

CAAT NEWS

The quarterly magazine for Campaign Against Arms Trade

Issue 272
Spring 2025



NEW YEAR SAME MESSAGE

PLUS

Eurofighter – where next? **P6**

Stop the arms fairs **P8-9**

UK arms exports **P11**



**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ARMS
TRADE**

At the time of writing there is a fragile ceasefire in Gaza, but that has not stopped the killing or persecution of Palestinians in the West Bank.

Many around the world will be hoping that it can lead to a more permanent peace, but that won't happen as long as countries like the UK continue to arm and support Israel and ignore the war crimes being committed with those weapons.

2025 is going to be a busy year. In this issue we will look at what the latest developments mean for peace campaigners and at the upcoming DSEI arms fair and the arms trade's plans for the year ahead.

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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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ARMS SALES TO ISRAEL

We welcome the news of a potential ceasefire in Gaza, which, at the time of writing, is still in place. Anything that might bring an end to the horrors inflicted on Palestinian people is a ray of hope.

The humanitarian cost of the war has been abhorrent. Israel has committed genocide in Gaza, with the full complicity of the US and UK governments. It has happened before the eyes of the world, with many of the crimes uploaded and shared on social media.

Even in the best case scenario, Palestinian people in Gaza are facing a humanitarian catastrophe and environmental devastation. Homes and infrastructure are in ruins, hospitals and healthcare destroyed and people are facing starvation and disease. The genocide will continue, even without bombs being dropped, unless the Palestinians are given full access to aid and the resources to rebuild.

There must be accountability for those who have inflicted war crimes and those who have enabled them.

Israel has shown it has utter contempt for international humanitarian law (IHL). Even our government has been forced to admit that it assesses Israel is not committed to complying with IHL. Even if there is a ceasefire, it is still breaching IHL in its actions in the occupied territories. Even if the bombs stop dropping, Israel will be breaching IHL if it does not allow aid into Gaza.

A High Court hearing is set for May to examine the UK government's decision to continue exporting F-35 parts for Israeli fighter jets.

The case, which has been brought by Palestinian human rights organisation Al-Haq and the UK-based Global Legal Action Network, will be the biggest legal test of UK exports to Israel to date.

Gaza has endured 15 months of bombardment and assault, including some of the worst war crimes and suffering this



Photo: Rommie Macdonald | Source: Flickr

century. Over 45,000 people have been killed and large areas have been left uninhabitable.

The conflict will not be resolved while Israel and its allies deny the humanity and rights of the

A High Court hearing is set for May to examine the UK government's decision to continue exporting F-35 parts for Israeli fighter jets

Palestinian people. Recognising the state of Palestine is the only path to a just peace, the only path to realising the rights and autonomy of Palestinians.

Work is also underway on a

global level, with the International Court of Justice continuing to investigate Israel for breaking the genocide convention.

As we went to press a former Foreign Office diplomat, Mark Smith, has written a column for the Guardian revealing that UK government manipulated findings and reports to hide complicity in war crimes in Yemen and Palestine.

Smith wrote "What I witnessed was not just moral failure but conduct that I believe crossed the threshold into complicity with war crimes."

We will include more details of these stories in the next issue of CAAT News.

ARMS TRADE SHORTS

USA

US arms exports increased by 29% in 2024, reaching a record \$318.7 billion, according to the US state department. A large driver of the growth has been countries replenishing stocks after arming Ukraine.

Among the approved sales were \$23 billion worth of F-16 jets and upgrades to Turkey, \$18.8 billion worth of F-15 fighter jets to Israel, and \$2.5 billion worth of M1A2 Abrams tanks to Romania.

Reuters, 24/01/2025

France

2024 was the second strongest year in history for the French arms industry, rising to \$19 billion. This has been fuelled by increased demand for Rafale fighter jets and submarines.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, France was the world's second-largest arms exporter in the 2019-2023 behind the US, accounting for 11% of global arms exports.

Defense News, 08/01/2025

Lockheed Martin

Arms giant Lockheed Martin is expanding its collaboration with European partners. It recently agreed a Memorandum of Understanding with Rheinmetall to develop Germany's Global Mobile Artillery Rocket System, with similar agreements with companies in Poland and Netherlands.

Defense-Industry.EU, 10/12/2024

Saudi Arabia

Arms giant Leonardo has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Saudi Arabia to increase collaboration in the arms and aerospace sectors. Leonardo has been a long-term arms supplier to Saudi forces, and is a partner in the Eurofighter project, which provided fighter jets for use in the bombardment of Yemen.

Leonardo, 26/01/2025



China

China has banned the export of dual-use technology to 28 US arms companies, including Lockheed Martin, Boeing and Raytheon. The move is in response to US arms sales to Taiwan.

The Independent, 02/01/2025

China launched a corruption probe against Defence Minister Dong Jun. The investigation is said to be part of a broader anti-corruption drive across the Chinese military, with at least nine generals and several arms industry executives having been removed over recent months.

Al Jazeera, 27/11/2024

Russia

According to analysis from the Center for European Policy Analysis, the value of Russian arms exports fell by 93% in the three year period since the war in Ukraine, dropping from \$14.6 billion in 2021 to less than \$1 billion at the end of 2024.

Newsweek, 06/12/2024

Leaked emails indicate that Saudi Arabia agreed to pay Russia over €2 billion as part of a military agreement under a contract signed in 2021, with no sign that it was cancelled. It involved companies that were repeatedly sanctioned, both before and after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

KyivIndependent.com, 24/01/2025

UK

The Defence Secretary has met with counterparts from Saudi Arabia and Turkey with a view to expanding military cooperation with the two countries.

The Defence Secretary, John Healy, said that the Government is “determined to work with our partners and across the Middle East to boost military cooperation and help lead a renewed push for peace.”

Ministry of Defence, 14/11/2024



Photo: UK Government | Source: Flickr

The UK government has also signed a new military agreement with Qatar, following a visit by the Defence Secretary. The agreement includes “extending and expanding collaboration and knowledge sharing across the joint UK-Qatar Typhoon and Hawk aircraft squadrons.”

Ministry of Defence, 04/12/2024

Germany

The German government has approved a defence industry strategy that aims to work with industry to make it easier for companies to increase production.

It also allows the government to consider taking a stake in arms companies in “exceptional” circumstances and aims for missiles, ammunition and other key arms to be made readily available in the interests of national security.

Reuters, 04/12/2024

Germany has agreed to sell 22 Skyranger mobile air-defense cannons to the Netherlands in a deal reported to be worth \$1.3 billion. The cannons are produced by German arms maker Rheinmetall.

Defense News, 30/01/2025

Arming the world

Analysis from our friends at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute show that revenues from sales of arms and military services by the 100 largest companies reached \$632 billion in 2023, a real-terms increase of 4.2 per cent compared with 2022.

2023 rank			Arms revenues (\$ m.)
1	Lockheed Martin Corp.		\$60,810
2	RTX		\$40,660
3	Northrop Grumman Corp.		\$35,570
4	Boeing		\$31,100
5	General Dynamics Corp.		\$30,200
6	BAE Systems		\$29,810
7	Rostec		\$21,730
8	AVIC		\$20,850
9	NORINCO		\$20,560
10	CETC		\$16,050
11	L3Harris Technologies		\$14,760
12	Airbus		\$12,890
13	Leonardo		\$12,390
14	CASC		\$12,350
15	CSSC		\$11,480
16	Thales		\$10,350
17	HII		\$9,280
18	CASIC		\$8,850
19	Leidos		\$8,730
20	Booz Allen Hamilton		\$6,900

Eurofighter sales – who next?

While most attention on UK arms sales is naturally focused on Israel, major new sales of Eurofighter Typhoon aircraft to repressive regimes may well be in the offing. The Government and BAE are both keen to keep production going until the new Tempest aircraft gets off the ground.

Last year, trade unions warned that production of the Typhoons at BAE Warton in Lancashire may end soon if there are not more orders. In January, Unite leader Sharon Graham called for the UK to buy 25 more Typhoons. Germany, Italy, and Spain, who co-produce the Eurofighter, announced new orders in 2024, but the UK government and BAE are still actively pursuing other customers – in particular, Qatar, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

Qatar ordered 24 Typhoons in 2018, and has reportedly recently agreed to buy 12 more, although a contract has not yet been signed.

What Qatar wants them for is unclear, as it already has fleets of French Rafales and US F-15s, and probably can't fly them all as it is. Qatar is an absolute monarchy, rated by Transparency International Defence & Security as having a “critical” risk of corruption in arms procurement. Given BAE's grimy corruption record, this deal must be considered a high corruption risk.

Turkey has long sought to modernise its combat aircraft fleet, especially since Greece recently acquired Rafales from France. They were kicked out of the F-35 programme by the US in 2019, but are now acquiring 40 F-16s instead. Nonetheless, Turkey is also interested in buying up to 40 Eurofighters. For a long time, Germany was blocking this due to Turkey's human rights record and role in Syria, but has lifted this objection, and negotiations for a deal have begun.

However, the Turkish state remains highly repressive, especially towards its Kurdish minority. It remains in occupation of parts of north-east Syria, where it and its militia allies

have committed serious abuses.

Turkish forces maintain a bombing campaign against Kurdish groups in both Iraq and Syria, causing high civilian casualties. Moreover, following the regime change in Syria, Turkey may well be looking to invade the Kurdish autonomous region of

Qatar is rated as having a “critical” risk of corruption in arms procurement. Given BAE's grimy corruption record, this deal must be considered a high corruption risk

Rojava in the north-east again, and is already carrying out air strikes in support of allied militias. Selling Eurofighters to Turkey in this situation would be highly irresponsible.

Saudi Arabia is reportedly considering various options for new combat aircraft, including

the Eurofighter, the Rafale, the F-15, and the Turkish Kaan stealth fighter currently under development (with help from BAE). During the war in Yemen, German objections would have stopped any new sales of Eurofighters, but as with Turkey, they have now lifted these objections.

However, the truce in Yemen is fragile, with numerous violations, and the conflict far from solved. Saudi Arabia's horrific human rights record has, if anything, worsened, with the country carrying out a record 345 executions in 2024. The record of corruption in UK arms sales to Saudi Arabia is also egregious. The last thing needed is more arms for this brutal regime.

Unfortunately, the dangers of fuelling conflict, repression, and corruption have rarely got in the way of UK governments looking for big new arms sales.





ADS DINNER 2025

Late January saw the unwelcome return of one of the world's most immoral fine dining events: the ADS Dinner, which was hosted at the swanky Grosvenor House Hotel on London's opulent Park Lane.

The ADS group is the trade body for the arms industry and represents all of the biggest arms makers. The dinner's purpose is to introduce them to one another and allow them to schmooze and entertain their powerful friends from Parliament and the civil service.

Some 1200 arms dealers, military officers, civil servants, and politicians attended the £250+ a head banquet. In a true sign of party unity, the speakers included the Secretary of State for Defence, John Healey MP and his Tory opposite number Penny Mourdant. It seems that regardless of who is in power the arms industry will want to cosy up to them and vice versa.

The list of guest speakers for the night has not been published, but they obviously have deep pockets, with previous speakers including veteran broadcaster Andrew Neil, BBC host Jeremy Vine and former Labour spin doctor Alasdair Campbell, who certainly knows a thing or two about war in light of the disaster his government inflicted on Iraq.

The list of politicians who accepted dinners from arms dealers has not been published either, although past years have seen attendance from a cast of

high ranking Ministers and front benchers from all parties.

Those going into the dinner were met by a large, lively and boisterous protest organised by CAAT and our London CAAT group. With war across the world, campaigners were determined to hold the diners accountable for spreading death and destruction, not least in Gaza, Yemen and Syria, where some of these companies have managed to make a killing.

The event sponsors included some of the companies who are directly complicit in Israel's genocide against the people of Gaza, including Europe's biggest arms company, BAE Systems, and Leonardo. BAE Systems is the lead partner in the F-35 combat aircraft programme. The UK makes 15% of every F-35 that Israeli forces have used to drop 2000 lb bombs on Gaza.

These kinds of dinners are where relationships are formed and built and where the next round of arms deals are made, over fine food and wines (we have heard that both Taittinger and Bollinger were available).

This display of sickening gluttony and costly self-indulgence comes while the victims of the



This display of sickening gluttony and costly self-indulgence comes while the victims of the industry queue for scant food aid and water supplies, and wait anxiously for news of missing relatives

industry queue for scant food aid and water supplies, and wait anxiously for news of missing relatives. The two scenes could not be any further removed.

The protest brought those responsible face to face with the reality of their murderous business. Those complicit in war crimes must and will face justice, and their deadly trade will be brought to an end. There was nothing fine about this dinner.

War starts here: DSEI

This September sees the planned return of DSEI. The Defence and Security Equipment International arms fair, DSEI 2025, is set to take place at the ExCel centre in London's Docklands from 9-12 September 2025.

One of the world's biggest arms fairs, arguably the largest, the event showcases the full range of weapons being hawked by the arms trade.

From tanks and artillery pieces, through to warships parked in the Victoria Dock, through to drones and missiles, as well as small arms and light weapons, it is a carnival of violence and a one stop shop for death and destruction.

All of the world's biggest arms companies will be in attendance, with many of them viewing it as a prime opportunity to push their wares and win some new and powerful friends.

BAE Systems is expected to have a showcase stand, describing the arms fair as "the superbowl of the defence world."

There are few companies with as awful a record of war profiteering. It sold £25 billion worth of weapons to the Saudi-led coalition that spent almost a decade bombing Yemen since 2015, a war which has seen over 277,000 killed as a direct and indirect result.

Its complicity in death and destruction continued with its involvement as a "principal partner" in the F-35 programme. The F-35 combat aircraft is 15% based on components from BAE Systems, and has played a key role in the destruction of Gaza by Israeli forces.

There will be resistance. The Stop the Arms Fair network will be coordinating multiple days of protest and direct action against the arms fair

Lockheed Martin, the F-35's lead manufacturer, is also expected to be in attendance. In truth we anticipate that there will be representatives from all the major arms companies. Some 1600 of them exhibit at the fair every time.

The reason so many arms companies are happy to spend so much time and money attending is because it is a rare chance for them to meet the buyers from the international delegations invited in by the UK Government's Defence and Security Exports department. The guest list includes many

that have appalling human rights records.

Some 75 countries were invited in 2023, including six countries that were on the UK government's own human rights watch list at the time, (its so-called "human rights priority countries" list).

Israel and Turkey are expected to have a big presence this time round, hosting "country pavilions," which are promotional opportunities for their own arms companies seeking to profit from weapons "battle tested" on Palestinian and Kurdish civilians.

Overall, more than 40,000 people are expected to attend over the course of the four-day fair. They will be met by a cast of compliant senior civil servants and politicians will be on hand to make sure things run smoothly. They will welcome them and give them the full red carpet treatment – with keynote speeches and photo-ops for cabinet ministers likely.



2025

There will be resistance. The Stop the Arms Fair network will be coordinating multiple days of protest and direct action against the arms fair, both while the fair is happening and in the days running up to it.

CAAT will be helping them to plan and get the word out while supporting campaigners and local groups in the build up and during the protests.

DSEI is where the arms deals are going to be made that will fuel conflict and oppression years into the future. It is vital that it is resisted. War starts here: let's take action to stop it here.

If you would like get involved in protests and action against DSEI then please contact us outreach@caat.org.uk or Stop the Arms Fair resistDSEI@protonmail.com



Security & Policing

Unfortunately DSEI is not the only arms fair on the horizon, with the Farnborough International Exhibition and Conference Centre set to host Security & Policing, a Home Office event with a focus on the domestic “security” industry.

The event is a place where arms, border, policing and surveillance companies can come together to work and exhibit equipment and technologies.

Traditionally journalists have been banned from the event, so media scrutiny is minimal, which is how they like it. It's easy to see why they want it this way.

By selling repressive equipment like spyware, surveillance technology, tear gas and ammunition the UK is making itself complicit in oppression around the world

Its previous guest lists have included representatives from some of the world's most repressive police forces, including those of Bahrain, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, who have been widely accused of torture, arbitrary detention and a total disdain for human rights.

But a look at the exhibitor list will have familiar names for any regular CAAT News reader: BAE Systems, Leonardo and Thales, for example, will all be present and are among the world's

biggest arms companies. In total there will be more than 300 companies present, showing what a big priority it is for the industry.

The division between the police and military has always been blurred, but now it is becoming ever hazier from both directions. Many countries already have what are effectively military units within the police deploying military techniques, while others have parts of their armed forces carrying out traditional police roles.

Here in the UK, we have always been concerned by the militarisation of the police and the use of weapons like tasers, and we are just as concerned by the international sale of this equipment and other types of weapons also being used to quash dissent.

State violence is the same, whether it is carried out by the military or by the police. By selling repressive equipment like spyware, surveillance technology, tear gas and ammunition the UK is making itself complicit in oppression around the world, and events like Security & Policing only make that worse.



Home Office

SECURITY & POLICING

HOME OFFICE EVENT



GOVERNMENT PLEDGES MORE SUPPORT FOR ARMS INDUSTRY

In December, the Government published a “statement of intent” to develop a new “Defence Industrial Strategy,” aimed at strengthening the UK arms industry.

This is supposedly being done to boost economic growth while producing more and better weapons for the UK military – and of course for selling and exporting.

The arms industry already enjoys an extremely close and cosy relationship with the Government (see CAAT’s recent report “From revolving door to open-plan office”), with unparalleled access to decision makers, and a guaranteed stream of eye-watering contracts regardless of performance. This is just as true under Keir Starmer’s Labour government as it was under the Tories.

The industry even has a whole department of the civil service, UK Defence and Security Exports, dedicated to doing its dirty work for it. These civil servants spend their time pushing for more business: attending arms fairs, networking and working directly with businesses to make representations to buyers.

The Government’s statement suggests that this broken and destructive status quo will be pushed even further, with even more government support, and an even greater reliance on UK companies rather than global competition.

The statement does acknowledge the perennial problem of

inefficient spending in terms of Ministry of Defence procurement.

Yet, in seeking to form even closer partnerships with the exact same large arms companies as are responsible for this corporate profiteering, it offers no answers on how the repeated failures of grand projects that run billions of pounds over budget and years behind schedule will even start to be tackled.

This new focus can surely only mean an even harder push to sell weapons to abusive regimes like the ones in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Israel

The statement also promises even stronger support for arms exports, which are already doing more than enough damage around the world.

It laments that the UK has supposedly “fallen behind” in terms of the value of its arms exports, promising that in future, exports will be “considered at the start of and throughout the procurement process.”

This can’t end well. Most of the UK’s largest buyers have dreadful human rights records and many of them have extremely aggressive foreign policies that the UK spends a great deal of time and

energy having to defend. This new focus can surely only mean an even harder push to sell weapons to abusive regimes like the ones in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Israel, which have all used UK-made weapons to devastating effect.

In recent years UK arms sales have attracted a great deal of controversy, having already played a key role in supporting human rights abusers and dictatorships and fuelling global conflict.

The Government was eventually forced to suspend some licences to Israel due to the use of UK-made components in the genocide in Gaza and in 2019 they lost a historic legal challenge by CAAT against the use of UK-made fighter jets and bombs by Saudi forces on the people of Yemen. Nobody who cares about human rights would want to see these kinds of sales increase.

The statement of intent seeks submissions from the arms industry, academia, tech companies, international partners (it doesn’t mention NGOs) and, as an afterthought, members of the public.

Responses may be submitted to the Ministry Of Defence at spodise-indstratgroupmailbox@mod.gov.uk

UK ARMS SALES SOAR

In December, UK Defence & Security Exports (UKDSE) – the government agency in the Department for Business and Trade charged with promoting UK arms and security exports at taxpayers' expense – released its annual figures for the value of arms export contracts gained by UK companies in 2023.

The figure showed a large increase, from £9.7 billion in 2022 to £14.5 billion in 2023. (The 2022 figure was revised downwards from £11.2b in the previous year's release).

The eye-watering figure is the highest ever in nominal terms, although the 2018 figure of £13.8b was higher after adjusting for inflation. However, the five-year average (see figure 1) points to a slight declining trend over the past few years, after a long period of continuous increases.

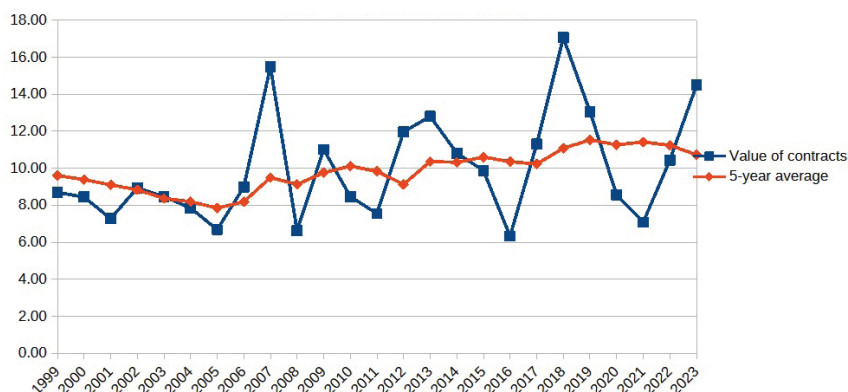
The UKDSE figures are much higher than the reported value of export licences, as the latter only covers what is known as "single" licences, leaving out exports that are conducted using unlimited value "open" licences.

The contract data includes all arms export deals reported by companies responding to the annual survey, regardless of what sort of export licences are used for the sales. UKDSE have estimated that their survey captures about 90% of all UK arms exports.

However, the UKDSE contracts data is far less detailed than the export licence data, with no

UK arms exports contract value 1999–2023

Constant 2023 prices, with 5-year average



breakdown by recipient country, only by region. This year's release moreover only provides five-year averages for each region, on the grounds that single-year regional figures are too variable to be relied upon – a change on previous years.

With European militarisation continuing at pace, sales to the region are likely to keep increasing

The breakdown for 2019-23 (figure 2) shows the Middle East losing its place as the primary destination region for UK arms exports, with Europe top at 33.6%,

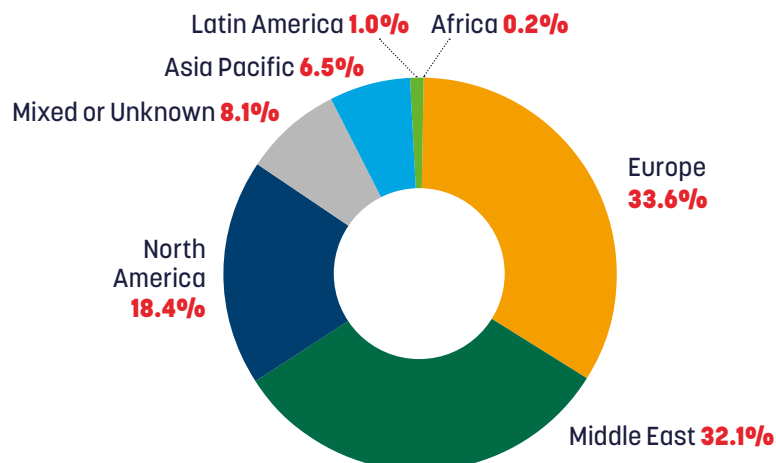
followed by the Middle East just behind at 32.1%, and North America at 18.4%. Contracts with Asia and the Pacific were 6.5% of the total, and just 1% to Latin America and 0.2% to Africa. 8.1% was to "mixed or unknown" regions.

This is a major change from 2013-17, when the Middle East accounted for a clear majority: 54% of exports. The reasons for this dramatic switch from the Middle East to Europe are, on the one hand, the invasion of Ukraine and European rearmament, and on the other a reduction in sales to the Middle East as the delivery of Eurofighter Typhoons to Saudi Arabia and Oman has now concluded.

With European militarisation continuing at pace, sales to the region are likely to keep increasing. Yet, major new Eurofighter sales to Middle East customers may also be coming (see p6), while in the Asia Pacific region, the huge AUKUS contract for nuclear submarines to Australia was signed in 2024.

Overall, and unfortunately, the UK arms industry is reaping the profits from a militarising world.

UK arms exports contracts 2019–2023 by region



Campaigners say no to arms fair in Telford

Campaigners from a number of local and national groups, including Quakers, Palestine Solidarity, Extinction Rebellion and Campaign Against Arms Trade, protested outside Telford International Centre at the end of November.

They were angry that the International Centre was hosting an arms fair, SDSC-UK, “Specialist Defence & Security Convention UK,” which focuses on military equipment for front-line infantry soldiers.

The fair included exhibitors from a number of arms companies, including those deeply complicit in the Israeli genocide of Palestinians in Gaza, such as:

- **Elbit Systems** – manufacturer of bombs, mortars and drones, and Israel’s largest arms company
- **L3Harris** – maker of surveillance, night vision and targeting equipment and supplier of bomb release mechanisms for Israel’s F-35 aircraft, which has been confirmed as being involved in the deaths of civilians in Gaza
- **Ultra Electronics** has been granted numerous arms export licences to Israel by the UK Government and has been involved in the development of the F-35 warplane.

The campaigners, working together as part of the “Stop SDSC” campaign, said that Telford International Centre should only be used for peaceful purposes, and not for spreading death and destruction. The skills and resources of arms companies should be used to meet human needs, and to support the transition to a green economy.

Sue McGavin, a Telford resident and Palestine solidarity campaigner said, “I’m born and bred here, and I am just astounded that our local authority and local institutions like Telford International Centre are hosting such a murderous crowd of people. They are absolutely complicit in the deaths of children. I can’t bring myself to understand why they are doing it. I don’t think enough people know about it here in Telford.”

“I think many people will be surprised and dismayed to find their local exhibition space complicit in genocide”

Peter Doubtfire from the Peace Hub in Birmingham, and Central England Quakers said, “The idea that this arms fair is somehow creating defence and security is a nonsense. It’s actually taking away resources from the things we really need to do to give ourselves security like work against climate change, to improve equality, work against poverty, all these really important things that people actually care about.”

Kirsten Bayes from CAAT said, “I think many people will be surprised and dismayed to find their local exhibition space complicit in genocide. We really hope the exhibition centre will go back to being used for peaceful purposes: it should be a place where people find happiness and joy, not tools for warfare.”

London CAAT Teach Life to L3Harris

In the run up to Christmas, London CAAT and friends protested outside the London offices of arms company L3Harris. The 12th largest arms company in the world, L3Harris makes parts for the bomb release mechanisms for Israel’s version of the F-35 fighter jet, used to bomb Palestinian civilians in Gaza.

In London, L3Harris operates from one floor in an otherwise nondescript office building on the Strand, not very far away from Covent Garden and London’s Theatreland. The sign indicating their presence in the building is smaller than a book of matches: it is almost as if they are trying to keep a low profile while they do their deadly business.

The campaigners set up a noisy protest, leafleting passers-by and explaining to Christmas shoppers and alighting bus passengers that they were not far from the offices of a genocide profiteer – and even held up a helpful sign showing exactly where they were!

In more reflective and quieter moments, the campaigners read a poem by Palestinian poet, Rafeef Ziadah, “We Teach Life, Sir,” as a reminder that the sellers of war and death will not get the last word.



THE ARMS TRADE AND EGYPT

CAAT has supported the campaign to halt all arms sales to Egypt until British national, pro-democracy activist and writer Alaa Abd el-Fattah is released by the Egyptian authorities.

He was due to be released in September, but has not been freed. He should never have been imprisoned in the first place, having been convicted of “spreading false news” for sharing a Facebook post about torture in Egypt.

It is far from an isolated event. Over recent years the Egyptian state has inflicted some of the worst human rights abuses in its modern history, with the regime being accused of “systematic torture” by the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies.

At least 11300 people were killed by the Egyptian police and armed forces under the command of then Defence Minister Sisi.. Since then hundreds of people have disappeared, either killed or imprisoned by the police or army, and tens of thousands of people have been put in prison.

Journalists, human rights defenders, protesters, government critics, opposition parties, and LGBT+ people have all been targeted by the government. Women consistently face sexual violence and discrimination, with no protections in the law.

None of the abuses taking place in Egypt are news to the UK government. It is one of the UK’s 32 human rights priority countries according to the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office’s most recent report on global human rights.

Despite this condemnation, the UK is the largest single foreign investor in Egypt, with the annual trade between the two countries totalling around £4.5 billion.

Egypt is a significant buyer of UK arms. In December 2023, while Alaa remained detained, the largest single arms licence on record from the UK to Egypt was

issued for military radars worth £79,347,022. Military radars can be used for purposes including surveillance, targeting and weapon guidance.

Since September 2019 when Alaa was most recently detained by the Egyptian authorities, the

The UK is the largest single foreign investor in Egypt, with the annual trade between the two countries totalling around £4.5 billion

UK has licensed at least £237 million worth of arms to Egypt.

These arms licences include:

- £196 million worth of ML5 licences (target acquisition, weapon control and countermeasure systems);
- £13 million worth of ML10 licences (components for aircraft, helicopters, drones);

- £7.6 million worth of ML9 licences (components for warships);
- £6.5 million worth of ML4 licences (grenades, bombs, missiles, countermeasures).

This is a very conservative total that does not include arms sold using the secretive and opaque Open Licence system. This allows weapons to be transferred without a total value being published.

Every one of these sales has helped to empower a brutal regime that has shown a contempt for human rights. Donald Trump described Egyptian President Sisi as his “favourite dictator,” which underlines that those who are empowering his regime are all too aware of his true authoritarian character.

CAAT supports freedom for Alaa Abd el-Fattah and a democratic future for Egypt.



Remembering David Gee

We were very sorry to receive the sad news of the death of David Gee aged 52, a Quaker and a writer and long-time activist with various peace organisations.

He was a member of CAAT's Steering Committee for several years through to 2005 as a representative from Quaker Peace and Social Witness. More recently he worked with our friends at Forces Watch. He was one of the founding members of Rethinking Security, which is a network of peace and social justice groups, of which CAAT is a member.

Rethinking Security works to shift the thinking on security

from a militarist/policing model towards creating individual security – in housing, in employment, in community, and from the effects of climate change. David's ideas were foundational in this regard.

It was especially noted that David would cycle from the Oxford area down to Ammerdown in Somerset for the Rethinking Security Council meetings. He dealt with the news of illness in the same intentional fashion.

We remember him as a wise, reflective colleague: much missed.



The Insecurity Trap

Long-term CAAT friend Paul Rogers has released a new book *The Insecurity Trap: A Short Guide to the Transition*, which explores how we can meet the three global insecurity challenges facing us all:

- How can the world economy be transformed to ensure there is a much better sharing of what we have?
- How can we change our understanding and practice of international security to focus on a human security approach that works for all and not just for a minority elite?
- How can we come to terms with environmental limits to growth?

In the book Paul argues that these are the deeply interconnected issues that will be central if we are to move to a more peaceful world over the next decade.

While the prospects for doing so look limited there is also much happening that gives cause for cautious optimism.

This short book says what needs to be done and includes a chapter on how to contribute to making the changes, written by

the peace researcher Judith Large.

The *Insecurity Trap* is aimed not just at campaigners and activists but at anyone concerned about the way the world is going in the age of Trump, Putin and the rest.

There was a launch of the book in Stroud: Jonathon Porritt chaired a panel that included Paul and Judith and Stroud's Labour MP Simon Opher. Two local CAAT supporters, Mike Davis and Jude Emmet, who have been active in opposing local arms fairs, addressed the large audience about CAAT and its work.

Paul Rogers is Professor Emeritus of Peace Studies at Bradford University. **Judith Large** is a Senior Research Fellow at Conflict Analysis Research Centre University of Kent



Ordering details

For personal use please order *The Insecurity Trap* from the website hawthornpress.com or telephone +44 (0) 1453 757040

For bulk orders for organisations please contact claire@hawthornpress.com to discuss possible discounts and delivery.

Without our supporters there would be no CAAT

This strapline continues to ring true: we are entirely dependent on the voluntary donations from a wide range of supporters for our campaigning work to continue.

Not only do we organise demonstrations ourselves but we also support many organisations we act in solidarity with, using our contacts, research, and experience. It all uses staff time which comes at a financial cost; even the time and, occasionally expenses incurred, of our dedicated volunteers must be planned and supported.

As you will have read in the letter accompanying this magazine, on top of everything, "it's a DSEI year." This horrific market of death comes to London every two years, and we must confront it – in written, spoken and shouted word, in person, in banner and in ink, in the papers, on the radio and internet and on television.

Please help us fund this work, please help us in our campaigning against the arms trade!

You can support us in several ways:

- Take out a Direct Debit, to make a regular monthly donation to suit your budget;
- Make a one-off donation of any amount;
- If you have been supporting CAAT over the years and want to see us continuing this work, please consider including a legacy to CAAT in your Will.

The covering letter gives details of how to make a donation.

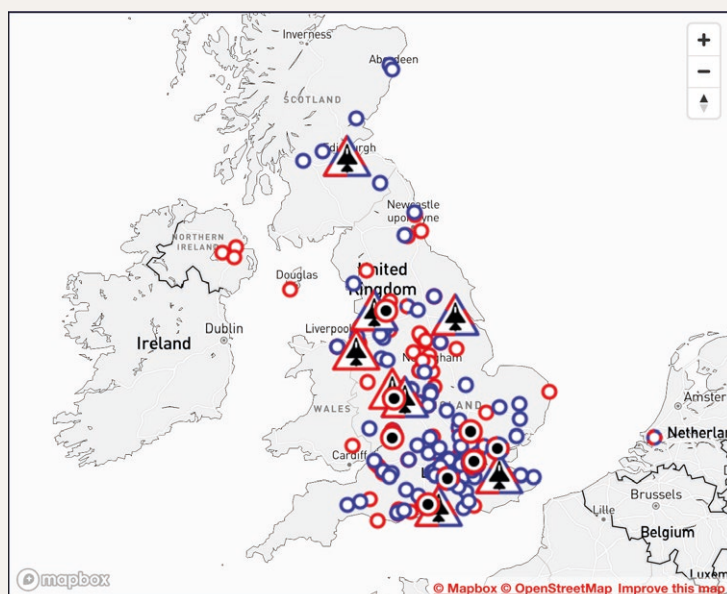
If you'd like to talk about any of this, please drop me a line to the office, or send an email to:

charles@caat.org.uk

Stop arming Israel

CAAT has launched an updated interactive map to enable campaigners to take action against the genocide profiteers on their doorsteps. With details

of which arms companies have sold which weapons to Israeli forces, it is an invaluable source for researchers and campaigners.



Find out about the arms industry on your doorstep at **[CAAT.org.uk](https://www.caat.org.uk)**

THEY SAID IT

"Peace is the No. 1 ethical goal of the UN, but to have peace we need defence, and for that we need a thriving defence sector."

Tory MP James Cartlidge,
parliamentary debate, 28/01/2025

"It is time to shift to a wartime mindset."

NATO Secretary General Mark
Rutte calls for more arms spending,
European Security & Defence,
13/12/2024



"Investing in defence and working and contributing to it, is not only profitable, it's ethical"

General Sir Roland Walker,
Daily Telegraph, 22/01/2025

DONATE TODAY!

You can donate to CAAT by either visiting our website at 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).

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

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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.

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