genocide any better than his Democrat predecessors, and every reason to believe that he will align himself with the most racist and reactionary elements of the Israeli government.

One area where Donald Trump is likely to differ from his predecessors is in relation to Ukraine, where he is expected to take a more isolationist policy than Joe Biden and Kamala Harris. At the same time, he is also expected to call for NATO countries to raise

their military spending.

Despite his proclaimed opposition to US interventionism, Trump is unlikely to challenge the fundamentals of long-term US policies.

Calling for "a strong and powerful military" in his victory speech, Trump made clear that he will not be rolling back spending on arms and it is unlikely that he will be pushed into doing so by a Republican-controlled Senate.

*The reality is that whoever had won the US elections would bring big challenges for our movement. In the 50 years that CAAT has existed we have worked in opposition to Democrat Presidents as well as Republican ones*

The reality is that whoever had won the US elections would have brought big challenges for our movement. In the 50 years that CAAT has existed we have worked in opposition to Democrat Presidents as well as Republican ones.

Harris was not going to challenge US power and was committed to continuing with many of the same policies that have already done so much damage, not least in Gaza where the Biden administration has played a shocking role and has armed, supported and enabled the worst atrocities.

One thing that is clear is that the peace movement in the US and around the world will have a lot of work to do to challenge the violent, authoritarian and reactionary politics that Donald Trump represents.



Photo: Gage Skidmore | Source: Flickr



# SCOTLAND GATHERING



**In the heart of the East End of Glasgow, activists from across Scotland – from Largs to Caithness and the Isle of Skye – came together for the first annual CAAT Scotland Gathering.**

This was a new space where CAAT staff were on hand to offer strategic guidance and resources for all campaigners, whether brand new to CAAT's work or a seasoned local group activist!

The event featured a variety of workshops tailored to empower activists in dismantling the arms industry. In "Not on Our Doorstep! Scotland and the Arms Trade," folks were given an eye-opening overview of the pervasive influence of the arms industry on Scotland's communities and government.

Meanwhile, "We're All Changemakers: Advocacy 101" provided practical tips on maintaining effective pressure on elected representatives at all levels, and we had a fantastic research workshop where we explored some of CAAT's valuable data tools, such as the brand new F-35 browser and the arms company database, each critical to supporting local advocacy efforts.

As the day drew to a close at the brand new Scottish Trades Union Congress building, the final workshop had the activists leading as we collectively developed campaign strategies

for current campaigns happening across Scotland, from the Isle of Rona campaign against Qinetiq at BUTEC to Lockheed Martin's involvement with Scottish spaceports and Glasgow Against Arms and Fossil Fuels' university-based campaigns. These grassroots campaigns are driving change across the country.

*As the day drew to a close we collectively developed campaign strategies for current campaigns happening across Scotland*

I hope all who attended would agree that the Scotland Gathering was a powerful space full of inspiration, solidarity and collaborative campaigning. We hope this will be the first of many events where the CAAT team can directly support your local campaigns by sharing our knowledge and upskilling activists from across the country. It's only by working closely together and supporting each other that we will bring about an end to the arms trade.

## Strathclyde Case Study Launch

You may have caught our new report launched earlier this year with Demilitarise Education that focused on the influence of the arms industry and military sectors on higher education across England. To kick off this academic year, we launched a brand-new case study looking at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, home to Scotland's largest Faculty of Engineering and one of the biggest research playgrounds for arms companies like BAE Systems and Babcock International.

We were invited onto campus for freshers' season and heard from students first-hand about how their education is influenced by the cosy relationship between the university and the arms industry, including how their research agendas were often set by the programme funders, which often led to military applications being prioritised over civilian or humanitarian innovation.

The University Secretary even dropped by to discuss our calls for Strathclyde to adopt stricter ethical guidelines, increase transparency in funding, and divest from military-related projects to uphold human rights and promote responsible research practices. We look forward to continuing work with students and faculty across the university to push these demands forward.

Make sure you check out these new reports on our website and share them with any students in your circles!





# CHANGE AT CAAT

With our 50th anniversary it was the right time for CAAT to ask some big questions about how we organised and why we do what we do. We have undertaken some long-term internal projects and have tried to summarise some of the key points below. We would be really interested in your thoughts and feedback.

## Our vision, mission and values

Over the past 18 months CAAT staff and Steering Committee members have been working with facilitators from Fractals co-operative to review and develop CAAT's vision, mission, and values.

CAAT's wider vision, or the world we want to see, is:

**"A just, peaceful and sustainable world built on foundations of equity and solidarity."**

And CAAT's mission, which represents the specific part of this vision of a better world that CAAT will work to achieve and measure our success against, is:

**"We are a UK-based organisation that works for a world without the arms trade and free from the systems of violence, oppression and corruption that it perpetuates."**

**We want to end the suffering, death and destruction caused by the arms trade and the people and institutions that support it. It fuels armed conflict, human rights abuses, and environmental degradation."**

While the vision and the mission represent the "What", our values represent the "How." The way we will work to achieve our goals. CAAT has identified four values that will guide how we work and who we work with.

You can read the expanded version of our values on the CAAT website: [caat.org.uk/about-caat/how-we-work](https://caat.org.uk/about-caat/how-we-work)

The vision, mission, and values form the foundation of our Theory of Change, which sets out the stages on the journey to achieving our goals, the people and institutions we need to influence, and the tactics we use to bring about change. From this will flow our strategic and operational plans.

## We are radical

We work for the abolition of the arms trade and the systems of power of which it is part. In pursuit of this, we support meaningful steps towards reducing its worst harms.

## We stand and act in Solidarity

We seek to be guided by the voices of people affected by the arms trade and use our influence to amplify them.

We believe our movement is strongest when we are open to learning from others and work to build alliances to fight oppression together.

## We work with integrity

Our credibility comes from the rigour and accuracy of our research, actions and communication. We promote transparency and collaboration by sharing our analysis, data and skills.

## We work against hierarchy

We seek to identify, challenge and work against the formal and informal power structures that exist within our society and inside our organisation. We distribute power and leadership by engaging openly and welcoming contributions from everyone, working to reach a consensus when making a decision.



## What this means in practice

CAAT is both an organisation and a movement of supporters, activists and partners.

Our network of local groups and contacts play a vital role in spreading our message and campaigning up and down the country.

We work with a wide range of partners who share our values and goals, including diaspora communities, other campaigning groups and elected representatives at all levels.

CAAT has a non-hierarchical organisational structure.

All permanent members of staff are members of the Steering Committee (CAAT's board of directors), along with an equal number of non-executive directors drawn from our supporter base. Steering Committee is responsible for CAAT's governance and strategy.

Our small team of paid staff are responsible for the day-to-day management of the organisation and are supported by our dedicated office volunteers, without whom we would not be able to function.

Campaign Against Arms Trade strives towards ethical and inclusive working practices in all

that we do. We are committed to providing equal opportunities for all involved with the organisation.

We have also been long-term supporters of the Together Against Prevent campaign, in opposition to the UK government's authoritarian Prevent "counter-extremism" program. We also support the Keep Volunteering Voluntary campaign against the Government's Help to Work programme, which included mandatory six-month placements in voluntary groups linked to benefit sanctions for non-compliance.

## An Advisory Council for CAAT

As a major part of our continuing governance review, we feel that it would be desirable to have a group of supportive campaigners and advisors to assist us in our work.

The idea is to form an Advisory Council to discuss questions of organisational strategy and direction, contribute suggestions for new ideas for areas of work or ways of working, hold the staff and directors accountable to our vision, mission, and values, extend our network and range of contacts and allies, and make recommendations on these and other related matters.

The Council will consist of 6-12 members, with a rotating

membership – some members leaving and others joining – with each serving a maximum term of six years. They wouldn't be CAAT directors, a member of the Steering Committee, nor a member of staff.

From time to time the directors and staff will suggest matters for the Council to discuss and advise on; Council members will be provided with the necessary information for them to form an educated and informed response.

The Council would also suggest its own matters for discussion, and ask for information from the directors and staff, and invite representative members of staff and directors to join their meetings to bring their experience and expertise; on occasion, the Council might wish to invite people from outside the organisation to help them in their discussions.

We plan to recruit during 2025. Do look out if this is something you might be interested in.



# WESTMINSTER AND THE ARMS TRADE

On 2nd September the new Labour government came back from summer recess, with Foreign Secretary David Lammy announcing the suspension of 30 UK arms licences to Israel, for arms that were likely to be used by the IDF in Gaza (see P8-9).

It had taken the new Government two months to reach the only legal and moral conclusion available to them. While this partial suspension of licences represents a hard won campaign victory, the terms of this suspension and how it was delivered show that Labour leadership is more invested in maintaining the status quo than it is in halting Israel's genocide of Palestinians.

The Government has stated that "Despite the mass casualties of the conflict, it has not been possible to reach a determinative judgment on allegations regarding Israel's conduct of hostilities." Our Government are basing their continued support for the Israeli military, including through supplying 15% of the

F-35 jet that are dropping 2000 lbs bombs on Palestinians, on the outrageous and indefensible claim that they simply don't have enough information to make a judgement on Israel's violations of international law.

*Our Government are basing their continued support for the Israeli military, on the outrageous claim that they simply don't have enough information to make a judgement*

So extreme is the Government's denial of the genocide that is being committed against Palestinians that on 28th October Lammy stated in parliament that the term genocide was "largely used when millions of people lost their lives

in crises such as Rwanda and the Holocaust of the second world war. The way that people are now using those terms undermines their seriousness."

As a barrister Lammy is perfectly aware that the threshold for genocide is not the number of people killed but the intent to destroy a people "in whole or in part". His comments are deeply offensive to the victims of genocides throughout history, including in Srebrenica where 8,000 men and boys were killed in a genocidal massacre, not to mention the 43,000 Palestinians killed in Gaza. It sets a frightening tone for the Government's approach to the lives and future of Palestinians.

## Labour conference

With a new UK government in place with a large majority, a lot of us are hoping that it will lead to change in the way that the UK acts on the world stage.

CAAT attended the Labour Party Conference in September with a degree of caution, attending fringe events on foreign policy, defence and human rights, and hearing from new elected Labour MPs and Government Ministers.

The party leadership made several references to the positive steps it has taken in relation to Gaza, namely suspending 30 licences (but excluding the most significant export: the parts for the F-35 jets), restoring UNRWA funding, and dropping its submission making objections to the International

Criminal Court's (ICC) request for the issue of arrest warrants for senior Israeli leaders.

However, two of these steps are simply reversals of despicable actions taken by the previous Government and the partial suspension of arms licences allows the most serious exports to continue.

Fringe events on Labour's Strategic Defence and Security Review, sponsored by arms company Babcock, made clear that Russia's invasion of Ukraine is being used by the arms industry to ramp up production of weapons, increase investment

*The party leadership made several references to the positive steps it has taken in relation to Gaza, but the partial suspension of arms licences allows the most serious exports to continue*

in the industry and protect its extremely close relationship with government.

Very concerningly, representatives actively talked about the need to influence young people and those in education, to make entering the arms industry workforce seem as attractive as possible.



# THEY SAID IT

**“Is this your first one of these?”  
one woman asked another,  
who nodded in response,  
‘They’re pretty cool.’”**

From a Guardian report of Land Forces expo in Melbourne. The Guardian, 11 September 2024

**“Woke guns? Banks want weapons  
badged as a social good.”**

Politico headline on article about ethical investment. Politico, 14 October 2024

**“We always had problems but  
when we changed the name of  
our company to include ‘guns’ in  
it our troubles got much bigger.”**

CEO of a small arms firm after a bank cancelled his accounts. Reuters, 31 October 2024

## Sheffield University and the arms trade

CAAT has published *Sheffield University: Breaching The Moral No-Fly Zone in Military-Industrial Research & Development*.

It is an important case study of military research activities at Sheffield University, including partnerships with the UK military and major arms companies.

The University of Sheffield (UoS) has attracted considerable controversy and protest for its heavy involvement in the military-industrial-academic complex, but the kind of partnerships exposed in this important report are happening at universities all across the UK.

Find out more by visiting [caat.org.uk/publications](https://caat.org.uk/publications)



Photo: Chanpeter | Source: Wikipedia

## CAAT report on arms to Israel

After requests from local groups and activists we have published *The UK government's partial suspension of arms export licences to Israel, and the F-35 exemption*, which is available on the CAAT website.

This report gives an overview of what we do and don't know about current UK arms sales to Israel and is a key resource for activists and organisers taking action against the UK's complicity in the ongoing atrocities being inflicted on the people of Gaza.

## Thank you

After 50 years of organising there are too many people to thank, from the original founders of CAAT who built and shaped the organisation and kept it going through tough times through to the volunteers and activists who form our local groups. Everyone who has taken part in a protest, passed on a copy of CAAT News, supported our campaigns or spread the word in any way has played a crucial role.

As editor of CAAT News I would particularly highlight the contribution of Ann Feltham who was CAAT's longest serving staff member and was active in the organisation right from the start and worked in the London office for 40 years, until she moved to Northern Ireland in 2021. Ann personified and embodied so much of CAAT and we hope she is enjoying this issue.

## CAAT's 50th Anniversary lecture

Dr Sam Perlo-Freeman, our research coordinator, gave the CAAT 50th Anniversary lecture on Wednesday, 19th June, by invitation of the LSE Library. His lecture, *Campaign Against Arms Trade at 50: Adapting resistance to a changing world* was recorded.

Unfortunately the camera was pointed elsewhere. The good news is that what he has to say remains informative, clear and interesting, and is well worth a listen.

You can access the recording on YouTube using this QR code:



# DONATE TODAY!

You can donate to CAAT by either visiting our website at [caat.org.uk](http://caat.org.uk), or completing the form below (in block capitals) and returning it to: Freepost RUEA-ERLT-XLZC, CAAT, 7 Wellesley Rd, Tharston, Norwich NR15 2PD

Donations direct to CAAT are the most useful for the campaign, but if you send a Charities Aid Foundation cheque please make it payable to TREAT (Trust for Research and Education on Arms Trade) making clear that you wish for your donation to support CAAT's research programme. Unlike CAAT, TREAT is a registered charity (No.328694).

## Personal details

Name:

Address:

Postcode:

Tel:  Email:

I would like to receive the CAAT News quarterly magazine by post: ☐ Yes ☐ No

I would like to receive updates about the campaign and urgent action opportunities by email: ☐ Yes ☐ No

I would like to receive occasional updates about the campaign by post: ☐ Yes ☐ No

## Regular donation



A direct debit is the most convenient and cost effective way to support CAAT.

A donation of £10 a month makes a real difference and helps us plan our future work.

### Instruction to your Bank/Building Society to pay by Direct Debit

To: The Manager Bank/Building Society:

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

Address of Bank/Building Society:

Postcode:

Name(s) of account holder(s):

Bank/building society a/c no.

Sort code:

I wish to donate £  every

☐ month ☐ quarter ☐ annually

Reference (CAAT use only)

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

Signature(s):

Date:

## Single donation

☐ I wish to donate £  to CAAT and enclose a cheque or have completed my credit/debit card details.

### CARD details

Credit/debit card type (please tick appropriate box): ☐ Mastercard ☐ Visa ☐ Visa Delta

Cardholder's name:

Credit/debit card number:

Start date:  Expiry date:  Security number:  (3 digit number on back of card)



# Exhibition and Archives



Over 50 years we have accumulated a lot of clippings, campaign resources and information. CAAT's extensive archives are now available to search at the London School of Economics (LSE) Library: here are some words about our archives from the team who catalogued the collection

## Samantar Osman

For its 50th anniversary, CAAT joined LSE Library's exhibition *A Say in the End of the World: solidarity and nuclear defence in the Cold War* and Sam Perlo-Freeman gave a brilliant talk on 19 June, introducing and reflecting on CAAT's work over the years: *Campaign Against Arms Trade at 50: adapting resistance to a changing world*.

The exhibition highlighted the history and solidarity between campaign groups focusing on peace, nuclear, arms trade, and national self-determination. The turnout was impressive, with many attendees sharing lived experiences and reflections on campaigning and the arms trade, as well as positive feedback on the informative displays and engaging discussions.

In addition, LSE Library also had the pleasure of receiving, cataloguing and preserving CAAT's archives, which are still growing. CAAT archives offer invaluable insights into the history and impact of anti-arms trade movements in Britain, highlighting the ongoing struggle for peace.

Situated alongside other grass roots organisations and charities

with a shared history, the archives provide a larger interconnected history of conflict, war, and the arms trade. The efforts and struggle for disarmament and global change are now preserved for future generations to observe and learn from.

Through my experience of re-learning and cataloguing the campaign archives – central to CAAT's work since 1974 – I have come to appreciate the diverse methods of campaigning and raising awareness. These approaches ensure that people from all backgrounds can connect with CAAT and its mission against the arms trade.

## Angèle David-Guillou

I feel extremely lucky to have been able to delve into CAAT's history and campaigning while cataloguing CAAT's archives. The amount of work and breadth of campaigning by CAAT and its campaigners is frankly astounding (did they ever sleep?) and resonates so much with what the world is going through at the moment. It has been very enlightening to me.

While our students at LSE were occupying one of our buildings on campus in central London and using the slogan "close, divest", I was

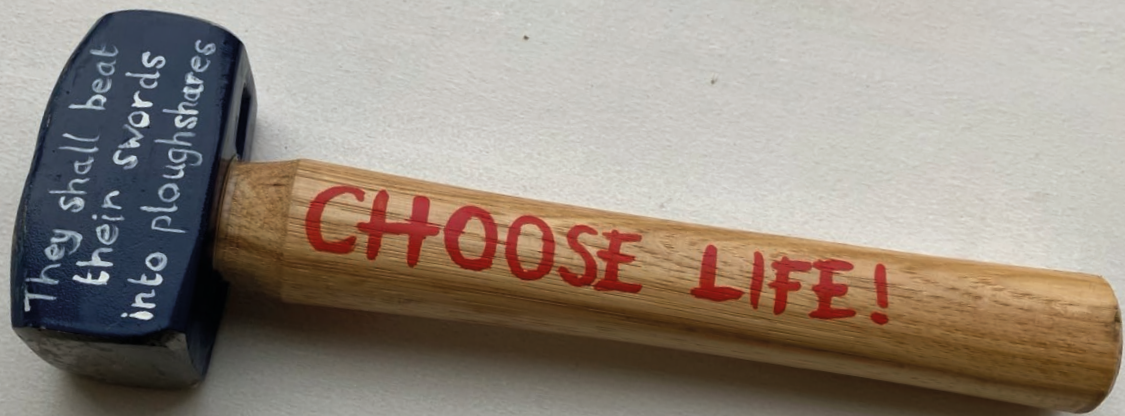
archiving the Clean Investment Campaign papers, a campaign that, since the mid-90s, researched and published information on investments in the arms industry by public bodies, including universities, and campaigned for disinvestment.

What has impressed me most about CAAT is its emphasis on research. Although people involved in CAAT certainly have their own political leanings, the campaign is non-partisan and focuses on objective facts and figures and on making them public. It seems the world may have finally caught up with CAAT's ethos, defined since its founding meetings in 1974. I've been so impressed that I now donate to CAAT every month!

CAAT's archives are now available for consultation, making them accessible to researchers, activists and most importantly to the wider public – search in person or online at [archives.lse.ac.uk/records/CAAT](https://archives.lse.ac.uk/records/CAAT)

Access to the LSE archives reading room is free and open to all, Monday to Friday from 10am to 4pm. Visitors need to register for membership first and book a space in advance; more information is available from the LSE website.





# A brief history of CAAT

The last 50 years have been very busy for CAAT. We owe a huge debt to the activists who formed the organisation and everyone who has volunteered and supported our efforts. Here is a timeline of some of CAAT's work in that period.

## 1974 CAAT Founded

CAAT was founded by a coalition of peace groups, partly in response to the Yom Kippur War of 1973 between Israel and a coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria. The UK had armed both sides. CAAT started out with just one staff member.

## Late 1970s

### Workers fight to work for life over death

CAAT helped to popularise the trade union initiated Lucas Aerospace project for reorganising an arms producing company into one that could produce Kidney dialysis machines and many other valuable civilian projects. Although the plan was rejected by Lucas management the ideas and concepts continue to provide inspiration for those seeking arms industry conversion today.

## 1985 Midland bank backs down

Midland Bank, now HSBC, shut down its arms export department in response to pressure from CAAT supporters. CAAT mobilised huge numbers of supporters, primarily by writing to the bank to question the legitimacy of it.

## 1986 Office move

In January 1986, CAAT moved from its first home, in the peace movement premises of 5 Caledonian Road, to 11 Goodwin Street in Finsbury Park, which would be CAAT's home for the next 27 years.

## 1989 No Hawk jets to Iraq

CAAT campaigned against the sale of 50 British Aerospace Hawk jets to Iraq, following the Iran-Iraq War of the previous several years. The Foreign Office eventually halted the sale. CAAT highlighted the instability in the region and Iraq's appalling human rights record. CAAT was clearly vindicated by subsequent events.

## 1993 CAAT helps start the campaign to ban landmines

CAAT helped organise the first meeting of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. CAAT supported the campaign from then until the Ottawa Treaty was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1997.

## 1993-1999

### Hawks to Indonesia, and East Timor's freedom struggle

From 1993, CAAT campaigned against the sale of Hawk fighters to Indonesia, ruled at the time by brutal dictator Suharto, and illegally occupying East Timor, where they carried out a genocide that killed 183,000. In 1996, four activists with connections to CAAT disarmed a Hawk jet bound for Indonesia at BAE's factory at Warton. They were subsequently acquitted by a jury. The Labour government elected in 1997, however, allowed the sales to continue.



Photo: London School of Economics | Source: Picryl.com



## 1999 The Arms Fair opens for business, CAAT calls for closure

The biennial DSEI arms fair begins. CAAT has opposed and challenged this event since the start and continues to do so. The event has a history of violating international law by selling torture devices and cluster munitions. DSEI will return again in September 2025.

## 2000 The Church ends its relationship with arms companies

After a campaign by the CAAT Christian Network, the Church of England redefined its investment criteria and confirmed it would no longer invest in arms companies.

## 2003 Spying scandal

There were revelations that arms giant BAE Systems employed a corporate espionage firm to infiltrate CAAT, with as many as eight spies involved. One of them was CAAT's National Campaigns Coordinator and former long-time volunteer, Martin Hogbin.

## 2008 BAE corruption case

CAAT went to Court, with the High Court ruling that the Serious Fraud Office acted unlawfully when it dropped a corruption inquiry into BAE Systems, at the orders of Prime Minister Tony Blair. The case was brought by CAAT and the Corner House. The arms company was being investigated over corruption allegations involving billions of pounds of bribes relating to deals with Saudi Arabia.

Unfortunately, the decision was eventually overturned by the Supreme Court.

**BAE was later fined over £250m by the US Department of Justice over this and other corruption cases**

## 2012 CAAT honoured with award

CAAT won the Right Livelihood Award, often called the "alternative Nobel Prize" for our innovative and effective campaigning.

## 2013 Office move and incorporation

CAAT moved to new offices at 5-7 Wells Terrace in Finsbury Park, London. Around the same time, CAAT changed from being an unincorporated organisation with no legal form, to a Company Limited by Guarantee.

## 2016–2023 Putting the Arms Trade on Trial

2016 CAAT took on the UK government in the High Court because of the overwhelming evidence of UK weapons being used in violations of international humanitarian law in Yemen.

2019 More than three years later, on 20 June 2019, the Court of Appeal ruled in CAAT's favour. It found that it was "irrational and therefore unlawful" for the Government to have allowed arms sales to Saudi Arabia for use in Yemen without assessing possible Saudi war crimes.

2020-23 Unfortunately, following a whitewash of a review, led by the then business minister Liz Truss, the UK government decided in July 2020 to restart arms sales.

In April 2021, CAAT was granted permission to bring this second judicial review. Unfortunately, the High Court ruled against CAAT in June 2023.

## 2022 Another office move

Following the pandemic, with fewer staff and many working from home, CAAT moved from Wells Terrace to its current premises at the Green House in Bethnal Green, leaving the London Borough of Islington for the first time in its history.

## 2023–24 Genocide in Gaza

Since the killings on 7 October 2023, and the beginning of Israel's genocidal war in Gaza, now expanded to Lebanon, CAAT has made opposing UK arms sales to Israel our main campaign. How this ends remains to be seen, and we hope you, dear readers, will play a significant part in this, and in CAAT's future!



Credit: Darren Johnson

# Without our supporters, there would be no CAAT

CAAT is a campaigning organisation, first and foremost; it always has been and will continue to be one while we struggle against the iniquities of the arms trade.

We rely on financial assistance from our supporters. We aren't a charity, so we can't collect Gift Aid (remember, "Peace" isn't regarded as a charitable purpose). Some donations come through grants for our

research and educational projects (which can be classed as charitable), but the vast majority of our donations comes from individuals dedicated to helping us with our direct work: campaigning.

*Please do consider how best you can give your support*

## One-off gifts

These generally come from our appeals in CAAT News or emails and as a result of our presence in the media. These gifts may be spontaneous responses from givers inspired by events on a particular day.

Often, making a small one-off donation is the first step taken by our supporters in a long and close journey with CAAT. If they can, one-off donors may turn into regular givers, perhaps taking out a monthly Direct Debit.

## Regular monthly gifts

Regular givers choose to plan their giving, fitting it into their monthly budget. Many feel that they can help CAAT by spreading their giving over time, perhaps over years.

Regular giving helps CAAT when planning ahead, as it gives us an idea of what we are likely to expect in any month or quarter.

We recommend Direct Debit payments, as these are effectively at no cost to either party and the donor is protected by the Direct Debit Guarantee.

## Legacies

Every year, we are encouraged by receiving funds left to us by long-term supporters who have become firm friends. They want to see the work they have upheld, often for decades, continue and strengthen.

There are two main channels to leave CAAT something in your will. If tax-efficiency is important, choosing TREAT (Trust for Education and Research on the Arms Trade), a charitable grant-making trust, which will receive funds marked for the benefit of CAAT and channel it to us for our charitable work (education and research).

## Special or major donations

From time to time, a CAAT supporter may be in a position to make a larger donation, perhaps many thousands of pounds. While this doesn't happen very regularly, a major gift can make a great difference to our work.

As an example, knowing that we were to receive a substantial sum might enable us to plan to recruit an additional member of staff, to organise training and events or to reach out to younger people such as students at universities.



# CAAT News

CAAT News has always been a key campaigning tool for our campaigns.

The magazine began as a two-sided black and white newsletter in 1974. The first batch didn't get very far though as the pillar box they were posted in was blown up by the IRA before the magazines could be collected.

The newsletter got gradually bigger over time, expanding to six pages in 1977 and eight pages by 1987. There was no such thing as social media or email at the time, so the newsletter served as the main source for campaign updates for lots of activists.

It was issue 125, published in 1994, when CAAT News began to include colour – just two-tone at first. Later that year we introduced staples, making it into a proper magazine format like the one you are reading.

The first full colour front page was in 2011, but it wasn't until issue 227, published in 2013, that CAAT News became a full-colour magazine.

Another thing that has changed is the regularity of the magazine. Until June 1990 the newsletter was published roughly once every

six weeks, before it switched to six issues per year before going quarterly.

In 2020, during the COVID lockdown, we did our first entirely digital edition of CAAT News. It is still on the CAAT website and was designed for e-Readers.

There have been some scrapes along the way. In 1996 the organisers of the COPEX arms fair, which highlighted "security" equipment, sued numerous CAAT staff, Steering Committee, and volunteers for libel, after a CAAT News article accused the arms fair of displaying torture equipment. The case was dropped when an investigative journalist produced clear video evidence that the allegations were true.

The story of CAAT News is the story of our organising and the growth of CAAT. We are grateful to everyone who has worked on this magazine and enabled us to publish thousands of articles exposing the arms trade and celebrating the resistance of people all over the UK and beyond. Thank you.

## A word from the editor, Andrew Smith

I initially joined CAAT as a staff member in 2014. I was our media coordinator and worked with an external editor to produce CAAT News. I worked for the CAAT staff until 2021, and took over as CAAT News editor in 2016 when our previous editor, Mel Jarman, moved on to pastures new. I left the staff team in 2021, but stayed on as the CAAT News editor, and they haven't managed to get rid of me yet.

This magazine is only possible because of the work of the great team who put it together, that is the CAAT staff team, Chris Woodward, our designer who takes our idea to life, Glen Reynolds, who does our legal checks and keeps us out of hot water, and the fantastic John Moseley, who does our proofing and reins in our typos!







# The arms trade – then and now

**CAAT was formed in 1974 in the shadow of a major Middle East war between Israel and its neighbours, fought largely with weapons supplied from abroad.**

That may sound familiar, but there were big differences – the Yom Kippur war in 1973 was a war between states with regular armies and air forces, while Israel's current genocide in Gaza, conducted by one of the world's strongest militaries, is directed primarily against civilians, with poorly-armed non-state groups its main military opposition.

In 1973, for the most part, the west armed Israel while the USSR armed its enemies, but Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and others all also received western arms, in some cases from the UK – a clear case of arming both sides.

The Yom Kippur war, made possible as it was by the international arms trade, was very much on the mind of CAAT's founders. So was the Biafra war of 1967-70 between the Nigerian

government and the secessionist region of Biafra, during which the government blockade led to the death by starvation of millions of Biafrans. The UK was one of Nigeria's leading arms suppliers, so much so that, according to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel *Half of a Yellow Sun*, set during the war and its build-up, the horrific disease of malnutrition, kwashiorkor, was known in Biafra as "Harold Wilson syndrome," after the UK Labour Prime Minister.

Much has changed in the world since CAAT's founding 50 years ago. We have seen the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, 9/11 and the US-led wars that followed as part of the "Global War on Terror," the return of superpower confrontation between the US and the west and China and Russia, of which the

Russian invasion of Ukraine is the most destructive manifestation. In Palestine, an Israeli occupation that might then have been seen as temporary and reversible has become ever more deeply entrenched.

The arms industry and trade have also changed. Military technology has advanced, and has relied increasingly on civil information and communications technologies. The arms industry has consolidated into fewer, larger arms companies in each country, with dominant positions in their domestic markets.

In the UK, BAE Systems, formerly British Aerospace and before that the British Aircraft Corporation, emerged through a series of mergers and acquisitions from the 1980s to the 2000s, as a behemoth with a national monopoly positions in multiple areas of arms production, and an unparalleled level of access to the highest levels of government.

Globally, the arms trade reached a peak in the mid-1980s at the height of the Cold War, according to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), with substantial falls thereafter. This decline started to reverse in the early-mid 2000s, as a result of the Global War on Terror, increases in global tensions, and increased military spending by many importing countries. However, it is still some way below the heights of the 1980s.

**BAE Systems emerged as a behemoth with an unparalleled level of access to the highest levels of government**

During the 1970s and 80s, the United States and the USSR were by far the dominant arms exporters, each arming their allies and proxies, and vying for the lead position. Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the US has



become the overwhelmingly dominant exporter, with Russia far behind. However, many more major players in the global arms trade have emerged as exporters, including Israel, South Korea and Turkey, as well as European countries such as Italy, Spain and Poland that were formerly much smaller producers. China was always a significant arms exporter, but its arms industry and exports have grown enormously since the 1970s.

**The UK has seen the emergence of hugely lucrative new customers, in particular Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and, to a lesser extent, Indonesia**

The UK, previously consistently among the top exporters after the superpowers, has fallen down the ranks, according to SIPRI data, in recent years to seventh place, with both the UK's absolute level exports falling and its share of the world total. However, this understates the financial value of the UK arms trade, much of which consists of components and military services not measured by SIPRI. In financial terms, the UK is probably around the third or fourth largest, somewhat behind France and roughly on a par with Russia, though the data is of uncertain quality.

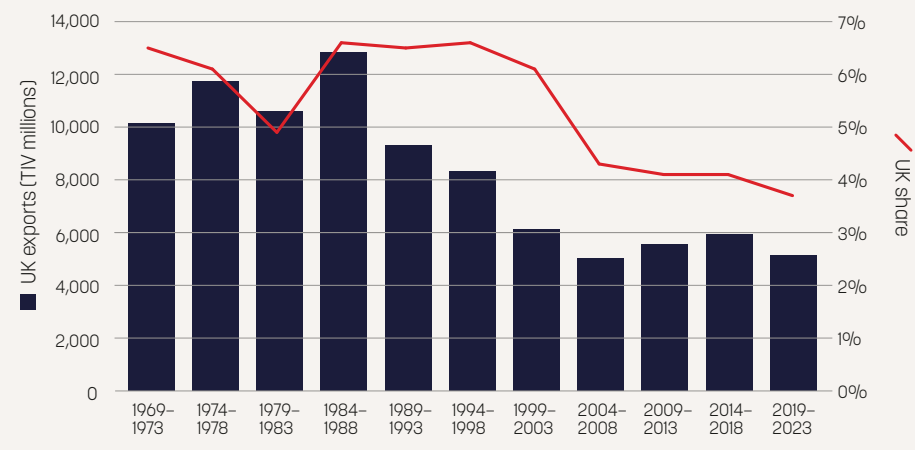
Some of the UK's main arms customers have remained the same from the 1970s to the present, but there have been some dramatic changes.

The sharp fall in the total level of UK exports is apparent, but we have also seen the emergence of hugely lucrative new customers, in particular Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and, to a lesser extent, Indonesia; and on the other hand, huge falls in exports to previously major customers, in particular the USA, Iran, India, and Brazil, as well as Argentina, Chile, Kuwait, Germany, and

Australia. In some cases, namely Iran and Argentina, these were the result of these countries becoming political or military enemies, while others represented, perhaps a retreat from the UK's global power status in some regions, and a decreased willingness for the US to import arms from abroad.

While much has changed in the global arms trade, and in the UK's place in it, what has not changed is its tragic and destructive impact in fuelling conflict and repression worldwide, and the cynicism of major powers who place their foreign policy goals and the interests of their arms industry above those of peace, freedom, and human lives.

**UK arms exports and share of world total**



**Top UK arms customers then and now**

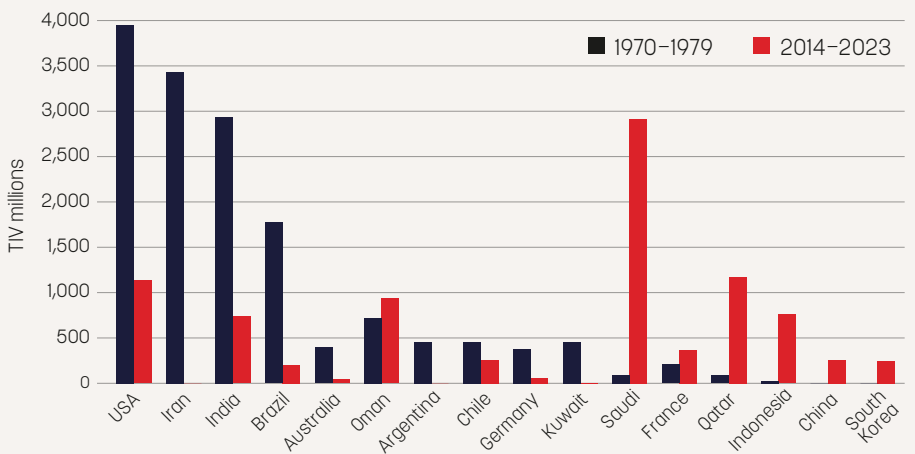


Photo: UK Prime Minister | Source: Flickr

# CAAT MEMORIES

CAAT would not be the organisation it is without the support of our networks of activists and volunteers spread all across the country. Our local groups have enabled us to build our campaigns and reach as many people as possible.

From the vantage point of age 71, the mid-1970s seem a long way off. I vaguely remember (it must have been 1974 or 75) joining a 24-hour public fast for CAAT. It was just me and an older man, David Lane, I never met before or since, in a shop doorway in central Nottingham.

It was a Friday or Saturday night, possibly in November, and I looked out for trouble while he dozed! I don't know how I found out about the protest as there were no emails or texts then, but the idea of CAAT, which must have been nearly new, attracted me. Like many students at the time I'd flirted with radical chic, but what had recently made politics meaningful for me was the 1973 Pinochet coup in Chile, with its terrible reports of disappearances, mass killings and torture.

I suddenly saw the sharp distinction between those with power, and those without, that sadly continues to exist in many, if not all countries. And that our relative calm and prosperity in Britain is often bought at the cost of war or misery elsewhere.

I'm still active, and continue to be really impressed by CAAT and its work. I really enjoy the newsletter (paper as well as email) which is attractive, succinct, informative and highly readable.

Chris



We have always tried to work with artists and writers to oppose the destruction of the arms trade. In 2017 one of the world's most famous artists, Banksy donated his piece 'Civilian Drone Strike' to the Art the Arms Fair exhibition in London to raise vital funds for CAAT.

In the pre-COVID days, when CAAT staff were more centralised in London, we had a number of office volunteers who helped staff to keep the national organisation running, from maintaining the member database to updating our archives and stuffing CAAT News into envelopes to send out to supporters.

Volunteers would join us for communal lunches and help to support events. We are grateful to everyone who volunteered their time to help us in our efforts to make the world a safer and more peaceful place.

## A modern volunteer

I have spent most of my adult life doing voluntary work on human rights, including campaigning with Amnesty International and working therapeutically with victims of torture.

My increasingly pacifist beliefs prompted me to approach CAAT for voluntary work when I retired. I have now been an office volunteer for CAAT for over eight years. Prior to Covid this meant working in the office and carrying out the more mundane paperwork, so freeing up paid staff for the more important things.

Since Covid I have been working from home. Although it's more convenient, I miss the camaraderie of the office, particularly the shared lunch and stimulating debates. The completely flat management structure fostered a strong mutual respect and team working. My main responsibility now is keeping the supporters address list updated and responding to supporter queries.

Mick

