

ARMX: CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL ARMS EXHIBITIONS



INTRODUCTION

ARMX is the controversial Canadian exhibition of military technology held every two years to showcase components for air, land, sea and space systems. In carefully orchestrated media campaigns, the organizers of the exhibits, Baxter Publishing, have attempted to portray ARMX as an innocuous event designed only to offer "training and simulation" equipment for procurement by the Canadian armed forces. They have down-played the presence of major manufacturers of conventional and nuclear weapons systems at ARMX and claim that no selling takes place. Organizers also try to minimize the importance of the presence of official government delegations from 60 countries.

To promote the exhibit locally they have emphasized the financial benefits enjoyed by businesses which cater to the participants. Focusing on the profitability of ARMX to the producers of military equipment and to community businesses however ignores any consideration of the moral implications of the arms trade. Its affects on peace and human rights are completely neglected. Likewise the detrimental affect which arms production has on the Canadian and global economy are ignored.

ARMX organizers have try

to build up a mythology about the exhibit to dispell public disapproval and outrage. They have consistently told one sanitized story to the media, while the story they tell when promoting the exhibit to potential exhibitors and participants is quite different. This booklet will dispell many of the myths built up around ARMX by examining a wide range of documents printed by the organizers of ARMX for their promotional purposes.

ARMX provides a forum for cooperation between military industries, governments and the armed forces of various countries. On the exhibition floor, mingling among the displays, are representatives of these three branches of Canada's military-industrial complex as well as many from abroad.

ARMX is far more than just a forum for Canada's military-industrial complex. It is an unrivalled opportunity for Canadian arms industries to show off their wares to a crowd of buyers and users of military technology from around the world. In addition, hundreds of military producers from more than a dozen countries show off their deadly wares for the Canadian market. Also on hand are government officials representing dozens of countries, many of which are widely known for their in-

volvement in wars and/or gross violations of human rights. All this makes ARMX the most blatant manifestation of Canada's involvement in the international arms trade.

As the glossy promotional pamphlets for ARMX in both 1987 and 1989 state, there are three major purposes of the show:

"A great opportunity for foreign corporations to sell to Canada and a great opportunity for Canadian companies to promote export capabilities and offering their products to the Canadian government."

This same advertisement promoting ARMX proclaimed:

"Your company can be right in the centre of intense buying action. With no general public in attendance, each delegate is a bona fide buyer, prospect or user. The time you spend with them will be the most effective and productive of the year".

This booklet has been researched and written by Richard Sanders for the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARMX

ARMX '83

ARMX was first held at Mobile Command Headquarters in St. Hubert, Quebec in April of 1983. By the standards set by the recent shows, ARMX '83 was quite modest. Intended exclusively for the Canadian army, it was attended by only 78 companies, mostly Canadian but also from 8 other countries. This first ARMX was attended by about 3,000 military and industry participants. They were charged an entrance fee to recoup the \$40,000 which it cost the Department of "National Defence" to host the show.

An internal report prepared by the staff of Lt. Gen. Francois Richard, evaluated the success of ARMX '83. It expresses the purposes of ARMX to be; to familiarize the Canadian armed forces with training and simulation equipment, to alert military industries to the equipment wanted by the military, and to "foster industry-to-industry relationships between Canadian industry and other sources of training devices and to provide a forum for potential investment/industrial cooperation." (*Kingston-Whig Standard Magazine*, Oct 14, 1989)

ARMX '85

Lt. Gen. Richard's report was published in March 1985. It anticipating the growth of ARMX '85, noting that:

"since many exhibitors and visitors will be from abroad, it is reasoned that the exhibition will provide the opportunity for Canadian firms to increase their foreign sales" (op cit.).

ARMX '85, was indeed expanded in scope. It included the exhibition of equipment for the Canadian navy and air force as well as for the army. To accomodate this growth, ARMX '85 was held at the Uplands Air Force Base, in Ottawa. There were six times as many companies exhibiting at ARMX '85. 161 companies came from across Canada, and more than 100 came from 9

other countries: Belgium, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The number of participants also increased significantly to about five thousand. Similarly, the cost of organizing the exhibit increased to about \$50,000.

Both ARMX '83 and '85 were held in the hidden security of military bases. Their secretive nature, allowed them to completely escape the notice of the peace movement and the general public.

ARMX '87

In the winter of 1985, the Department of "National Defence," fearing public opposition to its open involvement in a burgeoning arms trade show, began searching for some other government department or private enterprise to take over the management of ARMX '87. Three government departments, including Regional Industrial Expansion and External Affairs were approached but they turned down the pleas of "National Defence."

Two military associations; namely the Canadian Chapter of the American Defence Preparedness Association and the Conference of Defence Associations, competed with Baxter Publishing for the right to organize ARMX '87.

Finally, in 1986, the sole rights for coordinating all future ARMX shows was awarded to Defence Publications Ltd. for one dollar. This division of Baxter Publishing in Toronto produces the trade journal of the armed forces, the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*. As Perrin Beatty noted in his message to ARMX '87 participants, this was "the first such exhibit conducted entirely by private industry" (*ARMX '87 Preview*, p. 3).

Why ARMX was privatized is revealed in a confidential memo from then-commander of the Canadian Forces, Gen. Gerard Thériault to the Minister of "National De-

fence." This memo, dated July 8, 1985, accurately foreshadowed the widespread public opposition which future ARMX shows would receive. It was gained through an "access to information" request by *Kingston Whig-Standard* reporter, Jeff Outhit. Thériault explains his reasons for wanting to privatize ARMX:

"we now have an activity that started quite innocently as a training technology exhibition, intended primarily to acquaint Canadian Armed Forces personnel with evolving potential of the discipline but which has now grown into a major defence exhibition.... the public perception of the CF [Canadian Forces] promoting defence equipment sales and military hardware has a self serving character to it that is not attractive and is likely to engender negative reactions in large sections of the public vis-a-vis the armed forces" (*Whig Standard Magazine*, Oct. 14, 1989)

Harvie André, then-associate "defence" minister, agreed with Thériault, who then ordered his staff to arrange "our maximum disconnection with this activity" (*Whig Standard Magazine*, p. 6).

Privatizing ARMX had several noticable affects. 1987 was the first year that ARMX was held in a public place, namely Lansdowne Park, home of the Ottawa Exhibition. ARMX '87 was also much larger than previous shows. The displays covered over 100,000 square feet of space; filling the hockey arena, 3 large exhibition halls and a huge area of the fairgrounds outside. According to "ARMX '87 in Review" (a glossy press release from Baxter Publishing), the event was "Canada's largest defence exhibition to date."

260 military companies used elaborate displays to exhibit their hardware at ARMX '87. In addition to

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the ten countries, which exhibited at the previous show, ARMX '87 had companies from five additional countries: Austria, Holland, Hong Kong, Israel and Norway. Italy, however, did not send any companies in 1987.

ARMX '89

In 1989, the show expanded even more. It covered "125,000 square feet of indoor exhibit space, and 90,000 square feet of outdoor displays." "ARMX '89 Review," in the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (June 1989), goes on to state that:

"With 464 exhibitors from sixteen countries, and with in excess of 15,000 military and civilian visitors to the show, ARMX has taken its place among the premier military equipment exhibitions in the world."

ARMX '89 exhibitors included companies from the 14 countries previously listed as well as Australia, Denmark, Italy and New Zealand. Nine of Canada's ten provinces also had special group exhibits sponsored by their governments.

As well as expanding in size, ARMX '89 also expanded in its scope, adding several new developments over previous shows. It was awarded the official United States Department of Commerce Trade Fair Certificate. This prestigious certificate ensured that there was a strong showing from south of the border. About 55 American companies exhibited at ARMX '89. Another new feature in 1989 was the addition of police equipment to the exhibition. Corresponding with this addition to the displayed material, ARMX '89 also added a new category of visitors who could attend the exhibit free of charge, namely, Canadian and foreign police and security forces.

ARMX '89 was also the focus of widespread opposition to the arms trade. For a description of the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade's campaign against ARMX '89 please turn to the section on opposition to ARMX later in this booklet.



THE FUTURE OF ARMX: ARMX '91

Despite the thawing of the cold war, and the elimination of an "enemy" to rationalize massive military expenditures, the arms trade continues. The next ARMX, scheduled for May 21-23, 1991 may even be larger than previous shows. Companies will be forced to employ even more aggressive tactics to promote their sales and acquire contracts.

An interesting twist to ARMX '89 is that the longstanding theme of past shows, namely "Training and Simulation," has been changed. Ironically, the theme of ARMX '91 is being advertized in military publications as: "Training for Peace: Defence Technology of the Future." This ties into the prevailing mythology summarized by the slogan: "Peace through Strength." It is also reminiscent of the ancient motto from imperialist Rome, "If you want peace, prepare for war."

Canadian military apologists are however quick to hold up this country's long tradition of participating in the United Nations' "Peacekeeping" operations as a rationalization for events like ARMX. However, during the fiscal year 1989-90, the Department of "National Defence" will spend only 0.6 percent of its budget on "Peacekeeping" ef-

orts (\$88,096,000).

A more significant change however is that ARMX will no longer be able to rent Lansdowne Park, where it has been held since 1987. Last year, due to widespread opposition to ARMX, generated by largely by COAT's campaign, the City of Ottawa passed a resolution banning all future "arms shows" from city property.

On June 26, 1990, the new home of ARMX was announced. It will be held at the Carp airport in West Carleton, just outside Ottawa. The \$5 million facility will also house permanent "aerospace and high technology exhibits." Eric Craig, the Mayor of West Carleton, sees the new location "as a tremendous thing for the region." Meanwhile, many outraged area residents are beginning to organize local opposition to the prospect of ARMX '91 in Carp.

THE EXHIBITORS

Company representatives are on hand at all of the ARMX booths to promote their multifarious military products with elaborate displays using photographs, videos, music, elaborate models, computer programs, high-tech graphics and glossy brochures. Some booths also give away food, alcoholic beverages and cute gimmicky gifts to promote their hardware.

Covering more than 200,000 square feet of space, are exhibits of everything from sophisticated computer equipment, communication systems and training/simulation devices to tanks, armoured personnel carriers, machine guns, a helicopter and a howitzer. An advertisement for ARMX '87, in the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, detailed a range of products which exhibitors were invited to market:

AIR: Air Defence Systems. Avionics. SAR. Radar Reconnaissance. Power Plants. Aircraft Maintenance Equipment. Ground support Equipment. Weapons systems. Military Aircraft. Command and Control RPV's [Remotely Piloted Vehicles]. Laser technology. Computers. Training equipment and simulators.

LAND: Ground weapons systems. Combat Vehicles. Logistical equipment. Training and simulation. Battlefield support equipment. Civil defence. Ordnance. Defence Communications. Detection equipment. Para-military equipment.

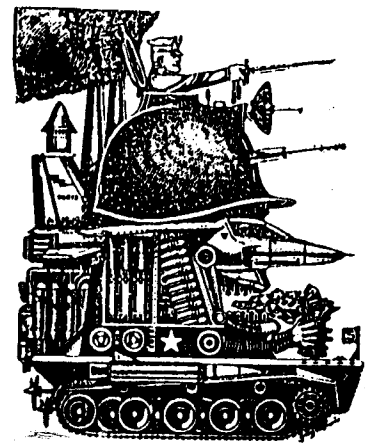
SEA: Mine warfare. Navigation aids. Propulsion systems. Naval Vessels. ASW [Anti-Submarine Warfare]. ECM [Electronic Counter-Measures]. Naval weapon systems. Shipboard equipment. Subsurface technology. Naval electronics. Surveillance and detection. Electro-optical systems. Naval aviation. Naval Logistics.

The cost of exhibiting in one of the indoor halls at ARMX is \$2,500 for a standard 8 by 10 foot booth space. Outdoor exhibits cost \$2,500 for

the first section of 250 square feet and \$500 for additional ones. Corporate exhibitors also paid \$50 per day or \$100 for the three days. With 462 military companies occupying about 2500 booth spaces it is obvious that ARMX is indeed a profitable enterprise, raising millions of dollars for the organizers.

Numerous Canadian companies making components for nuclear weapons systems also exhibited at ARMX '87. A complete list of such companies is however impossible because many do their business secretly through the Canadian Commercial Corporation in Ottawa. Some of the American companies exhibiting at ARMX are known to be major nuclear weapons systems producers such as: General Dynamics, General Electric, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas. In fact, these four companies are the four largest nuclear weapons contractors in the United States. Wolfgang Schmidt, coordinator of ARMX '87 and '89 explained the benefits to Canadian companies of having these giant American prime contractors:

The smaller Canadian companies which display here at ARMX, they can show their wares to the world and they can rub shoulders with some of the bigger companies like, let's say, General Dynamics or General Electric and maybe they pick up a subcontract here or there (interview at ARMX '87 with Richard Sanders for CKCU FM)



It may be hard to imagine, but West German tank maker Krauss-Maffei Inc. is giving away animal-paw barbecue mitts and googly-eyed leopard heads to promote its Leopard 2 tank.

Canadian Arsenals Ltd. of Montreal has one that's nothing fancy, but Henri Laporte, director of marketing and international sales, says it's been proven durable and cost-effective.

"These were used by the millions in Vietnam," he said. The mine is about the size of a small coffee cup, but it contains one-and-a-half ounces of explosives. It doesn't need a trip cord or remote control switch to set it off.

"If you step on that, there goes your leg. It'll blow a hole clear to your knee cap," he said.

Laporte's visitors got bullet key-chains promoting the company's extensive line of munitions.

(Mike Urlocker, Ottawa Citizen, May 24, A1)



THE BUYERS

The contract signed by Baxter Publications commits it to "promote, organize and manage ARMX in such a way as to attract exhibitors from around the world and Canada" so they can sell to the Canadian armed forces. However, this legal contract also commits Baxter to:

"promote, organize and manage ARMX so as to allow ARMX to play a role in allowing Canadian manufacturers to display their capabilities in the field of training and simulation and to foster possible co-operation for export potential" (*Kingston Whig Standard Magazine*, Oct. 14, 1989, p. 6)

Nothing in the contract however prevents Baxter from expanding the show to exhibit more than just training and simulation equipment. This is exactly what they have done.

In an interview with Jeff Outhit of the *Whig Standard*, ARMX organizer Wolfgang Schmidt stated: **"By marrying the Canadian manufacturing sector with the NATO countries manufacturing sector we have established a lot of export opportunities. This was something we were very interested in because we feel that ... I personally feel that Canada, in the international export market, is not as aggressive as some other countries."**

The department of External Affairs is responsible for promoting the sale of Canada's military equipment overseas. This is done through representatives stationed in Canada's embassies. External Affairs uses the opportunity presented by ARMX to familiarize its agents with military technology available for export. As stated in the *ARMX '89 Preview*, **"External Affairs Commercial Counselors also will visit the show to take note of the export opportunities for Canadian companies"** (p.22).

ARMX is also visited by high-ranking political and military delegations from most if not all of the exhibiting countries. More disturbing however is the fact that dozens of third-world countries, known to have purchased military hardware from Canada in the recent past, were also in attendance. A pamphlet for ARMX '89 states that the show was attended by "visitors from over 50 countries."

In an interview with Richard Sanders on June 2, inside ARMX '87, Wolfgang Schmidt explained the reasoning behind inviting these third world countries:

"The other countries, the ones which are not displaying here, they are delegations from foreign countries. They come over here and they see what the Canadian industry has to offer. ARMX is a fantastic opportunity for Canadian industry to display that we've an industrial base here which is not readily recognized around the world. One of the objectives of ARMX is to get Canadian industry exposed to the international world to show them that we could produce something...."

I know that all the embassies [excluding Warsaw Pact nations] who are stationed here in Ottawa have received an invitation and many of them have sent word back home ... and they have sent us word that they are coming ... I know for example there will be a delegation from Korea here, there will be a delegation from Argentina here."

The presence of specific delegations from other human rights violating governments is confirmed in the official pamphlet - "ARMX '87 in Review" which states: **"High ranking delegations came from near and afar, from such countries as France, United States, Israel, West Germany,**

Netherlands, Chile, South Korea, Taiwan, Sweden, Norway and China."

Norm Ovendem, reporter for the *Edmonton Journal*, who attended ARMX '89, wrote:

"A B.C. firm, Aim Industries, said it was hoping to obtain an export permit to sell stun grenades to Taiwan's police department. And Chile's military attaché to Canada, Col. Gabriel Alliende -- wearing uniform and dark glasses -- avidly examined a 105-mm howitzer at a British sales booth" (May 24, 1989).

On May 11, 1989, prior to an hour long debate/call-in show on Skyline Cablevision, Wolfgang Schmidt explained to Richard Sanders of the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade that all embassies listed in the Ottawa phone book, except the Warsaw Pact nations, had again been invited to ARMX '89.

With this information, one can state the following: About 89 embassies were invited to send delegates to ARMX '89. Of these, it is known that 38 have purchased weapon systems with Canadian components and are engaged in war and/or human rights violations. In addition, six of the invited countries are known to have sold weapon systems containing Canadian components to countries engaged in war and/or violating human rights.

Exemplifying the extreme hypocrisy of Canada's rhetoric on human rights, External Affairs Minister Joe Clarke defended the South African government's "right" to have embassy delegates at ARMX '89. Clarke was being questioned by NDP MP Bill Blaikie at the 'Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade' on May 11, 1989. Clarke said: **"If they [South Africa] are there, they have a right to be there"** (2:12).

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

"National Defence" Supply and Services

Although the federal government no longer organizes ARMX, its presence is, nevertheless, indispensable. All Canadian (and foreign) military and government employees are granted free admission to ARMX. High ranking government officials grant photo opportunities, cut ribbons, make speeches to the converted and take seats at the head table during the gala dinner. The *ARMX '89 Catalogue* and *ARMX '89 Preview* contain official welcoming messages from the minister of "National Defence" and the chief of Defence Staff, respectively.

ARMX has also been used by the federal government to make important policy announcements. For instance, the "Defence White Paper" was released simultaneously with the final day of ARMX '87!

The Canadian government also pays ARMX for booth spaces. At ARMX '87, for instance, the Canadian Commercial Corporation, the departments of Regional and Industrial Expansion, External Affairs (Export Controls Division) and four sections of "National Defence" (Air, Maritime and Mobile Command and "National Defence" Headquarters) each had booths.

The Canadian government is certainly not a passive observer of the Canadian arms industry, it is its most generous mentor. Through the Defence Industry Productivity Program (DIPP), hundreds of millions of dollars are given to companies every year to encourage and increase their production and export of military hardware. This reflects the government's policy of promoting conversion to war industry. Over the last decade the amount of these grants has skyrocketed from an average of 50 million per year through the 1970's to its present rate of \$250 million per year. Of the top 15 recipients of DIPP grants, 12 attended ARMX in 1987: Pratt and Whitney, De Havilland, Canadair, Litton Systems, McDonnell Douglas, Bell Helicopter, Canadian Marconi, General Motors, CAE Electronics, Spar Aerospace, Garrett Manufacturing, and DAF Indal.

"During 1990-91 the Department estimates it will spend approximately \$268 million on research and development and \$2.819 billion on new equipment....

The Department also has key responsibilities for defence industrial preparedness and maintains a Directorate of Defence Industrial resources (DDIR) under the Director General of Supply Policy and Defence Industry. DDIR's responsibilities include industrial analysis, industrial preparedness and industrial development. DDIR represents a good initial contact for industry requiring assistance on defence industrial related matters."

Industry, Science and Technology

"The Minister, Industry Science Technology has the mandate to plan and implement industrial support programmes pertaining to regional industrial development and trade and commerce considerations in Canada, including programmes for defence industries, when appropriate. For the defence industry, the most important programme administered by Industry Science Technology Canada is the Defence Industry Productivity Program (DIPP). The main objective of DIPP is the development and maintenance, across Canada, of strong defence related industries which are capable of competing successfully over the long-term in domestic and export markets. Assistance is provided towards the eligible costs of research and development, source establishment, capital assistance and marketing including feasibility studies."

(Source: These four summaries are from the *Canadian Defence Industry Guide*, published by Defence Publications, a division of Baxter Publishing which organizes ARMX.)

"Under the Defence Production Act, the Minister of Supply and Services has 'exclusive authority to buy or otherwise acquire defence supplies...required by the Department of National Defence' and 'examine into, organize, mobilize, and conserve the resources of Canada contributing to, and the sources of supply of, defence supplies and the agencies and facilities available for the supply thereof...and generally shall take steps to mobilize, conserve and coordinate all economic and industrial facilities in respect of defence supplies.'

External Affairs

"The Department of External Affairs (DEA) has primary responsibility over Canada's defence trade. Specific defence trade-related responsibilities include: international cooperative research, development and production agreements, defence equipment exports, export control (with DND), policy recommendations for industrial benefits, and government-to-government contracts....

Within the department of External Affairs, the Defence Programs Branch has primary responsibility for defence marketing....

The Department of External Affairs supports the Canadian defence industry in a variety of ways including negotiating research, development and production agreements, negotiating and implementing agreements through steering committees and working groups to alleviate impediments to trade; trade commissioners who are stationed abroad and represent individual companies, as well as accompanying representatives of these companies on trade fairs and missions; organizing and funding incoming/outgoing missions and conferences and seminars."

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

ARMX is also an opportunity for Canada's provincial governments to demonstrate their support for military companies. Over the years, ARMX has attracted more and more provincial governments to rent exhibition space. As reported in the *ARMX '89 Preview*:

"We had no provinces represented at the first show, two at the second, and six at the third," says Col. Northrup, "For the '89 show, nine provinces will exhibit. The increased provincial involvement is encouraging because it means *enhanced export possibilities for our exhibitors.*" (p. 22)

ARMX '87 actually had exhibits sponsored by 7 provincial governments:

--> Alberta, Department of Economic Development and Trade
 --> British Columbia, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade
 --> New Brunswick, Department of Commerce and Technology
 --> Nova Scotia, Department of Development
 --> Ontario, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology
 --> Quebec, Ministry of Commerce and Development
 --> Saskatchewan Government

"There were claims that ARMX was supported by taxpayers, which is totally untrue. We are a private enterprise and do not receive subsidies from the government, unlike some of the protesters."

(Wolfgang Schmidt, letter to the editor, *Ottawa Citizen*, June 11, 1989, A8)

In 1989, controversies arose over provincial government's which used taxpayers money to subsidize the expenses of military companies attending the ARMX show in Ottawa. Here are some press clippings on this issue:

BRITISH COLUMBIA

"The B.C. government booked space, provided the booths and contributed to receptions given by B.C. businesses that had displays at ARMX, an international arms fair held last week in Ottawa.

International Business Minister John Jansen said he didn't have the exact figure of how much taxpayers' money was spent on the arms exhibition, but would make it public when he had the information.

In response to questions from Tom Perry (NDP-Vancouver-Point Grey), Jansen also refused to give a commitment that the government would support only businesses that aren't developing weapons technology and are not directly involved in the arms trade."

(*Vancouver Sun*, May 31, 89, D3)

ONTARIO

"At Queen's Park, New Democrat Richard Johnston said the Ontario government should not be spending \$20,000 to assist exhibitors at the show, *The Star's* Alan Story reports.

Taxpayers' money is helping arms merchants bring "death and destruction to repressive regimes all over this world," the Scarborough West MPP told the Legislature.

The provincial government has helped by providing industry contacts, he said."

(*Toronto Star*, May 25, 1989, A14 Trish Dyer)

ALBERTA

"The government is also providing up to \$10,000 each to Alberta companies participating in ARMX '89.

That money is available to any company that attends an industrial conference, D'arcy Levesque, Economic Development spokesman, said.

It is not limited to the defence industry, but some of the 22 Alberta companies which are at ARMX '89 have said they will apply for the grant."

(*Edmonton Journal* May 25 B2, Brian Laghin, Norm Ovenden)

"At least five of the Alberta companies which took part are seeking subsidies for expenses.

Darcy Levesque of the Alberta Department of Economic Development said the department has no problem assisting Alberta companies despite the controversial nature of the show."

(*Calgary Herald*, June 1 1989 A18) CP

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COALITION TO OPPOSE THE ARMS TRADE

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Ottawa City Council moves to permanently bar ARMX from municipal property

MOTION 11/28. Moved by Alderman Brown, seconded by Alderman Smyth:

Whereas ARMX '89, a Canadian exhibition of military hardware and technology is scheduled to take place at Lansdowne Park 23-25 May[89];

And whereas the arms trade has little or no consideration of moral or humanitarian issues in that weapons have been used against civilians;

And whereas exports of Canadian military equipment and components end up in countries which persistently violate human rights;

And whereas the international arms trade serves to increase militarization throughout the world and is inconsistent with arms limitations efforts;

And whereas ARMX '89 is a closed event and restricted to Canadian government officials, foreign government representatives, police and security forces and defence industry representatives;

And whereas Lansdowne park is a publicly supported recreation and trade show facility;

Therefore be it resolved that Lansdowne Park and other city facilities not be leased to future ARMX exhibitions.

MOTION 11/29: Moved by Alderman Smith, Seconded by Alderman Smyth, that the Brown/Smyth motion (11/28.) be amended to insert the words "or other such arms exhibitions" so that the substantive clause reads as follows: " ... that Lansdowne Park and other facilities not be leased to ARMX or other such arms exhibits." -- Carried.

MOTION 11/28, as amended by Motion 11/29, carried on the following division:

Yeas -- Alderman Kent, Kehoe, Smyth, McSweeney, Harris, Brown, Laviolette, O'Neill, Holmes, Smith and Maloney, -- 11.

Nays -- Alderman Jones. -- 1.

NOTE: Alderman McSweeney spoke out strongly against the Brown/Smyth motion and then mistakenly voted in favour of it! He did not realize his blunder until attentive reporters later questioned him about his apparent change of mind. Interestingly, an article in the *Ottawa Sun* (Feb. 20, 1990) quotes Alderman McSweeney as saying that when attending ARMX '89, he "didn't see any weapons - only useful items, such as tents which can be used in hospitals." Alderman Holzman (who was absent during the vote) has since come out in favour of ARMX. The same *Ottawa Sun* article says her "only regret was that the show isn't still being held at the city-owned Lansdowne Park."



WORLD PEACE BEGINS AT HOME

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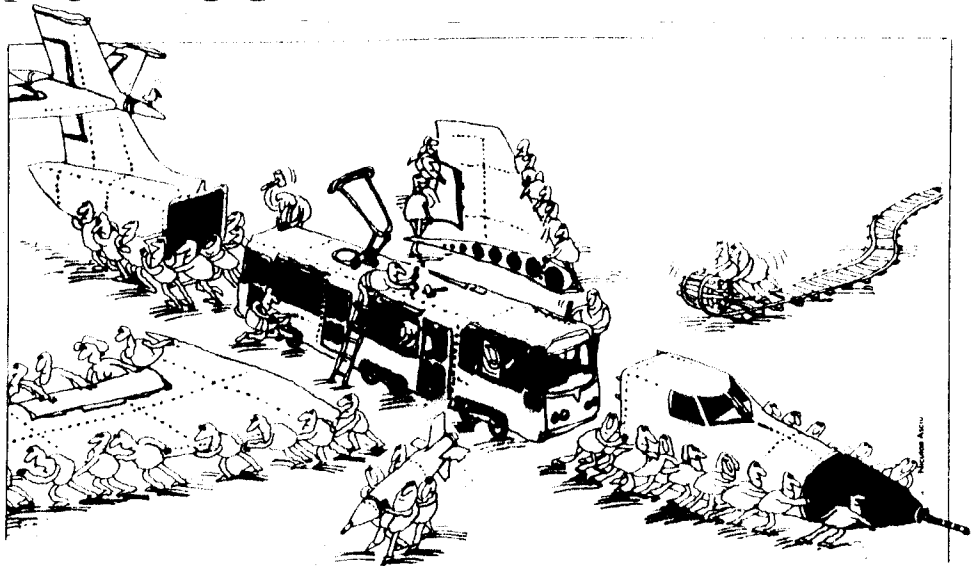
COALITION TO OPPOSE THE ARMS TRADE

ARMX has never been open to the general public and is only advertised in military journals. Therefore, to draw public attention to ARMX '87 a small demonstration was hastily organized by members of various local peace and development groups. Protesters met ARMX participants at the main entrance to Lansdowne Park with picket signs and banners, distributed leaflets and were entertained by a puppet show about ARMX. As could be expected, this small protest received only limited media attention.

Knowing that ARMX would be returning to Lansdowne Park in the spring of 1989, work began in the summer of 1988 to inform diverse social change groups about the exhibition. The idea was to organize a broadly-based coalition of groups and individuals to expose and oppose ARMX. By December of 1988, monthly meetings began in Ottawa to organize large scale opposition to the arms show. The January meeting, attended by about 60 persons representing a wide range of social change groups, decided on the name Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT). This name clarified our resolve to raise awareness and to protest not only ARMX but the international arms trade in general.

COAT decided to focus its energies on organizing a massive peace march/rally and a public inquiry into the arms trade. For several months, COAT's meetings were attended by about 80 persons of all ages, representing an incredibly diverse range of groups, from various sectors of society, with different issues, concerns, analyses and methodologies. In addition to these decision-making meetings, five work-groups began to meet separately between COAT's monthly meetings. A steering committee with representatives from each work-group was also formed.

The successes of COAT's campaign against ARMX '89 can be



summarized by the following points:

(1) It made ARMX an issue in hundreds of community and mass-media reports (print, radio and television) thereby raising the awareness of literally millions of Canadians about this country's complicity in the international arms trade.

(2) It united a broadly-based grassroots coalition of concerned citizens and diverse social change groups to oppose ARMX and the arms trade in general.

(3) It highlighted links between the Canadian arms trade and a wide range of inter-related global issues.

(4) It put ARMX organizers on the spot, forcing them into numerous media debates with COAT organizers on the global effects of the arms trade.

(5) It used various means to raise awareness and opposition to ARMX and the arms trade, including: addressing the meetings of various groups concerning ARMX; the distribution of thousands of fact-sheets, pamphlets, booklets and briefing papers; the extensive use of twenty five different posters; several detailed mailings to hundreds of individuals and groups; a "Winterlude" snow-sculpture on the theme of economic conversion; a demonstra-

tion with street theatre at the Canadian Commercial Corporation; an informative Public Inquiry into the effects of the arms trade on international peace, development and human rights; a dynamic interfaith peace service with representatives from half a dozen different religions; a benefit concert with well-known local folk musicians; and Ottawa's largest peace march in about five years in which more than three thousand walked through town to Lansdowne park to hear speakers and entertainment.

(6) Its range of printed materials, public events and extensive media exposure informed and stimulated many individuals and groups (both locally and nationally) to continue the process of exposing and opposing ARMX.

(7) It sent a clear message to the federal government that disapproval of their arms trade policies runs deep and is widespread throughout society.

(8) It created such a political climate of public opposition to ARMX, that Alderman George Brown's motion to Ottawa City Council, on April 19, stating: "that Lansdowne Park and other city facilities not be leased to ARMX or other such arms exhibitions," passed 11 to 1.

COALITION TO OPPOSE THE ARMS TRADE

THE MILITARY INDUSTRIES' RESPONSE

Put on the defensive by widespread public opposition to ARMX '89, "senior management groups" of Canadian manufacturers of military technology have been meeting and networking to consolidate and advance their "strategic interests."

PIR Communications, a Shandwick company with branches in 12 countries, is the largest public relations firm in Canada. It was hired by ARMX to deal with public disapproval of the exhibition. They circulated a letter dated May 23 to 3000 people at ARMX '89. The letter was signed by Keith Davies, a retired naval commander and past executive vice-president of SNA Canada Inc. which had the job of promoting French nuclear submarines for purchase in Canada. In this letter, Davies was tasked with rallying the Canadian military-industrial complex to form a public relations front group to counter disapproval of ARMX and the arms trade.

The letter begins:

"As a participant in Canada's defence industry, you and your company probably share with us a growing concern over the urgent need to get objective information into the hands of the general public."

Then, decrying the fact that the arms industry **"unlike other industrial sectors, has never developed a broad-based constituency of support,"** Davies calls for the creation of an **"effective organization to serve as the industry's instrument in this task."** The reason for this was expressed in this way: **"The apparent lack of public support for both the Canadian Armed Forces and Canadian defence industries make it politically difficult for the government and others to support needed programs and policies....There is a major communications gap right across Canada....and there is a major job to be done to educate Cana-**

dians."

The letter goes on to make a veiled reference to the multi-million dollar propaganda efforts of the Canadian Nuclear Association which is blitzing the Canadian media with pro-nuclear commercials and advertisements. **"Other industries in Canada have managed to respond effectively to the challenge of meeting the need for public education. And many of these same industries have carried out effective communications programs and satisfied public concerns that at one time seriously threatened to limit or curtail completely their ongoing role in society."**

This letter calls for the organization of the **"Defence Industries Association of Canada" (DIAC).**

In another letter from Keith Davies addressed to company executives on July 13, 1989, he stated that the DIAC **"has received very strong encouragement from industry, the bureaucracy, the military and various level of government."**

DIAC also met with marked enthusiasm from an influential military publication. In the May 31, 1989, edition of the *Defence News Bulletin*, publisher Mike O'Brien began with a commentary headlined **"A Light in the Forest."** His praise of Davies' call letter was poetic. He called it:

"A plea for help, a quest for sanity, a light in the forest focussed on forming a united voice which could share objective information with the Canadian people... This community should organize itself under one umbrella, one voice, and speak out on matters of its own concern."

PIR Communications issued a press release on July 13, 1989, to announce plans for a September meeting of a national steering committee." It stated that the:

"impetus leading to the formation of DIAC stemmed from negative perceptions which developed at the industry's biannual trade show, ARMX '89... It became apparent that certain anti-defence groups attempted to manipulate negative public opinion."

The Autumn issue of the *Canadian Defence Quarterly* carried a letter from Davies in which he further promotes the idea of forming the DIAC. He states that:

The objectives...include

- the establishment of a public education program....
- the identification of issues and concerns affecting the industry in both the public and business sense, and the development of strategic communications programs"

With the creation of such a front group for the military-industrial complex in Canada, peace groups will have to be ever vigilant in monitoring the media for propaganda (or what Davies refers to as "public education" and "strategic communications programmes").

Monitoring the DIAC's propaganda campaigns however will not be easy. In a *Globe and Mail* interview published October 17, 1989, Keith Davies stated that the Defence Industries Association of Canada will be **"a million-dollar-a-year-organization, not a \$100,000-a-year-one."** So far, no commercials or advertisements from the arms company front group have been reported on television, radio or in newspapers. This however does not mean that the DIAC is inactive. Their influence on the media may well consist of backroom meetings with the editorial staff of major newspapers, rather than upfront advertisements such as those used by the nuclear industry.

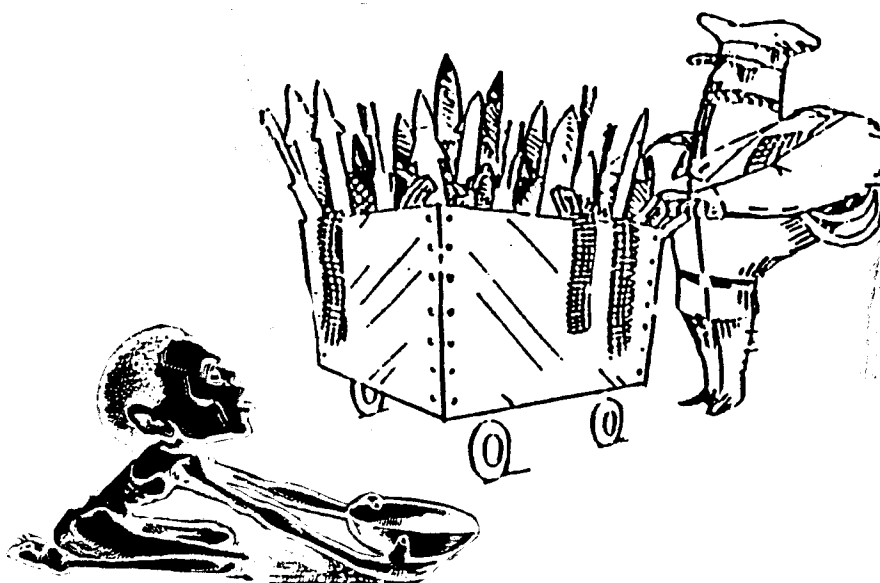
CONCLUSIONS:

Although it started from rather humble beginnings as a "training and simulation" exhibition for the Canadian army, ARMX is now among the world's largest military exhibitions. It is the primary forum for representatives of the Canadian military, government and industrial sectors to network amongst themselves as well as with their counterparts from other countries. It is the most blatant manifestation of Canada's involvement in the global arms trade.

ARMX is the foremost opportunity for the military to look at and try out new equipment and attend technical seminars on many topics, including training and simulation. About 450 arms industries from more than fifteen countries exhibited hardware to users and buyers from Canada as well as to clients from one third of the world's countries at ARMX '89. Many of the Third World governments, whose official representatives are invited to ARMX, are known from government documents, to have recently purchased Canadian military equipment. Many of these Third World governments, looking over the equipment at ARMX, are also known to be involved in gross violations of human rights and/or wars of aggression with neighbouring countries.

Among the companies exhibiting at ARMX are many of the world's largest producers of nuclear weapon. McDonnell Douglas, Lockheed, General Dynamics and General Electric for instance are the largest American primary contractors for nuclear weapons systems. The reason for companies such as these to attend ARMX is not to sell nuclear weapons to the Canadian government but rather to locate smaller Canadian military firms willing to take subcontracts for producing components for nuclear weapons systems.

The Canadian government



supports the production and export of domestic military equipment with grants in the hundreds of millions of dollars per year, through the "Defence Industry Productivity Program" (DIPP). It is also responsible for issuing the export permits to supply dozens of repressive regimes with the military equipment they require to maintain political and economic conditions conducive to multinational corporations. The government, which gave the lucrative rights to organize ARMX to Baxter Publishing, has an honoured role at ARMX in welcoming the participants, giving speeches on policy and presiding over social events such as the "gala dinner."

While the Canadian government increases spending on the "DIP" Program (which funnelled about 250 million dollars this year to encourage military production and export), many people in Canada and abroad live in poverty - homeless, sick and hungry. The government's military budget was increased by 5% this year but by all logic should have been reduced to acknowledge the changing climate of international relations. To maintain the annual expenditure of \$12 billion dollars on war preparedness, the government is clinging to its cold war mentality.

Rather than continuing to blindly promote the production and

export of military equipment, a process of economic conversion should be undertaken to promote environmentally safe and socially useful services and institutions (education, health, day care centres, public transportation and environmental protection and clean-up operations). These represent our real security needs not the growth of the military-industrial complex.

The arms trade is a very lucrative business, which is highly capital-intensive and the least efficient industry for creating jobs. Driven solely by the profit motive, no consideration is given to any moral or humanitarian issues like the products' actual end-use. As a result of ARMX, the fuelling of war and repression world-wide is facilitated and promoted. This reveals Canadian corporate and government complicity in an unjust global economic order which uses violence to maintain control over cheap labour and resources desired in the "developed" world.

It seems that in the eyes of the co-conspirators in industry, government and the military, the bottom line is that war and repression are good for the interests of big business. Through ARMX, Canada demonstrates that it is open for war business and making a killing.

COALITION TO OPPOSE THE ARMS TRADE

COAT's CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND PLANS

PRESS FOR CONVERSION

CONVERSION CONFERENCE

MASS RALLY AGAINST ARMX '91

Arising out of meetings of the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT), since ARMX '89, is a new quarterly publication called - *Press for Conversion*. The main purpose of this publication is to inform Canadians about the international arms trade, this country's complicity in it and to discuss the alternatives namely, economic conversion. By gathering information on economic conversion in Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries, this magazine fills an important gap in the literature of the social change movement.

Press for Conversion continues the valuable process of public education and mobilization against ARMX and the arms trade which was begun by COAT during the campaign against ARMX '89. It is a densely packed resource of between 34 and 36 pages which brings together information from about 50 sources (including military publications usually hidden from public view).

In the spirit of conversion toward a cleaner environment, the magazine is printed on 100% recycled, unbleached paper. The purchase price is \$2.50, although bulk orders are available at reduced rates.

Press for Conversion can be purchased at a variety of locations in Ottawa including the following:

- > Britton's, 844 Bank St.
- > Earthwise Books, 216 Bank St.
- > Mags and Fags, 286 Elgin St.
- > Maisson de Presse, 100 Bank St.
- > Octopus Books, 732 Bank St.
- > Peace & Environment Centre, 154 Somerset St. W.
- > Women's Bookstore, 380 Elgin St.
- > World Interaction, 2 Daly Ave.
- > University of Ottawa Bookstore

Press for Conversion can also be obtained by writing to the COAT

The Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT) is planning to organize a major conference on economic conversion in Ottawa around the time of ARMX '91 (May 21-23, 1991). COAT's project, now in the early planning stages, is to bring together the wisdom and practical experience of leading experts in the field of conversion.

Resource people will be drawn from the business, labour, scientific, economic, and political fields as well as the social change movement. We also hope that government representatives from Canada, the USA, the USSR and elsewhere will agree to cooperate in this venture.

The decision to organize a conversion conference springs from the realization that although building awareness, opposition and resistance to the arms trade is essential, it is not enough to affect social change. It is also necessary to offer viable alternatives which are socially useful and environmentally safe.

ARMX '91 offers an opportunity to discuss alternatives to military production and export. In the context of a widespread campaign of public opposition to ARMX, an economic conversion conference will inevitably receive focused media and hence public attention.

Military companies exhibiting at ARMX will be invited to attend the conversion conference. The thawing of the cold war, makes it increasingly difficult to rationalize massive military expenditures. To maintain profits, companies must diversify and convert their production to civilian needs.

Directly or indirectly, such a conference will help to educate military industries, Canadian government officials, unions, the social change movement, and the general public about the pressing need for economic conversion. Facilitating such a dialogue is an important step toward the actual implementation of conversion plans.

The mass peace march/rally organized by the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade against ARMX '89 was one of the highlights of the Canadian social change movement in 1989. It brought together a broad range of groups and individuals with a common goal, to express opposition to ARMX and Canada's complicity in the international arms trade.

Despite a ban by the city of Ottawa on renting public space to armament exhibitions such as ARMX, the bazaar is returning to the Ottawa area. Canada's involvement in the arms trade continues and so it is important that when ARMX returns in May of 1991, it is met by concentrated public opposition.

The Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade will again coordinate a mass march/rally to draw together as many people as possible to voice our collective opposition to the arms trade. By doing so we will draw public attention to the role of ARMX in facilitating the export of military equipment around the world.

PLEASE SUPPORT COAT

I hope you'll agree that these projects; (1) the *Press for Conversion* magazine, (2) a conversion conference, and (3) a mass peace march/rally are all valuable components in COAT's campaign against the arms trade.

COAT's initiative in opposing ARMX '89 was certainly a highlight in the activities of the social change movement in 1989. By supporting COAT, you will help the important process of increasing public awareness of the arms trade and the necessity of implementing a national plan for the conversion of military corporations to socially useful and environmentally benign production.