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# Dr. Strangelove:

## Or How Ottawa Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

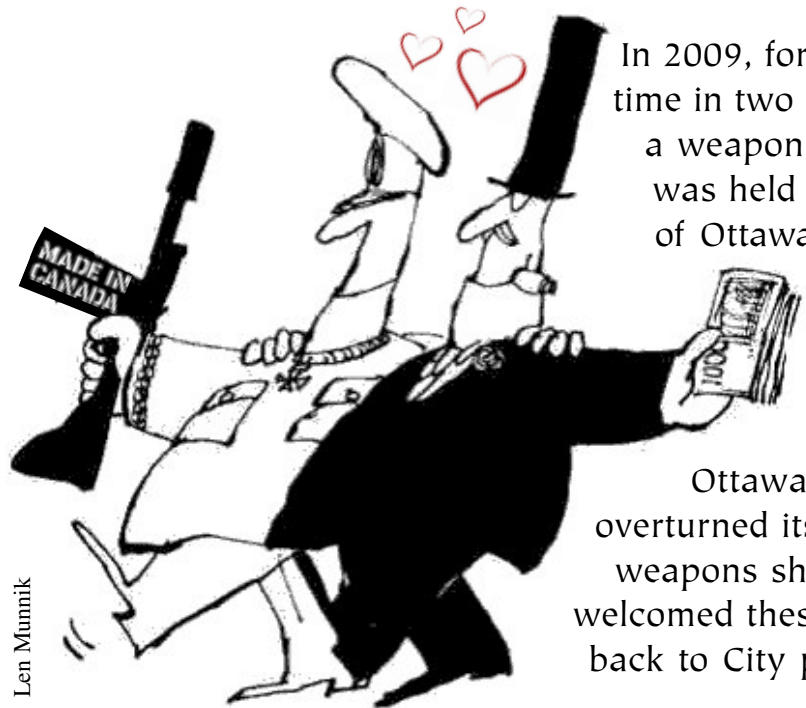
By Richard Sanders, coordinator, Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade

As if converting the heart of a downtown residential neighbourhood into a warmonger's theme park was not transgression enough, Ottawa's City Council has vanquished the municipality's 20-year ban on hosting international arms bazaars. And, what's worse, in place of the national capital's long-standing prohibition on facilitating these commercial spectacles for the trafficking of war technology, Ottawa Council voted to open wide the City's arms to all such military-industrial exhibitions.

This regressive decision was an insult to thousands across Canada who expressed opposition to pimping up Ottawa's publicly-funded fairground to transform it into an ugly big-box emporium for blow-out war sales.

But Ottawa Council was unworried by widespread public concerns and untroubled by the prospect of stirring up deeply-felt apprehensions about renewing the City's role in the giving financial reward to the folly of war. Council was likewise unperturbed by all the petitions, letters, articles and detailed peace reports that they received on this issue. Members of Ottawa Council also closed their eyes and ignored the many public events, vigils and protests that drew attention to the part played by Ottawa's arms fairs in fuelling wars that are ravaging innocent civilians in other cities across the globe. Similarly, Council paid no noticeable heed to statements from the Ottawa Presbytery of the United Church of Canada, the local Anglican Bishop, more than a hundred Catholic nuns, plus Unitarian, Buddhist and Jewish organizations, and thousands of other concerned voices who appealed to them with high hopes for a symbolic local nod to world peace and justice.

Instead, Ottawa Council listened very intently to a small handful of corporate representatives whose financial stake in the lucrative business of war revealed them to be the epitome of a special interest group.



Len Munnik

In 2009, for the first time in two decades, a weapons bazaar was held at a City of Ottawa facility.

Ottawa Council overturned its ban on weapons shows and welcomed these events back to City property.

Yes, Ottawa Council has turned its back on peace. Two full decades without a single City-sanctioned arms exhibition was apparently long enough for Ottawa's current crop of obsequious, corporate-minded politicians.

As a result, CANSEC—Canada's largest showcase for export-dependent military companies—will return in 2010 and it will do so with a vengeance. Yes, next June, CANSEC will be back with all of its most bellifluous bells on! Like some obscene graffiti reappearing to deface a community's public buildings, CANSEC will be writ large once again on Ottawa's civic property, scrawled bigger than ever before, in dripping indelible technicolour. And, now that the gory dye is cast, and the CANSEC brand is deeply etched on Ottawa's walls, this warmongers' dream come true will no doubt celebrate its homecoming by vending an increasingly astonishing array of tools designed to meet the every need of domestic and foreign combatants alike. Ottawa has thus come to the aid of hundreds of companies that are scrambling to reap their share in the never-ending profits of war. For this service, the nation's capital will take its cut for abetting the whole sordid process.

But CANSEC organisers should

beware. Although they will be returning, so too will those who oppose what the world-class CANSEC arms show represents. For despite all the disquieting developments surrounding the worrisome re-invasion of Ottawa's public spaces by the worst of corporate belligerents, citizens concerned about peace have not lost hope. In fact, although we have suffered this blow to peace, and witnessed the Machiavelian machinations of Ottawa Council and a City staff determined to assist Canada's war industries, we know that our efforts against CANSEC 2009 were actually a tremendous success.

We made great strides in building public awareness, mobilizing progressive elements within our community and deepening the peace movement's commitment to thinking globally by acting locally. Through this important work, we have ensured that when CANSEC returns again next spring, Canada's most flagrant manifestation of the international arms trade will have to face an even stronger and more vibrant opposition than ever before!

And, perhaps, it is still not too late to celebrate the fact that in 1989, Ottawa's municipal facilities were set free of all war industry exhibitions.<sup>1</sup> That freedom lasted exactly twenty years,

and two days. (But who's counting?) The City's official ban was won thanks to a campaign by the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade. It was a significant victory for peace-minded citizens and those conscientious city leaders who, deeply alarmed by the destructive effects of the international trade in weapons systems, gave a resolute and principled "NO" to using Ottawa property for expos that flaunt the sale of military technology.

However, despite all that, on May 27 and 28 of this year, the fairgrounds and exhibition halls at Ottawa's century-old Lansdowne Park served once again as a giant shopping mall catering to the needs of war fighters from around the world. Not since the ARMX '89 military trade show had the City thrown wide its doors for the marketing of machine guns, tanks, ammunition, missiles and all the other high-tech products, gizmos and services that are so essential to waging modern armed conflicts.

But these displays, though wanton and conspicuous, were not laid out in the open for all to see. First of all, CANSEC was a strictly private affair. The general public is not allowed inside such banal supermarkets of death and destruction. The irony in this exclusion is more than acute. After all, the public was forced to provide the venue for this war exposition. On top of that, the public must also finance the grandiose military institutions that plan and wage war. And, the public foots the bill for creating and developing many of the technological innovations that military forces have grown so accustomed to demanding. But besides all these bountiful gifts unto Caesar, the general population—especially the poor—are plumed as the source of human fodder for Mars' deadly exercise.

So, although public subsidies finance the war fighters, and line the pockets of private international weapons-makers and their professional guilds, and pay the required toll in blood, Canadian taxpayers are not part of the in-club that is permitted entry into these sacred mercantile shrines of war. This is entirely understandable. To allow common publicans into such "dens of thieves" as CANSEC would only open the door to potentially em-



The circular War Room in Stanley Kubrick's classic anti-war film, "Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb"—starred Peter Sellers.

barrassing scenes, like the overturning of exhibition tables heavily laden with deadly products, or the ringing out of such cleansing curses as "Hypocrites!"

But the physical walls, closed doors, police, identity passes, barbed wire and other "security" measures used to surround and protect such retail temples are not the only means used

lusions of "peace" and "freedom," "defence" and "security," the mongers of war dispense a fog of buzz words that camouflage and shield the manifest implements of battle on display.

So thick is this verbal smoke-screen that even if the whole CANSEC weapons kit were laid bare on exhibit tables and exposed to public view, many

might not discern what was before their eyes. As a result, the effort to expose such events is not a simple matter of literally opening the gates of CANSEC to public attendance, as some have proposed. It is instead the much more difficult struggle to remove the rose-coloured scales of militarism that so effectively glaze over many people's eyes.

So, since 2008, when a legal technicality was used by Ottawa City staff to allow war hucksters to get their foot back in the door



### "Mayors for Peace"

Since 1983, the City of Ottawa has been a member of a global network of municipalities started by the Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

to hide the ugly face of war merchandising from public scrutiny. In fact, the whole gaudy and seductive science of death and destruction is much more effectively cloaked by a far more impenetrable barricade of symbols. Those who market war and its pretexes do so behind a panoply of clever words and jingoistic phrases underlain by a deeply-rooted mythos. Speaking in soft and measured tones to conjure up de-

of the region's largest tax-funded facility for so-called "defence and security" trade shows, COAT has been exposing the grisly gamut of weapons-related technologies that military exhibitors are engaged in exporting.

But in spite of this effort, many local politicians saluted the municipality's *de facto* renewal of assistance to military industrial behemoths like CANSEC. They disguised their wel-



The City of Ottawa's circular Council Chamber where officials voted—in June 2009—to reverse the municipality's 20-year ban on hosting international war-industry bazaars.

come for this supposed “defence show” with all the flag-waving “Support-our-Troops” sloganeering that they could muster. Countering such nationalistic hype has been a difficult exercise in debunking the myth that Canada is a powerful force for peace and reconciliation in a troubled world.

City Council's late-June decision to reverse Ottawa's historic ban was, of course, a tremendous shame. The ignominy of this nodding encouragement to arms peddlers should be an embarrassment to all those involved. Despite efforts to cloak their resolution behind the prevailing national mythology that Canada is a great peacemaker, this episode symbolises a bowing obeisance of those who serve the violent gods of metal by helping them to satisfy their unquenchable thirst for profits. The City of Ottawa's decision has not only disgraced and exposed the national capital region but the country as a whole.

Canada is clearly not the noble peace-loving nation that so many still imagine. CANSEC exposes that Canada—for its share in the spoils of war—is an ever-eager beaver, working hard to supply whatever military technology is required to help build the world's damnable corporate empires.

### Campaign Successes

In the midsummer of 2008, the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT) started spreading the word that arms merchandizing events were once again bound for Ottawa's prime public facility. Since then, thousands have expressed their sincere and ardent opposition to the Canadian military export



### “Think Globally, Act Locally”

CANSEC 2009 exhibitors included many Canadian war industries exporting essential components for nuclear weapons delivery systems.

business that such war fairs so brazenly represent. In contrast, the only voices that publicly expressed their support for CANSEC came from the show's organizer and some military industry representatives—including Ottawa's Mayor Larry O'Brien—who are motivated by economic self-interest.

For many months, the struggle to expose and oppose CANSEC gathered momentum. Finally, on May 27,

Lansdowne was brimming to capacity with glitzy displays showcasing the contraptions of war. Throngs of buyers and sellers, bedecked in trim dress uniforms and sharp business suits, browsed the booths. Meanwhile, outside the gates, peace activists with considerably less-fashionable attire held an all day vigil in the drizzling rain. That evening at a nearby church, about 400 citizens attended an indoor rally with numerous speakers and musicians.<sup>2</sup> Although completely and utterly ignored by the mainstream corporate media, this large event was a fine climax to our education campaign. It gave eloquent expression to the widespread public repulsion not only to the reappearance of arms shows on city property but to Canada's role as one of the world's largest exporters of major conventional weapons systems.<sup>3</sup>

Besides making significant strides in raising public awareness, and strengthening the resolve of many activists to oppose Canada's war exports, we laid the groundwork for an even larger and more determined opposition to CANSEC 2010 next June.

By these important measures, the whole effort to oppose CANSEC 2009 was in fact very successful and incredibly useful. Here are some of the many accomplishments achieved during our efforts against CANSEC:

#### ***Building public awareness:***

Numerous articles and detailed research reports about CANSEC 2009 were created and published by COAT. This information and analysis helped to inform many thousands of people in Ottawa and across Canada about this military trade show and its role in facilitating the international arms trade.<sup>4</sup>

#### ***Changing the “Googlescape”:***

Thanks to COAT's work, anyone who is now doing online searches for the term “CANSEC” will now encounter thousands of references to wars, regime changes and human rights abuses that are directly linked to the products of top Canadian arms companies exhibiting at this military trade show.<sup>5</sup>

#### ***Gathering Petitions:***

Almost 5,000 people—two thirds of them in Ottawa—signed COAT's online and paper petitions to Stop Ottawa's Arms Shows.<sup>6</sup>

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***Vigiling for Peace:***

Many activists braved the relentless rain on May 27 to witness for peace outside CANSEC between 7:30 am and 6:30 pm.<sup>7</sup>

***Rallying for Peace:***

A large and enthusiastic indoor rally with inspiring music and great speakers representing a diverse community was attended by some 400 people on May 27.<sup>8</sup>

***Speaking truth to power:***

Dozens of peace, development and religious organizations sent delegations to address Councillors at Ottawa City Hall on June 2<sup>9</sup> and 15<sup>10</sup>.

***Understanding local “democracy”:***

Ottawa activists gained a deeper understanding of how democracy works (and does *not* work!) at the local level. Many will no doubt be more motivated than ever to get involved in future municipal elections to hold Councillors to account for facilitating CANSEC.

***Strengthening the peace community:***

We bolstered the existing community of activists who oppose Canada’s role in the business of manufacturing and exporting war technologies.

***Preparing for CANSEC 2010:***

Our preparations set the stage for a larger and stronger response to the return of CANSEC, June 2-3, 2010.

## What we were up against

Whenever activists challenge the age-old business of war, we are well-advised to enter the nonviolent fray with a full understanding that in many concrete ways the odds are stacked against us. This was certainly the case during our latest bid to unmask Canada’s complicity in the global commerce of war.

Besides having to contend with elected and unelected powers-that-be at City Hall, there were several other, more formidable institutions that were allied against our humble efforts. We were opposed by interlocking networks of well-established old boys clubs whose tentacles embrace across various levels of government and industry. Let’s take a look at a few of these adversaries who stood up to support Canada’s military export business.



# Multimillionaire industrialist “Daddy Warbucks” plays the Mayor of Ottawa

## ***Ottawa’s Corporate Services Committee***

On June 2 and 15, about 60 peace activists made heartfelt presentations in Ottawa’s Council Chambers to the City’s aptly-named “Corporate Services” committee. This conclave is the City’s most right-wing, “business-friendly” body. It is widely seen as the creature of Ottawa’s controversial Mayor, Larry O’Brien. Although “His Worship,” was not in his usual position as chair of this formidable group, his presence seemed palpable. (Mayor O’Brien was unable to oversee his committee in June because he had been charged by police with bribery and purported influence peddling and was on trial for allegedly manipulating the 2006 city election.<sup>11</sup>)

Notwithstanding O’Brien’s notable absence from City chambers, committee members remained in apparent mental lockstep with their predisposed leader. They rallied to defend the interests of high-tech military concerns like O’Brien’s very own company, Calian Technologies. Calian—which O’Brien founded in 1982—was one of about 225 military industries exhibiting their products at CANSEC 2009.<sup>12</sup> (For more on O’Brien and his firm’s military contracts, see “Democracy under Attack at Home and Abroad,” pp.30-32.)

It became quickly obvious to peace activists that the politicians on this committee were hard set against the public appeal to stop Ottawa’s support for the business of war profiteering. Councillors seemed oblivious to the fact that dozens of CANSEC exhibitors are engaged in fuelling major armed conflicts that are snuffing out innocent civilian lives around the world. And,

what’s worse, they did not want to listen to the many public delegations that presented them with such information.

Committee members did not even feign an interest in absorbing any new information that might conflict with their preconceived understanding of the issues at hand. Although paid to represent Ottawa taxpayers, most of these politicians gave very limited (if any) attention to the dozens of thoughtful and informed public presentations made to their committee. Some Councillors did not bother to glance up from their laptops during eloquent statements by many peace-oriented Ottawa citizens. Others could not pull themselves away, even momentarily, from their disruptive conversations.

This studious disregard for the citizenry’s pro-peace testimonials was in direct contrast to the focused attention that these same politicians displayed when a couple of corporate executives showed up to represent the industries and associations with a private stake in CANSEC’s success.

Fortunately, not all Councillors are prone to such fawning deference to corporations or to the tendency to show contempt towards civic input into the democratic process. Councillor Alex Cullen, for example, took the lead at City Hall against CANSEC. Two other downtown Councillors, Clive Doucet and Diane Holmes, were also deeply committed to maintaining Council’s historic ban on facilitating Canadian weapons emporiums. Not being members of the “Corporate Services” committee, these three dedicated public servants were unable to vote at its meetings. However, they did attend to make their dissenting voices for peace heard in the



*Moral of the story?*

**“The unjust will not listen to the reasoning of the innocent.”**

**The Wolf and the Lamb.** In this Aesop’s fable, a wolf decides to grant his victim the right to engage in a debate. The innocent lamb then ably exposes each and every flagrant lie and devious deception put forward by her carnivorous oppressor. Despite this, the hungry despot disregards all of the lamb’s words and simply remarks: “I do not intend to be talked out of my breakfast.”

halls of municipal power.

As expected, the Mayor’s committee remained loyal to “Corporate Service.” It was unswayed by rational arguments, impassioned pleas, endorsements from religious congregations, community groups, academic experts and NGOs representing women, students, veterans, and by statements from groups working to improve the conditions of those in impoverished nations ravaged by war. Similarly, anti-CANSEC rallies, vigils, meetings, petitions, emails and letters, were dutifully ignored, as were COAT’s articles and research reports detailing how CANSEC exhibitors have equipped belligerents in recent and ongoing wars.

In the end, this committee voted unanimously against Councillor Cullen’s motion to uphold the City’s 20-year ban on hosting arms shows. What’s more, led by Councillor Rick Chiarelli, they decided to take an unprecedented step down the path of complicity with the purveyors of war technology. The entire committee voted as one to support a new motion from Chiarelli that effectively declared it Ottawa’s official duty and responsibility, as Canada’s capital, to smooth the way for this country’s military industrial complex by leasing whatever City facilities are requested for their business operations, including arms bazaars.

### ***Ottawa City Council***

To come into force, Chiarelli’s motion had to be approved by City Council as a whole and was placed on its June-24 agenda. On that day, Councillors favouring war manufacturers almost succeeded in pushing through the committee’s regressive resolution without even allowing Council to debate the issue of Ottawa’s 20-year ban on hosting arms shows. Eventually, after many jostling legalistic arguments, the right to discuss this issue was won and those few councillors who oppose CANSEC finally had an opportunity to express themselves. But, as expected, their comments fell on deaf ears. The majority of Councillors had already made up their minds and were not about to change. Fourteen Councillors favoured the hosting of arms trade shows at Ottawa facilities, while only five voted to keep these events off City property.<sup>13</sup>

It was all reminiscent of Aesop’s fable—“The Wolf and the Lamb.” In this powerful ancient allegory, a canine predator sees an innocent lamb and decides that he will make a tasty meal. However, before devouring his prey, the wolf decides that he will grant his victim the right to engage in a little debate. The parable is quite satisfying because the lamb then ably defeats every ridiculous and devious argument

put forward by the wolf. Again and again, the innocent youth exposes the flagrant lies of his carnivorous oppressor. However, the lamb’s verbal and mental prowess in exposing the wolf’s deceptions does not prevent him from being eaten. In the end, the hungry despot disregards all of the lamb’s words and simply remarks: “I do not intend to be talked out of my breakfast.”

The point of the story is that rational discussion and the truth are totally irrelevant when confronting those whose will is enforced and inflicting by raw physical power. Although backed by the truth, and more than able to out-argue an autocratic bully, innocent victims will still loose if forced into physical confrontation. As the moral of the tale’s 1919 version explains:

“The tyrant can always find an excuse for his tyranny.

The unjust will not listen to the reasoning of the innocent.”<sup>14</sup>

So, after all the arguments were said and done, and it finally came to making their decision, Ottawa politicians backed Councillor Chiarelli’s shameful motion. They voted 14 to 5 to open wide the City’s gates to allowing municipally-funded facilities to be used by merchants of war who live by the wolfish doctrine that “Might is Right.”

It will be considered unjust by

some to so bluntly compare Ottawa Councillors or their prosperous corporate allies in the military industrial complex, with vicious predatory wolves. This is indeed unfair—to the reputation of wolves. These noble beasts do not, of course, support anything so vile and bestial as war. Wolves therefore do not deserve to be semantically linked with creatures who facilitate, let alone profit from, such ignoble violence.

## **Ottawa City Staff**

Not only was an array of “business friendly” Councillors allied in support of CANSEC, certain unelected City of Ottawa staff were also determined to support the blatant interests of Canada’s war industries. Prime among these was Rick O’Connor, the City’s Chief Solicitor, who also doubles as Ottawa’s City Clerk. He had been central to the behind-the-scenes efforts that won the return of military trade shows to Ottawa facilities.

It was O’Connor’s “legal opinion” in the summer of 2008, that Council’s 1989 Motion no longer applied to the one City facility coveted by arms organizers.<sup>15</sup> This convenient escape from the obligation to respect Council’s Motion was due to a dubious technical loophole relating to the fleeting transfer of Lansdowne Park to the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in 1999, just before the city’s amalgamation.

Based on O’Connor’s convenient “opinion,” the City opened its doors to leasing its facilities for a large military trade show that was to be held last autumn. That exhibition, sponsored in large part by the US Embassy, various US government departments and US war industries, was officially dubbed “Secure Canada.”<sup>16</sup> Although eventually cancelled, this arms bazaar served a valuable role in allowing such shows to once again get their foot in the door of Ottawa’s prime public facility. This meant that City Staff were able to lease Lansdowne for the even bigger CANSEC 2009 expo. (For more about

“Secure Canada,” see pages 33-35.)

The peace movement could not, of course, afford to retain legal counsel to challenge the “opinion” of Ottawa’s top lawyer. Such prohibitively expensive actions are beyond the financial resources of grassroots initiatives.

Also, when it came to the hearings before Council’s “Corporate Services” committee in June, activists had to contend with the clever manoeuvring of City Staff. After lining up dozens of organizations to provide speakers to address the committee on June 16, and after widely publicising this event, we were informed by City Staff, just a few days in advance, that they had changed the meeting date to June 15.

A far greater inconvenience however occurred on June 24. On that



## **CANSEC will be back June 2-3, 2010, but so will we!**

day, when more than 50 citizens turned up at City Hall to witness Council’s historic vote, only a few paid war-industry representatives were in attendance. No other item on the working agenda drew so many spectators. Although Council agendas have in the past been altered out of common courtesy to accommodate the presence of numerous visitors in the public gallery, this consideration was not extended to Ottawa’s peace activists on June 24. Instead, the CANSEC item was shifted back until

it was the very last item. This meant that interested members of the public were forced to wait eight full hours before the issue was dealt with. By this time, of course, only a third remained. And, all of the TV cameras and several reporters that were there earlier in the day had disappeared long before the CANSEC debate finally began.

However, by some odd coincidence, the head of the national business association that organizes CANSEC was not inconvenienced by this delay in the agenda. It was as if Tim Page, president of the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI), had been notified in advance when the debate would occur. He therefore did not need to waste his time waiting around City Hall surrounded by a crowd of peace activists. Instead, he simply idled in at the right moment. Some speculated that, public be damned, the CANSEC item had been timed to accommodate Page’s schedule.

When Councillors finally voted to welcome arms shows onto Ottawa facilities, only a dozen diehard peace activists remained in the visitors’ gallery. When a few held up banners, one reading: “Weapons Fair: Not in our name. Not without money,” Council was not amused. Three plainclothes City-paid “security” personnel were called into action. These same “bouncers” had, earlier that day, painfully assaulted and forcibly removed an Ottawa-Vanier NDP activist who had the audacity to hand out media releases inside the City’s

hallowed chamber. They also hustled aside a dozen activists singing a peace song (“Last Night I had the Strangest Dream”) in the foyer outside the Council Chamber. When the “Weapons Fair” banner was unfurled, these same City employees grabbed it and laid hands on one of the activists. When this assault failed to intimidate the activists, the City’s strong arms phoned the police. However, by the time “the law” arrived, the vote was over and most of the activists had already left.

## Ottawa Police Force

The Ottawa police are another publicly-funded institution that has kindly chipped in to assist the CANSEC cause. As Ottawa Police Chief, Vern White, has noted

“Within the terms agreed to with the City, the security precautions undertaken by the [CANSEC 2008] conference organizer were very limited. The costs of the Police deployment were in the range of \$30,000, the majority of it for officer overtime.”<sup>17</sup>

This indicates that CANSEC organizers had established an agreement with the City that the publicly-funded police force would bear the brunt of security costs at its private event. This is ironic in several ways.

Besides being a forum for war technologies, CANSEC is also touted as Canada’s primary showcase for “security” and “public safety” equipment. Despite this, the private CANSEC show required municipal funding to ensure the security and safety of its participants from the very public it was supposed to be protecting.

Although it is not unusual for Ottawa’s police to cover such expenses, the extent of security costs deemed necessary for protecting CANSEC was relatively high. Ottawa Police Services estimated that \$880,000 is spent annually to police “185 events unique to being associated as the nation’s Capital.”<sup>18</sup> While this works out to an average of \$4,750 per event, the cost of policing CANSEC 2008 was more than six times that amount. Another indication of the relatively high costs of policing CANSEC, is that in discussing the “Overtime Related to Special Events in the City of Ottawa,” an Ottawa Police Services report for 2008 mentions *only one* “example of the impact that these events have on the Police budget.”<sup>19</sup> That one example was CANSEC.

Among other things, Police Services noted that

“Weapons and munitions are exhibited, as part of the CANSEC and protest and special interest groups are often on-site.... Officers were deployed to ensure the safety of the conference delegates, the protesters, interest groups, and the public.”<sup>20</sup>

Notably, the first and foremost group of people that the police are in-

## Two of the many CANSEC 2009 exhibitors exporting weapons to police around the world



### Colt Canada

makes automatic and semi-automatic weapons used in the Iraq and Afghan wars, and by various police forces.



### R Nicholls

sells pepper spray, tear gas, gas guns, pistols, machine guns, sniper rifles and grenade launchers.

terested in protecting are the so-called “conference delegates,” even though they were the only ones in possession of “weapons and munitions.”

In 2009, police again protected the “rights” of war industries to go about the business of selling their “weapons and munitions.” To “ensure the safety of the conference delegates,” police employed a variety of tactics. For instance, police picked up their bicycles and used them as battering rams to shove activists off the street when their peaceful protest blocked a bus carrying delegates to the weapons show. Another more traditional police method of “crowd control” was then used against this People’s Global Action protest. At least seven activists suffered the intensely painful effects of being hit in the eyes with pepper spray and required immediate medical assistance.

Another example of a double standard that anti-war activists must deal with is that while police use public funds to protect arms merchants who gather to conduct their business, members of the public who want to come together to oppose such war profiteering at tax-funded facilities in their community are supposed to obtain police permits allowing them to express their constitutionally-protected rights to freedom of expression and assembly.

But this was by no means the full extent of police involvement in trying to shield CANSEC from public opposition. In the spring of 2009, police officers actually initiated a meeting with

an official representative of a mainstream Ottawa religious organization who was just then becoming involved in the broadly based peace movement campaign against CANSEC. Police instigated this private meeting in order to urge this key Ottawa citizen to withdraw support from efforts to expose and oppose the CANSEC war show.

Although the police are theoretically supposed to protect the public and their democratic rights, this incident is a clear example of police interference with such rights.

Meanwhile in many countries around the world, there are military, police and other so-called “security” forces that infringe upon people’s democratic rights in far more brutal ways. During the anti-CANSEC campaign, COAT drew attention to these abuses of power by publishing a series of detailed reports. COAT’s research documents the fact that dozens of CANSEC exhibitors are deeply engaged in the business of supplying essential parts and services for many major US weapons systems used, for example, in the Iraq War. In this way, CANSEC companies aid and abet the commission of crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. This information was however of no apparent interest to Ottawa police. They were instead concerned with protecting the supposed corporate rights of Canadian companies engaged in the international arms trade and in thwarting public opposition to the crimes associated with war.

## Canadian Association of Defence & Security Industries (CADSI)

The CANSEC bazaar is a creature of CADSI, the business group that fronts for 800 of Canada's largest and most profitable military industries. Among its members are all of Canada's "Top 40" war manufacturers—as ranked by *Canadian Defence Review* magazine. About 85% of these "Top 40" firms were exhibitors at CANSEC. (See p. 25.)

COAT research has identified 100 Canadian firms exporting parts/services for weapons used in the Iraq War. About 80 of these firms are current or former members of CADSI, while 45 of them exhibited at CANSEC 2008 and/or 2009. (See pp.36-38.)

CANSEC appears to be the chief fundraising enterprise of CADSI, which rents 500 10'x10' booth spaces for \$3,250 each. It also charges entrance fees, sells event sponsor-ships, and ads in the CANSEC "show guide," as well as overpriced food and alcohol.

CADSI describes itself as a "not-for-profit business association"<sup>21</sup> and "the primary advocate"<sup>22</sup> for Canada's military and security industries. It sees its role as advancing "the interests of industry to governments, politicians, the media, special interest groups, opinion leaders, and the public."<sup>23</sup> In various self-promotional materials, CADSI calls itself "the voice" of Canada's military industries.<sup>24</sup>

CADSI says that it "has its roots in the creation of the Canadian chapter of the American Defense Preparedness Association (ADPA) on November 30, 1983. The organisation's founding mission was to be patriotic, educational, scientific, and non-political."<sup>25</sup>

CADSI members, like Canadian military companies in general, export most of what they produce.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, to do their job properly as "the voice" for this sector, CADSI helps Ca-

nadian industries to market their products abroad. According to Tim Page's testimony at the June 2 "Corporate Services" Committee, the US accounts for 80% of Canada's military exports. Page also admitted that foreign embassies—"mostly NATO"—sent delegates to CANSEC. Organizing events to push Canadian military exports is one of CADSI's main services. As such, it sponsors seminars and conferences in collaboration with counterparts in the US, Britain, Israel and elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

CADSI also publishes reports that provide tips for military and "security" businesses on exporting to the US. One such CADSI report acknowledges the "Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) for support of CADSI's initiatives



through the Programme for Export Market Development (PEMD)." It also thanked Bruce Fox of Chateau Marketing, for organizing a CADSI conference on this subject in January 2008.<sup>28</sup>

Fox is now working on a CADSI "Trade Mission" scheduled for January 8 to 15, 2010. The "Mission Profile" states that CADSI has

"received financial support from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to lead a trade mission of Canadian Defence and

Security firms to Saudi Arabia and the UAE.... [Y]ou will have the opportunity to interact with Canadian embassy officials...and be introduced to Agents in the region who specialize in Defence and Security."<sup>29</sup>

In all such endeavours, CADSI works hand in glove with the Canadian government. Through the good offices of CADSI, DFAIT will subsidize 50% of the travel expenses of six Canadian military and "security" industries for CADSI's Middle East export junket.

It makes perfect sense that CADSI's tour focuses on Saudi Arabia. Although this kingdom is a world-renowned for aversion to democracy and its mediaeval-style human rights abuses, it is a glowing prize in the eyes of Canada's arms exporters. Between 2003 and 2005, it bought over \$600 million worth of Canadian military hardware. Almost \$400 million of this was for armoured battle vehicles from CADSI member and CANSEC exhibitor—General Dynamics Land Systems Canada. This made Saudi Arabia second only to the US in its purchases of Canadian weapons.<sup>30</sup>

COAT research shows that dozens of CADSI members are also arming a main Saudi adversary, namely Israel. See pp.26-28 for lists of these CADSI members and their participation in the CANSEC war industry bazaar.

While it is loud and clear that "the voice" of Canada's military industries is CADSI, it is also undeniable that "the voice" of CADSI is Tim Page. This "son of a naval commander and grandson of an army general,"<sup>31</sup> has been repeatedly listed in *The Hill Times* as one of Canada's top lobbyists.<sup>32</sup> He is thus well-embedded within two money-spinning

growth industries: Lobbying and War. The former is conservatively thought to pull in \$300 million a year, that's a 10-fold increase over the past decade.<sup>33</sup> This however is a paltry sum compared to what Canada's war industries rake in. As CADSI states, it represents industries that "generate over \$10 billion in annual sales, half of which is earned in international markets."<sup>34</sup>

Although the lobbying and arms export industries are regulated in Canada, it's easy to argue that neither



are controlled nearly enough. CADSI, with Page at the helm as president, is an excellent case in point. Canadian laws now require that all lobbyists must register with the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying. In accordance with this law, Page has been on the books for more than a dozen years.<sup>35</sup>

CADSI most recently updated its record with the Lobbying Commission in June 2009. The data it supplied is online in the Registry of Lobbyists. There we see that CADSI responded “No” when asked if it was “funded in whole or in part by any domestic or foreign government institution in the last completed financial year.”<sup>36</sup>

However, the truth is that CADSI received at least \$191,554 in handouts from Canada’s Department of

Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) between 2006 and 2008. This bountiful munificence, doled out under DFAIT’s Programme for Export Market Development (PEMD) was explicitly given to CADSI to assist its “international business development activities.”<sup>37</sup> In other words, the government wanted to encourage and reward CADSI for promoting Canada’s sizable contribution to the international arms trade. Most recently, in 2008, DFAIT cut CADSI what can be called a corporate welfare cheque. This giveaway, totalling \$97,907, was described by DFAIT as a “multi-year agreement.”<sup>38</sup>

So, CADSI *did* receive funding from a “domestic ... government institution in the last completed financial year.” It should therefore have revealed

that fact when filing to renew its application with the Lobbying Commission. In other words, CADSI fibbed.

The law clearly states that if a lobbyist’s employer “is funded in whole or in part by a government or government agency,” then it must disclose “the name of the government or agency... and the amount of funding received.”<sup>39</sup> CADSI did neither.

It seems counterintuitive, indeed even unethical, that lobbyists should receive even a dime in funding from the very government agencies that they are being paid by corporations to influence. But there it is. The law is the law. In theory, those who give professional voice to corporate interests, and who lobby within the corridors of power for legislation and policies to

## Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada Generously Funds CADSI to Push Canada’s Military Exports

Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) generously supports the lobby group representing hundreds of war industries. This organization, the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI), also organizes Canada’s largest military trade show in Ottawa. Government donations to CADSI have totalled at least \$191,554 between 2006 and 2008. These

CADSI to promote Canada’s military exports is evidenced in an online DFAIT source called “Disclosure of Grant and Contribution Awards Over \$25,000: International Trade.” This database documents the fact that CADSI received three grants from DFAIT between 2006 and the 2008. (Note: DFAIT only discloses its handouts to business associations if the value of donations is more than \$25,000. If individual contributions

cabinet ministers. CADSI lobbying is not done to benefit the public but to serve the bottom line of its corporate members. It is clearly inappropriate for DFAIT to fund this private front group that lobbies the government on behalf of Canada’s highly profitable war industries. It is also inappropriate, and illegal, for CADSI not to report these DFAIT grants to Canada’s Lobbying Commissioner.

As the “voice” of Canada’s war industries, CADSI has received generous federal government grants to promote exports.

However, in its registration to the Commissioner of Lobbying, CADSI stated that it received no government funding.

under that amount were also given to CADSI, they remain unreported.)

DFAIT grants to CADSI are part of the “Program for Export Marketing Development for Associations.” Its express purpose is to publicly

grants were targeted to expand Canada’s role in the global arms trade.

However, when CADSI updated its registration with Canada’s Commissioner of Lobbying, it said that it had *not* received any funds from the Canadian government during the previous year. This was not true. CADSI was being economical with the truth. In 2008, CADSI received almost \$100,000 for what DFAIT described as a “multiyear” grant. (For more on this legal and moral transgression, see the article above.)

This government support to

licity finance “generic international business development activities.”

Many Canadians would likely oppose federal government donations of tax dollars to a military-industry front group especially for efforts to promote Canada’s arms exports. Besides its lobbying efforts, CADSI’s main work is to organise the CANSEC arms bazaar, a bristling military trade exhibition hosted on City of Ottawa property in May 2009 that will return again in June 2010.

CADSI employs registered lobbyists who meet with top bureaucrats and politicians, including Canadian

### DFAIT Grants to CADSI

Year	Amount of Grant
2006	\$47,138 <sup>1</sup>
2007	\$46,509 <sup>2</sup>
2008	\$97,907 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$191,554</b>

### References

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## Peter MacKay

Canada's Minister of Defence attended the CANSEC 2009 arms bazaar in Ottawa and met with its organizers. Addressing Canada's top war industry representatives, MacKay declared from the CANSEC podium that despite the global economic meltdown, his government would guarantee the transfer of \$60 billion in taxes to military companies. He also told the delighted crowd at CANSEC that Canada's annual war budget of \$19 billion would increase by more than 50% to \$30 billion by 2027.

boost their corporate profits, are supposed to at least admit publicly when they are in financial bed with government entities that they are pressuring. However, in the case of CADSI, the law was flaunted and the evidence is online. (See article on previous page.)

The Lobbying Act is supposed to have teeth, at least hypothetically. The law states that any lobbyist who files a report to the Commission and "knowingly makes any false or misleading statement...is guilty of an offence and liable" to a fine of between \$50,000 and \$200,000, and/or a prison term of between six months and two years.<sup>40</sup>

But the idea that Mr. Page, or any such front man for Canada's bustling military-industrial complex, might be jailed or even fined for not reporting \$100,000 in government donations seems a laughably-remote possibility.

Besides Tim Page, CADSI also employs another professional lobbyist, namely Janet Thorsteinson. She is their "Vice President of Government Relations." Unlike Page, she is a newcomer to the world of lobbying, having only recently retired from a 30-year career in the federal government, "including 16 years at the executive level."<sup>41</sup>

In recent postings she was responsible for awarding government contracts to industries, including those providing military hardware. One of her stints was as Acting Assistant Deputy Minister (Acquisitions) with Public

Works and Government Services, between Nov. 2004 and Nov. 2005.<sup>42</sup>

Since July 2008, when the new Lobbying Act became law, senior public officials (referred to as DPOH - Designated Public Office Holders) have not been permitted to lobby the government for five years after they leave their posts. This prohibition includes Assistant Deputy Ministers (ADMs). Although Ms. Thorsteinson was only an "Acting ADM," her position should be covered by DPOH Regulations because she held this "temporary" position for three times longer than the allowable four months. However, Ms. Thorsteinson isn't subject to this regulation because only acting appointments that began on or after May 4, 2009, are covered by the Act.<sup>43</sup>

This is but one example of the Lobbying Act's weakness in controlling corporate interests that wish to cash in by hiring former government officials. The Act has not prevented CADSI's Thorsteinson from pushing back through the revolving door into the government halls of power where she once worked. Once back inside, she works to encourage her former colleagues to institute policy decisions that will increase corporate profits for her new masters in industry.

Adding insult to injury, lobbyists like Page and Thorsteinson can write off their business expenses. In this way, "taxpayers actually subsidize

this distortion of the democratic process, to the tune of an estimated over \$100 million a year."<sup>44</sup>

CADSI's high-flying ventures in facilitating and promoting arms peddling, make for an interesting foil to the hard-slogging volunteer efforts of peace activists. The two worlds could not be farther apart.

An example of this gulf between the two realms can be seen in the sphere of communications. In the peace movement, the work of communications is taken on by ordinary people who are thrown together thanks to their shared concerns about some injustice. CADSI on the other hand, has a Communications Committee chaired by an executive from Hill and Knowlton Canada (H&KC).<sup>45</sup> This huge PR company, one of CADSI's 800 corporate members, is "the nation's leading strategic communications consultancy" and is connected to "the world's foremost communications company."<sup>46</sup>

Its US parent has been an inveterate flak catcher for many of the world's worst corporate fraudsters, polluters, dictators, torturers, warmongers and other global pariahs.<sup>47</sup> H&K is infamous for concocting the fabricated "incubator-baby" story that was used as a pretext to manufacture widespread public support for the genocidal US bombardment of Iraq in 1991.<sup>48</sup>

Retired Canadian Brigadier General Gordon O'Connor was a Senior Associate at H&KC between 1996 and 2004.<sup>49</sup> While there, he lobbied for many weapons industries before making becoming the Conservative Party's first Minister of Defence in 2006.

In opposing CANSEC, not only were we up against an influential, government-funded association representing many of Canada's top multi-billion dollar war industries, we were also contending with professional corporate propagandists and leading lobbyists.

In imagining the work of CADSI lobbyists, peace advocates should therefore be under no illusion that there is an adversarial relationship between the denizens of military-industry and their friends in government. On the contrary, the working relationship between these two old-boys' clubs is so close that we could say, they are both turning from the same page.

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## Federal Government

Data filed by CADSI with the Lobbying Commission states that on May 27 and 28, 2009—while peace activists were locked outside Ottawa’s prime, publicly-funded city facility—CADSI lobbyists were behind closed doors rubbing shoulder pads with two of Canada’s top Cabinet Ministers and several of their closest friends in the bureaucracy. During the two-day CANSEC war fest, CADSI had meetings with these power brokers:

- **Tony Clement**, Minister of Industry
- **William King**, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Industry
- **Ron Parker**, Assistant Deputy Minister of Industry
- **Peter Mackay**, Minister of National Defence
- **Dan Ross**, Assistant Deputy Minister (Materiel), Department of National Defence (DND)
- **John Macdonnel**, Chief of Staff, Minister of National Defence
- **Drew Robertson**, Chief of the Maritime Staff, DND
- **John Adams**, Chief, Communications Security Establishment, DND
- **Brian Macdonald**, Senior Policy Advisor, Minister of National Defence
- Senator **Hugh Segal**
- **Marie-Lucie Morin**, National Security Advisor, Privy Council office.<sup>50</sup>

Over the previous months, CADSI had also had dozens of private meetings with other top government officials.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps it was, in part, due to all this persuasive CADSI smooth-talking that our so-called “Defence” Minister, Peter MacKay, announced from the security of the CANSEC 2009 podium that—despite the global economic meltdown—the Canadian government would guarantee a transfer of \$60 billion in taxes to this country’s military industries. Minister MacKay also told CANSEC’s delighted military-industrial crowd that Canada’s current war budget of \$19 billion would be increased by more than 50% to \$30 billion by 2027.<sup>52</sup>

Although DND, DFAIT and Industry Canada are the main government departments tied to the CANSEC war exhibition, they are only the tip of the iceberg. As we are told by a CANSEC 2009 promotional puff, “Over 70 government departments and agencies are expected to attend CANSEC.”<sup>53</sup>



A memo from Chief of Defence Staff, General Walt Natynczyk, urged military personnel to attend CANSEC. His memo gave a blanket exemption from Canada’s conflict-of-interest rules on the “Acceptance of Gifts, Hospitality and other Benefits.”

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### Free Lunch, Anyone?

On March 13, 2009, a DND memorandum promoted CANSEC and encouraged military personnel and DND staff to attend.<sup>54</sup> This government memo was signed by none other than Canada’s Chief of Defence Staff, Walt Natynczyk, one of three Canadian generals who commanded tens of thousands of troops in the current Iraq war.<sup>55</sup> But more than just pushing a private event, this memo gave CANSEC attendees a blanket exemption from military conflict-of-interest rules on the “Acceptance of Gifts, Hospitality and other Benefits.”<sup>56</sup>

Natynczyk’s letter said that all DND staff and Canadian Forces personnel were permitted to

“visit CANSEC 2009 without prior approval and may accept CANSEC 2009 and its members’ invitation to attend the breakfasts, network luncheons, and evening reception that are part of the CANSEC programme.”<sup>57</sup>

He went on to state that “Although the costs of these events...may exceed minimal value as outlined” in conflict-of-interest rules, “any CF member and DND employee invited to attend any of these events is hereby authorised to do so.”<sup>58</sup>

The events in question were CANSEC’s free meals: two breakfasts at \$40 each, two lunches at \$70 each, and an \$85 dinner. In total, the potential windfall totalled \$305 per person.

(That’s \$326.35 with GST.)

The military industries exhibiting at CANSEC were apparently more than happy to pick up the additional tabs for DND staff and CF personnel who attended these extravagant meals. According to an insider who attended CANSEC and took part in the feeding frenzy, there were between 800 and 1000 people at these over-priced feasts.

Peace activists can only imagine how many additional people might be attracted to anti-war events if we offered such culinary incentives.

Bending the conflict-of-interest rules by allowing military contractors to pick up the tab for the meals of military personnel attending CANSEC was certainly yielded a financial windfall for CADSI. However, when compared to Canada’s overall military spending, such corporate giveaways are nothing more than mere chicken feed.

### Pigs at the Trough

The real feeding troughs are to be found in various government programs that transfer billions of dollars in public funds to private military enterprises. Industry Canada’s “Strategic Aerospace and Defence Initiative” (SADI) is a case in point. One of SADI’s main goals, it reveals, is to make Canada “attractive to top scientific and engineering talent in cutting-edge A&D [Aerospace and Defence] industries.”<sup>59</sup>

This “cutting-edge” metaphor is not only well-honed and well-used, it is quite apt. Canada’s highly subsidised military technologies have very sharp applications indeed. They are all-too-often found at the extreme business end of Canada’s most pointed contributions to major US weapons systems.

Over the past year and a half, the SADI program has “invested” \$415 million in nine Canadian companies.<sup>60</sup> While only three of these exhibited at CANSEC 2009, this trio received the lion’s share of all the SADI funding, getting 80% (\$346 million) of the total amount it disbursed. Let’s take a peek at these CADSI triplets and their recent successes in suckling at the SADI teat of government largesse.

### Three War Industries

federal “investment” of \$43.4 million in Bristol would put Manitoba on the “cutting edge of research, innovation, education and skills training.”<sup>62</sup> (Emphasis added.)

His speech, on behalf of then-Minister of Industry, Jim Prentice, cut to the chase when explaining that the money would help “sustain Canada’s participation in the multinational Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program.”<sup>63</sup> The JSF, is a major US-led effort to build the world’s most advanced airborne weapons system, the F-35 “Lightning II.” It is also one of history’s biggest cash cows, or, as Toews puts it:

“The government’s commitment to this program provides the Canadian aerospace industry with access to the largest international defence

Industry Canada recently “invested” \$415 million in nine Canadian aerospace/“defence” exporters. Of these, three exhibited at CANSEC 2009. This trio —Bristol, CMC and CAE—got 80% of the handouts.

monstration phase of the program.”<sup>67</sup>

The Canadian government is expected to channel over \$500 million in the JSF project over the next four decades. In return, military advocates are hoping to receive “\$8 billion in opportunities for Canadian industry.”<sup>68</sup>

Bristol’s part in the production of this futuristic weapons system was described by Toews as “focused on advanced composite technologies required” for the JSF.<sup>69</sup>

CADSI’s website says Bristol “is positioned to move into the production phases of the [JSF] program in the following areas: machining of wing, airframe and landing gear structural items; production of major composite structural items; production of complex frames and assemblies for the engines; and machining, fabrication and assembly of key portions of the LiftFan™ for the STOVL variant.”<sup>70</sup>

Toews’ glowing pronouncements project that the government’s investment in Bristol will:

- “push the boundaries of manufacturing precision and tolerances”
- “have a positive impact on the Winnipeg region and Canada as a whole”
- “help strengthen Winnipeg’s position as a composite centre of excellence.”<sup>71</sup>

But the bottom line used in publicly promoting this disbursement of \$43+ million in cash is simply jobs; lots of supposedly great high-paying jobs. Toews bragged that

“The jobs that will be generated through this project will be high-technology, knowledge-based positions. As one of Winnipeg’s largest industrial employers, Bristol’s highly trained workforce will benefit from being at the leading edge of composite expertise.”<sup>72</sup>

Exactly how many jobs, Toews didn’t actually mention, but seven months later, we got an answer. In June 2009, the *Winnipeg Free Press* was glowing with excitement because Bristol had just received an additional \$20 million from Manitoba’s NDP govern-

contract ever awarded.”<sup>64</sup>

As summarised by Industry Canada, the \$300-billion<sup>65</sup> JSF is

“A multinational acquisition program for the United States Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and eight cooperative international partners (including Canada). The stealth, supersonic F-35 Joint Strike Fighter is expected to replace a wide range of aging fighters and strike aircraft.”<sup>66</sup>

From the beginning, Industry Canada has led the charge to participate in building these warplanes by

“providing R&D funding to Canadian aerospace firms on favourable terms to assist them in securing work on the systems development and de-



### Bristol Aerospace:

Bristol, whose parent company Magellan Aerospace exhibits at the CANSEC war show, is famous the world over for its government-subsidized CRV-7 air-launched missile system. (CRV stands for Canadian Rocket Vehicle.) This unguided Canadian missile carries a variety of warheads—including those loaded with antipersonnel cluster munitions, fragmentation bombs, dart-like flechette projectiles and high explosives mixed with a chemical called white phosphorus.<sup>61</sup> The latter is inextinguishable by water and can burn right through the flesh to bone.

In September 2008, Conservative MP Vic Toews announced that a

ment to assist with its JSF contract. The article quotes Bristol's vice-president as saying there "are now about 15 to 20 Bristol people working on the JSF."<sup>73</sup>

With such a measly number of actual jobs in place, Bristol's JSF project seems a far cry from the "cutting edge" foray into employment creation promised by the government's overly-optimistic pronouncements. The reality at Bristol, leads one to a healthy skepticism that pretending to pull jobs out of a high-tech hat is just a pretext for corporate hand outs. If the government really wanted to help people by creating jobs, wouldn't it invest in socially-useful, labour-intensive sectors?

Over the decades, many studies have demonstrated that military spending is actually one of the worst methods ever devised for putting peo-

technologies? The answer is clear. This is about the Canadian government's firm determination to wage future wars.

In a few years, the Canadian government—no matter which party holds power—will want to retire its CF-18 fighter planes and replace them with "cutting-edge," state-of-the-art F-35s. As the *Winnipeg Free Press* tells us, "the Canadian Forces are considering acquiring up to 80 of the \$100-million jets."<sup>75</sup> (This is separate from its \$500 million "investment" in the project.)

Buying dozens of F-35s will certainly reward the military industries involved. These companies however are not the only beneficiaries of war production. Other Canadian enterprises—engaged for instance in foreign resource extraction or importing products made by poorly-paid factory workers—can also expect their profits to be enhanced when "business-friendly" foreign regimes are emplaced or propped up by US-led wars. Investing in the baneful technology of military "air power" may therefore be seen by Canada's government as an effective way to multiply profits in many industries.

and Defence Initiative (SADI) attracts foreign investment to Canada, advances innovation and helps develop a highly skilled workforce."<sup>79</sup> (Emphasis added.)

Although this announcement may sound great on the surface, there is much hidden behind the veil of this declaration. CMC was once largely owned by Canadian billionaire Gerry Schwartz, who was Prime Minister Paul Martin's top fundraiser<sup>80</sup> and a leading light in Canada's pro-Israel lobby.<sup>81</sup> This is significant because CMC supplies technology for many of the world's most lethal war machines, including several brands of US warplanes used by Israel. The most notorious of the Israeli weapons systems benefiting from CMC technology are the AH-64 "Apache" helicopter gunships<sup>82</sup> and the F-15<sup>83</sup> and F-16<sup>84</sup> fighter/bombers.

At the time of the CMC announcement, Israel was in the middle of a major military offensive that massacred hundreds of innocent people in Gaza using these very US weapons. But Canada's role in easing the flow of essential war technology for use in the

aerial bombardment of densely-populated civilian neighbourhoods was not one of the government's talking points on January 13. It never is.

On the day before our government's

kind declaration of monetary support for CMC war technology, Canadian diplomats stood defiantly alone at the UN's Human Rights Commission in Geneva to vote against a motion calling for "urgent international action" to halt Israel's "massive violations" of human rights.<sup>85</sup>

On the next day, when two Canadian Cabinet Ministers stood shoulder to shoulder smiling with CMC's president and announced their benevolent investment in CMC, the Israeli armed forces were killing dozens of innocent people in Gaza, including at least 11 children and three women.<sup>86</sup> (For more on Canada's military exports to Israel, see pp.26-29.)

But, of course, Clement and Paradise made no mention of Israel or Gaza in their statements. The words

<b>Jobs Created by \$1 Billion in Spending</b>		
<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Jobs Created</b>	<b># of Jobs Relative to Military Spending</b>
<b>Military</b>	8,555	--
<b>Home Construction</b> (Weatherization & Infrastructure)	12,804	+49.7%
<b>Health Care</b>	12,883	+50.2%
<b>Education</b>	17,687	+106.7%

ple to work. For instance, research published by the Institute for Policy Studies in 2007 shows that while shovelling \$1 billion into high-tech military industries can create 8,555 jobs, this pales when compared to investing the same amount in socially-useful, but less capital-intensive sectors. For example, \$1 billion creates 50% more jobs in home construction and health care; more than twice as many jobs in education and 2.3 times as many jobs in mass transit.<sup>74</sup> It is equally important to note that investing in these other sectors would also provide socially-useful benefits to the public, who are after-all providing the cash. (See the table above.)

So, if "investing" in Bristol and other arms industries isn't really done to create jobs, what *is* driving the government's obsessive support for war



### CMC Electronics:

This CANSEC 2009 exhibitor<sup>76</sup> is "a wholly owned subsidiary of Esterline,"<sup>77</sup> a US aerospace company that derives about 40 percent of its business from military production.<sup>78</sup>

On January 13, 2009, the Canadian government announced a \$52.3 million "investment" in CMC. This generous support for one of Canada's biggest money-making war industries was proudly unveiled by Industry Minister Tony Clement, and Minister of Public Works and Government Services, Christian Paradis. In their announcement supporting CMC's "innovative cockpit technologies," Clement conjured up the standard images by intoning that

"In addition to encouraging Canadian companies to perform *cutting-edge* R&D, the Strategic Aerospace

“weapon,” “war,” “death” and “destruction” were similarly absent from their discourse. Instead, Canadians were treated to such whitewash as:

“Creating public-private sector partnerships with companies such as CMC will help to ensure that Canada remains at the forefront of the aerospace and defence industry.”<sup>87</sup>

The stated goal of this particular “defence” project is to create “open architecture” making “components of the cockpit easily customizable and adaptable to both changing technologies and varied aircraft platforms.”<sup>88</sup>

The “varied aircraft platforms” that CMC has already supplied include many “cutting-edge” US weapons. Besides the three already mentioned warplanes used by Israel in the bombing of Gaza, CMC has also equipped at least two dozen other types of US military aircraft.<sup>89</sup> (See p.36.) Each of these have been employed by the US in the Iraq War, in which over 1.3 million people have been killed since 2003.<sup>90</sup> But that is another story Canadian cabinet ministers are loath to mention in relation to public “investments” in “cutting-edge” “defence” industries like Canada’s CMC.



## CAE:

CAE was a major exhibitor at CANSEC 2009. It was also one of this military trade event’s seven “Show Sponsors.”<sup>91</sup> CAE occupied the space of six booths in a strategic location opposite the main registration area just inside the front entrance to Lansdowne Park’s well-known Aberdeen Pavilion. (This historic fair building, built in 1898 and affectionately known to locals as the “Cattle Castle,” is the “last remaining Canadian example of a popular 19th century exhibition-hall style” edifice.<sup>92</sup> During CADSI’s recent war industry extravaganza, this building was coldly rechristened “General Dynamics Hall”<sup>93</sup> in honour of one of the world’s “Big Four” weapons manufacturers.)

CAE is also represented on CADSI’s 15-member board of directors. These so-called “senior leaders from a broad spectrum of defence and secu-

rity interests...set the strategic direction” of CADSI.<sup>94</sup> The CAE’s point man on CADSI’s board is Marc Parent, the company’s executive vice president and chief operating officer.<sup>95</sup>

CAE is the only Canadian corporation on the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute’s list of the world’s 100 largest war industries.<sup>96</sup> This Montreal-based firm has reversed the usual pattern of North American military industries; it is Canadian-owned with branch plants in the US.

CAE’s main products include “innovative modelling and simulation

edged function. They are designed “specifically for military training and mission rehearsal requirements.”<sup>101</sup>

So, not only are CAE’s simulators used for training purposes, air crew also use them to *rehearse* their military missions. These trial runs, of course, include practising the deployment of all manner of weapons during bombing sorties. As such, these sophisticated Canadian simulation technologies must also be recognised as fulfilling a vitally important *psychological* role. They help to prepare the minds of warfighters who must eventually use many of



**CEO Robert Brown (left) with Cabinet Ministers Clement (centre) and Paradis, tour CAE’s Montreal plant to announce the government’s \$250 million ‘investment’ in one of the world’s most profitable war industries. This handout, they said, would “strengthen Canada’s workforce.” Six weeks later, CAE laid off 700 workers!**

technologies”<sup>97</sup> for dozens of kinds of warplanes and military helicopters.

The company’s 2009 disclosure statement to Canada’s Commissioner of Lobbying frankly notes that “Ninety per cent of CAE’s C\$1.4 billion annual revenues are derived from worldwide exports” and that it is

“a global leader in the design of sophisticated military training systems for air, land and sea applications, having supplied the defence forces of more than 30 nations with military training systems and services.”<sup>98</sup>

Among CAE’s most infamous systems are high-tech flight simulators of which it “has long been the world’s leading supplier.”<sup>99</sup> These devices, used by pilots, weapons specialists and other air crew, are part of what CAE calls its strategy for “Staying at the Cutting Edge.”<sup>100</sup> Flight simulators have a two-

the world’s deadliest weapons systems in devastatingly destructive attacks.

CAE is handsomely rewarded by the Canadian government for its important work in readying dozens of the world’s military forces for warfare. For instance, during fiscal year 2008, CAE reported received \$11.3 million from Revenue Canada and \$52.2 million from the Department of Industry’s Technology Partnership Canada program.<sup>102</sup> In its record with the Commissioner of Lobbying, CAE also noted that it expected to get more government funding in 2009. It was, of course, correct.

On March 31, 2009, the Canadian government revealed a massive “investment” of \$250 million in Canada’s top military enterprise, CAE. This quarter billion in tax dollars—ostentatiously publicized on March 31 by Industry Minister Clement—was in aid

## Canada Pension Plan Investments in CAE (in millions)

2009	\$24
2008	\$52
2007	\$68
2006	\$46
2004	\$31

of a CAE project called “Falcon,” an appropriately predatory name. Clement brandished the project as a way to “expand the company’s technological capabilities by allowing it to develop new simulation tools and products for the civil aviation and defence markets.”<sup>103</sup>

Media announcements about this huge cash transfer were accompanied by photographs of a positively beaming Clement. In one image, the Minister is seated within a CAE simulator shaking hands with CAE’s president, CEO and chief lobbyist, Robert

*Reuters* story revealed that CAE was in fact slashing 700 employees from its talented workforce.<sup>107</sup> Most of these laid off workers are in Montreal, at the very site of Minister Clement’s joyful gladhanding photo op.

One might imagine that things must be awfully grim over at CAE for it to be cutting 10% of its workforce. But this isn’t the case. As *Reuters* reported, CAE’s “fourth-quarter earnings...were C\$51.3 million...up 9.1 percent from C\$47 million...a year earlier.” Neither were CAE’s revenues down. In fact, they had just risen 19.7 percent to \$438.8

## Some Lessons Learned from an Uneven Playing Field

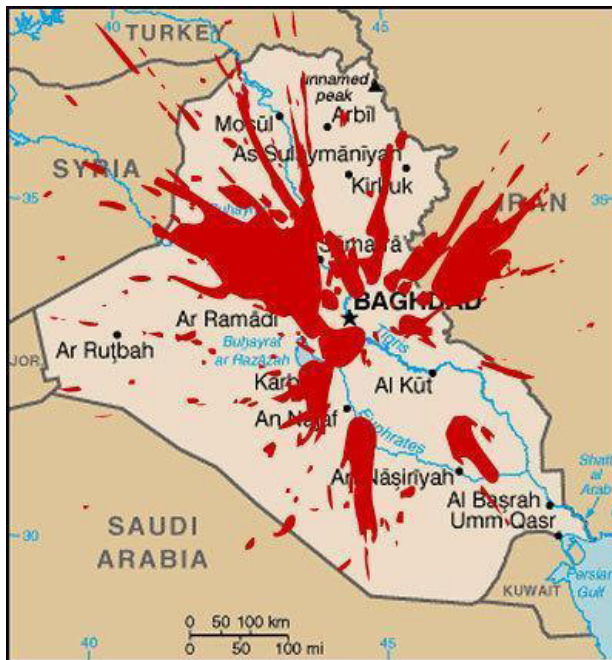
According to official narratives perpetuated in plentiful government media releases extolling the benefits of “cutting edge” war technologies, or by the websites cranked out by the corporate beneficiaries of this federal largesse, or even by reviews from the cheerleaders for military industrial development that can be found throughout the daily tripe of mainstream media, the countless foreign civilians that are victimised by war remain forever unreckoned. They are nigh on unheard, invisible and presumed worthless.

This human toll of Canadian war technology is never tallied when government, business or the press calculate the supposed value of pouring billions of tax dollars into the coffers of military industries. So, because the innocent victims of Canadian-supplied wars are silently swept under the rug, citizens who empathise with their plight feel a moral and social responsibility to help make their voices heard. We pool our personal resources and try to push our way against the mainstream current. Such was the case in the public effort to expose CANSEC 2009 and the elitist politics of war profiteering that it symbolises. In examining this effort, we can see that there were numerous inequalities and imbalances inherent in the struggle.

In one corner, fighting to promote CANSEC and the arms trade, there are the staff lobbyists and professional PR experts from CADSI—the institutional embodiment of raw corporate militarism. Strengthened by ample private and public funding, this business association represents the brute muscle of arms manufacturers. Backed by dues from 800 of Canada’s most successful war-related companies, and subsidised by liberal disbursements regularly doled out from the federal government’s kitty, CADSI also received virtual in-kind donations from the City of Ottawa’s legal department, administrative staff and police force.

In the other corner, assorted volunteers from diverse citizens’ groups and religious organisations, came together to speak out on behalf of those countless innocent civilians

**CAE is a global leader in the design of sophisticated military training and rehearsal systems for air-, land- and sea-based weapons. CAE has built high-tech flight simulators for at least two dozen different kinds of US war planes and military helicopters used in the destruction of Iraq since 2003.**



Brown. In another photo, accompanied by Minister Paradis of Public Works and Government Services, Clement is grinning ear to ear as he waves to a few applauding employees at CAE’s Montreal facilities. (See opposite page.) With them once again is Brown, the CAE boss, who is a former military officer turned government bureaucrat who has been responsible for CAE’s lobbying efforts since 2005.<sup>104</sup> (Brown reached the level of Assistant Deputy Minister between 1982 and 1987.<sup>105</sup>)

The government’s PR efforts predictably assured taxpayers that our six-figure “investment” would “contribute to high-quality employment opportunities, [and] strengthen Canada’s workforce with talented scientists, engineers and researchers.”<sup>106</sup>

However, only six weeks later, a

million. What’s more, this company happily “closed the quarter with a backlog of C\$3.2 billion in orders, up from C\$2.9 billion a year earlier.”<sup>108</sup> CAE military contracts totalled \$1.1 billion in the quarter, while its civil aviation unit signed contracts worth almost half a billion.<sup>109</sup> CAE was doing so well that, despite labour cut backs, some might have seen this as a good news story.

But was everyone overjoyed that our government had ploughed another \$250 million into CAE? Certainly not those 700 unemployed workers and their families, or the taxpayers who financed the whole “cutting edge” fiasco. But, also—lest we forget—there are the multitudes of poor at the receiving end of all those sharp CAE-linked weapons systems used in the war zones of Iraq, Afghanistan, Gaza, etc. Surely their lives must count for something.

who are the daily roadkill of the world's ravaging war machines. Although our grassroots challenge to CANSEC represented unmistakable public interests in peace and security, we could not expect to receive government donations, subsidies or investments derived from our own taxes. Similarly, the idea of receiving corporate sponsorships for such a campaign would be a laughable.

But setting aside all of these legal and fiscal imbalances, even the rules of engagement in this contest seemed fixed to ensure a victory for those vested private interests that accrue vast riches from war. Well-heeled outfits like CADSI need never tromp the

ready staged enough of these experiments in truth? For instance, public opinion polls have already clearly shown that most Canadians do not support their government's support for the US-led war in Afghanistan,<sup>110</sup> let alone the destruction of Iraq.

If CADSI, and the private enterprises they front for, want the public to grubstake them with tax money and other community resources for their efforts to feed US-led coups, wars and bombing campaigns, is it not up to them to demonstrate that the supposed value of such faraway exercises in mass murder can be justified? (As if the slaughter of innocent people could ever be

*If only we organized larger protests. If only politicians had the facts.... Then, they would understand. Then, they would end these senseless wars and we could all live in a peaceful world that respects the public's overwhelming desire for peace.*

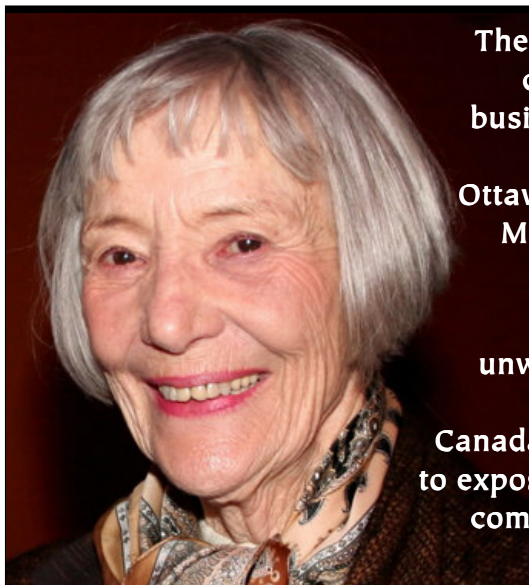
But no matter how much we do, or how well we perform the media dances that are expected of us, our efforts are never sufficient to do the trick.

The reason for our apparent "failure" is not that we need to provide politicians and bureaucrats with more information, or that we needed to impress them with more people signing petitions, writing letters or waving signs at rallies. The problem is, tragically, far deeper than that.

The reality is that mainstream politicians know all too well which side their bread is buttered on, and it is generally *not* on the side that favours peace. Politicians have it on good authority from the media, and from their friends and allies in the military and corporate worlds, that war is often very good for business. And, of course, it *is*. It is *damned* good, and therein lies the very root of our predicament.

War is not some insane or senseless behaviour. War is a cold and calculated means to overthrow governments that get in the way of our business interests. And, it is a way of maintaining the power of business-friendly regimes that allow access to their markets, and their natural resources, and their cheap labour. As such, investing in the tools of war is a fabulous way to accumulate wealth, not simply because military industries are themselves extremely profitable, but because the products that they make are used to facilitate wars that make so many other businesses profitable as well.

Therefore, the struggle to budge hard-set political minds is often beyond futile; it can be a waste of the peace movement's breath and energy. Such was the case with a single-minded effort limited merely to convincing a majority on Ottawa Council to vote in favour of upholding the City's two-decade long ban on facilitating war industry trade shows. The real goal of our struggle was not simply to win enough votes on Council. That in itself was a lost cause and, as such, it was a sure-



**The City of Ottawa's recent decision to facilitate the business of war was a rude gesture of disrespect to Ottawa's much-loved former Mayor, and COAT mentor, Marion Dewar.**

**In remembrance of her unwavering spirit, activists will continue to oppose Canada's military exports and to expose this country's largest commercial pageant of war, CANSEC.**

streets filling petitions to selfishly demand that their arms shows be held at publicly-financed venues. Nor must CADSI personnel rally citizens to lobby in support of corporate welfare for the already lucrative trade in instruments of death and their accessories. And, when have Canada's military privateers ever been required to organize large public events to demonstrate that they enjoy popular backing for their free-wheeling international weapons deals and their enjoyment of unrestricted military exports to fuel the US war machine?

The peace movement however is continually expected to jump through elaborate hoops to prove, once and for all, that the world is not flat and that ordinary peace-loving people do not want to bankroll war racketeers. Such expectations seem totally unfair. Why must we repeatedly demonstrate such obvious realities? Have activists not al-

justified by some overriding Canadian interest.) But war industries—and their kowtowing apologists in public office—need not prove anything of the sort. Governments routinely operate as if their chief responsibility is to help fill corporate larders. Although lining the pockets of their friends in the big business of war—like Bristol, CAE and CMC—is always presented as a public good, popular support for such hand-outs need never be demonstrated. Such munificence is simply viewed as an underlying reality about how our peculiar democratic system works, whether people like it or not.

On the other hand, because the peace movement is always expected to prove that it enjoys public support, many exasperated activists can often be heard expressing such refrains as: *If only we had more names on petitions. If only people wrote more letters.*



fire trap to set us up for a depressing and demoralising failure.

Our real goal was to raise public awareness and to build a stronger community of opposition and resistance to Canada's despicable role in the international arms trade. The underlying issues at stake in this greater struggle are not decided by local governments but by federal politicians who make Canada's war policies and who pull the purse strings to dispense our nation's common wealth to private industries that are fuelling international wars.

By thinking globally and acting locally, we *did* achieve many important successes. Despite the disempowering vote at Ottawa Council, we *did* raise public awareness and we *did* build the movement to oppose war. And, when future elections roll around, more people will have a better understanding of the need to work toward replacing the servile corporate-minded politicians that are working—in all levels of government—to promote war profiteering.

To thousands of citizens engaged in local grassroots efforts to oppose Canada's role in wars, the City of Ottawa's recent affront to peace was a rude gesture of disrespect to the City's much-loved former Mayor, and COAT mentor, Marion Dewar.<sup>11</sup> Shortly before her untimely demise last fall, Marion expressed her resolute commitment to join COAT in opposing the return of CANSEC—and other such military marketeering events—to Ottawa property. In remembrance and recognition of her unfaltering spirit, activists will continue to struggle against Canada's largest commercial pageant of war.

When flatbed trucks laden with large armoured battle vehicles destined for war once again roll through the streets of Ottawa's quiet downtown neighbourhoods on their way to the outdoor display areas of Ottawa's fairgrounds, we'll be there.

And, when hundreds of this country's top military exporters begin again to set up their marketing stalls inside Ottawa's main publicly-funded exposition halls, we'll be there.

And, whether or not you are in Ottawa next June, please join us during the next round in this ongoing struggle to expose Canada's largest manifestation of the military-industrial complex.

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**Mainstream politicians know which side their bread is buttered on, and it is not on the side that favours peace. They have it on good authority from the media, military and corporate worlds, that war is good for business. And, of course, war *IS* good for business. It is *damned* good. And therein lies the very root of the anti-war movement's predicament.**

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