



THE DISTURBING GROWTH OF MILITARISM IN CANADA



LE COLLECTIF
ÉCHEC à la GUERRE

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INTRODUCTION

In December 2009, *Collectif Échec à la guerre* published a booklet entitled ***La militarisation de la politique étrangère du Canada: qui dicte l'agenda?*** We described Canada's increasingly aggressive stance in foreign policy since the end of the Cold War and the changing role of the Canadian army towards combat missions. This was made official when Paul Martin's Liberal government announced the deployment of Canadian troops to Kandahar and was then echoed in the staggering declarations by the then-new Chief of the Defence Staff General Rick Hillier, glad that the Canadian army could finally play its real role: "Our job is to be able to kill people."

With this brochure, ***The disturbing rise of militarism in Canada***, *Collectif Échec à la guerre* wants to sound the alarm about both the intensification of the Canadian Forces (CF)'s new "warrior" role and also more generally the implementation of a whole array of policies aimed at militarizing our society.

"Made in Canada" militarism

Military dictatorships are the ultimate expression of militarism. But it is also "militarism" when public authorities give war a preponderant place in their foreign policy and at the same time glorify the army and its traditional values at all times, in all fields of life. This kind of militarism is characteristic of our U.S. neighbour, but a majority of our fellow citizens – in both Canada and Québec – have long prided themselves on living in a different kind of society. Yet this is becoming less and less the case, spurred by the militaristic policies of the Harper government, whose vision can be summed up in these words:

*"Therefore, my friends, our party's great purpose is nothing less than to prepare our nation to shoulder a bigger load, in a world that will require it of us. We campaigned on this new Canadian reality. Not on a dream or a fantasy or a slogan... But upon the reality of this great country rising. A country founded on great principles. A **courageous warrior, a sympathetic neighbour, a confident partner** ..."*

– Stephen Harper's speech to the 2011 Conservative Convention

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1 THERE ARE MANY SIDES TO THE GROWTH OF MILITARISM IN CANADA

1.1 SPECTACULAR GROWTH IN MILITARY SPENDING

After the end of the Cold war, Canadian military spending first declined gradually to \$9.4 billion by 1998. Then, in response to strong lobbying by militaristic circles, it began to shoot up, in the guise of fighting “terrorism” in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks. Since 2006, successive Conservative governments have accentuated the militaristic policies initiated by the Liberals. In 2008, its Canada First Defence Strategy announced some \$490 billion in spending over the coming twenty years, notably to renew the naval fleet, aircraft and armoured vehicles and to increase the strength of the regular forces and the Reserve to a total of 100,000 members.

In a feature in the December 2010 issue of *L'Actualité* on the future of the Canadian army, journalist Alec Castonguay wrote: “Since 2006, Ottawa has launched the biggest, most expensive program of military acquisitions in 50 years: cargo and fighter planes, helicopters, combat vessels, patrol and supply ships, assault tanks, armoured vehicles... It adds up to \$48 billion (excluding maintenance).”

According to a study by Bill Robinson published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA), Canadian military spending totalled \$23 billion in 2010-2011, a record 61% higher than the 1998 low (in constant dollars) and 18% more than military spending in 1952-53, at the height of the Cold War.

According to Philippe Hurteau, researcher with the *Institut de recherche et d'informations socio-économiques* (IRIS), Canadian military spending rose \$8 billion – 54.2% – between 2005-2006 and 2010-2011. In February 2014, another IRIS study, this one by Guillaume Hébert and Philippe Hurteau, indicated that in the following two years this spending had then declined by 10% as a result of the federal anti-deficit plan. As well, the share of the Canadian budget earmarked for “National Defence”, which hovered around 7% from 2000 to 2005, grew considerably after that, reaching close to 9% in 2008-2009 and staying above 8% for the three subsequent years.

(Partial) costs of Canadian participation in the war in Afghanistan and the war “on terrorism”

In October 2008, Parliamentary Budget Officer Kevin Page estimated that Canadian participation in the war in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2011 alone could cost more than \$18 billion, without counting (because reliable information was lacking) accelerated purchases of new equipment, imminent danger pay, wartime allowances and costs for diplomatic work. Canadian military intervention in Afghanistan ended in March 2014, but no serious accounting for the total costs of this intervention were produced since 2009...

Furthermore, in a report to the Canadian Parliament on April 30, 2013, Canadian Auditor General Michael Ferguson indicated that between 2001 and 2009, the federal government spent \$12.9 billion on a vast “Public Security and Anti-Terrorism Initiative”, emphasizing that he had been unable to find any trace of almost a quarter of this, some \$3.1 billion...

1.1.1 As for the reduction in spending announced since 2012

As part of the Conservative government’s plan for balancing the budget by 2015, it announced cuts for all departments in its 2012 budget. Spending by the Department of National Defence (DND) was to be reduced by \$326.8 million in 2012-2013, \$706.1 million in 2013-2014 and \$1,198 million in 2014-2015. This meant a budget of \$19.8 billion for DND in 2012-2013 and then just \$18 billion in 2013-2014. Without specifying the projects concerned, the February 2014 budget announced that \$3.1 billion in capital military spending planned for 2014-2017 would be postponed. Minister Flaherty argued that these were not cuts and that the money would be set aside until the army could use it.

Although these reductions let the government vaunt its efforts to put public finances back on a sound footing as even affecting its favorite sector – Defence – they do not represent a change in direction at all. Prime Minister Harper explicitly insisted that these budget cuts be implemented without affecting the size of the army or its planned acquisitions of new equipment. So what’s the real story?

First of all, major reductions in spending on the war in Afghanistan automatically reduce the need for operational resources; and if the Canadian army were to become involved in another war, it would be easy to obtain additional credits. As well, apart from regular budget projections, the DND obtained supplementary budgets of \$438 million for 2012-2013 and \$400 million for the 2013-2014 budget period “to support the ongoing implementation of the Canada First Defence Strategy.”

The Conservative government is mainly interested in shedding what it considers to be excess bureaucratic weight at DND. In his *Report on Transformation 2011*, Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie, who commanded Canadian Forces during the war in Afghanistan, pointed out that from 2004 to 2010, regular Forces personnel grew by 11% while non-operational personnel and headquarters staff expanded by 40%. The recommendations in his report – which have met with strong resistance within the military itself – are aimed more specifically at changing this situation and reducing the army’s annual spending on business and private-sector consultants by at least \$1 billion annually. This objective was reiterated in the October 2013 Speech from the Throne: “Our military must have more teeth and less tail. Our Government will put front-line capability before back-office bureaucracy.”

It is important to realize that these cuts came at a time when the army had accumulated a surplus of nearly \$10 billion since 2006-2007, as revealed by the Parliamentary Budget Officer in July 2013. Much of these surpluses will be carried forward to future budget years.

1.2 MILITARISTIC SHIFT IN FOREIGN POLICY

The dizzying growth in Canada's military and "security" spending is tied to a militaristic shift in Canadian foreign policy, which has been analysed in greater depth in previous *Collectif* publications.

Other facts are equally telling in illustrating the now decisive importance of the army's "expeditionary" role in foreign policy:

- Under successive Canadian governments, the size of the Canadian Special Operations Forces – whose missions are generally top-secret – has more than doubled.
- DND's *Report on plans and priorities 2012-2013* describes two of the six "core CF missions in domestic, continental and international contexts" as:
 - ✓ "Lead and/or conduct a major international operation for an extended period";
 - ✓ "Deploy forces in response to crises elsewhere in the world for shorter periods."

With \$1.72 billion budgeted for them, the funding allocated for these two "missions" is substantially higher than the \$481 million allocated for domestic and continental "peace, stability and security." One should also note that close to \$400 million is earmarked for "Situational Awareness," a euphemism to designate DND's intelligence services, which "will continue to foster closer ties with its international allies and domestic partners." This is hardly reassuring when we know that its main international partner, the United States, secretly spies on citizens all around the world!

- Following the 2007 acquisition of four huge C-17 Globemaster (!) cargo planes, in May 2010 Canadian Chief of Defence Staff Walter Natynczyk launched a plan for a number of Canadian bases abroad to improve the ability of the Canadian Forces "to project combat power/security assistance and Canadian influence rapidly and flexibly anywhere in the world." Defence Minister Peter Mackay confirmed this plan in June 2011 in a speech to CANSEC, the annual Canadian arms trade show: "The focus of the planning, let's be clear, is our capability for expeditionary participation in international missions.... We are big players in NATO. We're a country that has become a go-to nation in response to situations like what we're seeing in Libya, what we saw in Haiti...."¹ The daily paper *Le Devoir* reported at the time that the objective was to create a network of seven military bases abroad in Germany, Jamaica, Kuwait, Senegal, Kenya, Singapore and South Korea.
- Since 2009, Canada has invested \$2.5 million annually to organize the Halifax International Security Forum. In 2012, participants included Republican and Democrat senators from the U.S. as well as representatives from Afghanistan, Germany, Colombia, France, Israel, Jamaica, Norway, NATO, the Palestinian Authority and Serbia.
- The Department of National Defence's *Report on Plans and Priorities 2012-2013* indicates that the Canadian army "will capture the lessons from its recently-concluded combat mission in Southern Afghanistan and ensure new CF enablers, such as small and mini-unmanned aerial

¹ Reported on CBC: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2011/06/02/pol-military-bases.html>

vehicles (UAVs)... are properly embedded within the operational force structures.” See the boxed insert on these vehicles, commonly known as drones.

- In October 2013, the Harper government presented Bill C-6, *An Act to implement the Convention on Cluster Munitions*, an international treaty adopted by 107 States that Canada signed in December 2008. But the bill contains a clause authorizing Canadian Forces involvement in military operations using such weapons during joint activities with States that are not a party to the Convention, such as the United States. This clause was vigorously condemned around the world, including by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which normally takes a position of neutrality. Earl Turcotte, Canada’s former chief negotiator for the adoption of the Convention, has even accused the Harper government of betraying the trust of the other countries that signed the treaty.

Drones and Canada

According to statistics as of October 31, 2013 from the British Bureau of Investigative Journalism, in its increasingly contested drone war the United States has carried out 377 strikes in Pakistan since 2004, as many as 165 strikes in Yemen since 2002 and up to 10 strikes in Somalia since 2007, killing a total of 4,515 people, including 1,069 civilians, 214 of them children. It seems clear that even in cases of persons presumed to be members of “terrorist” organizations, these extrajudicial executions violate the presumption of innocence and the right to a fair and just trial – not to mention the sovereignty of the airspace of the countries concerned. While President Obama persists in defending these attacks as a necessary evil that is even legitimate and legal, in May 2013 a Pakistani High Court judge in Peshawar ruled that they were a “war crime” and “a blatant violation of basic human rights” and ordered the Pakistani government to use force if necessary to put an end to these attacks in the country’s tribal regions.

The Canadian forces have for years used drones, in particular the Israeli Heron drone, for reconnaissance and intelligence work in Afghanistan, and they would like to be able to use armed drones. The federal government encourages the development of expertise and productive capacity in Canada. For example, a \$671,000 subsidy was announced in August 2012 for the new Centre for Aerospace Research at the University of Victoria, which has a mandate to design, manufacture and operate a new family of drones, officially with a view to commercial and industrial applications.

In Québec, the Unmanned Aerial System Centre of Excellence (UASCE) at the Alma airport was launched in May 2011. The construction of new premises for it was announced in May 2013, at a cost of \$4.3 million, with the federal government contributing \$2.5 million and the municipality \$1.2 million.

In its PR, the UASCE emphasizes the broad array of potential civilian uses for drones. In 2013, it hosted the 5th Unmanned Systems Canada UAV Student Competition, on the theme of detecting forest fires, with 200 participants from 10 Canadian universities.

Despite the culture of secrecy that generally surrounds military uses for drones, some facts are known. For instance, the military sector accounts for a good half of sales by CAE, a founding member of the

UASCE. And in recent years, CAE has established close ties with the Israeli military-industrial complex, the biggest exporter of drones – most of them military – around the world.

As early as February 2009, the British weekly *Flight International* announced that CAE and Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) were “in the final phases of developing a high-fidelity unmanned air vehicle mission training (UMT) system.” According to IAI, “the new system will provide a solution for the complete range of UAV training needs, including planning, briefing, execution and debriefing for pilots, sensor operators and mission commanders, and can also be configured to include any type of UAV or mission payload.” “It can also serve as an experimentation testbed, allowing customers to add advanced UAVs or network-centric warfare capabilities and to evaluate concepts of operations.” Furthermore, in August 2011, CAE and Aeronautics, an Israeli company that is the second largest supplier of drones in the world, concluded an agreement making CAE the preferred simulation and training solution provider for Aeronautics drones.

In November 2011, the columnist Normand Lester wrote that the Dominator XP, a new military drone developed by an Aeronautics-CAE partnership, would undergo flight testing at the UASCE in 2012, directed by Christian Larouche, a former officer from the Bagotville Canadian aviation base trained in Israel.

At the Unmanned Systems Canada conference in November 2012, CAE announced the launch of its UAS (drone) mission training system, then being installed at the UASCE in Alma. It failed to mention where the system came from, simply saying that it would be used to train pilots and sensor operators of the Miskam drone, a Canadian version of the CAE-Aeronautics Dominator XP, to demonstrate how unmanned systems can be used for civil applications.

1.3 MILITARIZATION OF THE FAR NORTH AND THE CANADIAN SPACE PROGRAM

Since 2007, there have been annual large-scale military exercises in the Canadian Far North. Although the Joint Task Force (North) has fewer than 200 soldiers and relies mainly on the presence of 1,500 Rangers, recruited locally and located across the territory in 58 northern communities, more than 1,250 members of the Canadian Forces participated in Operation Nanook 12 in August 2012. Heavily covered by the media, these military exercises are conducted in the presence of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the Canadian Forces Chief of Defence Staff, who use the occasion to stress the assertion of Canadian sovereignty and the defence of Canadian interests.

What the Canadian population doesn’t know, although it has footed most of the bill, is that Canada’s space program has always had a major military dimension. According to Richard Sanders, from the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT), RADARSAT-1 data were used for bombing campaigns in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq. In June 2013, Walter Natynczyk, retired general and former Chief of Defence Staff of the Canadian Forces was appointed head of the Canada Space Agency. In the context of renewed pressure for Canadian participation in the U.S. missile shield project, this appointment could signal further militarization of Canada’s space program.

1.4 INTENSIFICATION OF MILITARY RECRUITMENT

The militaristic turn in Canadian foreign policy requires an ability to recruit more and more soldiers to be rotated to various battlefronts. But despite the benefits held out to potential military recruits – the low level of education required (Grade 10, or Secondary 4 in Québec), free specialized training, excellent starting pay, etc. – it has not been easy to achieve sustained growth in the ranks of Canada's armed forces. In 2006, then-Auditor General Sheila Fraser's report indicated that in the previous four years, the Canadian Forces had more or less met their recruiting goals. Yet despite the intake of some 20,000 new members, the net increase in the number of military "trained and available for duty" for the same four years was only 700, because of the very large number of members leaving the ranks during the same period. As well, there were proportionately more departures in the occupational groups requiring longer and more costly training periods.

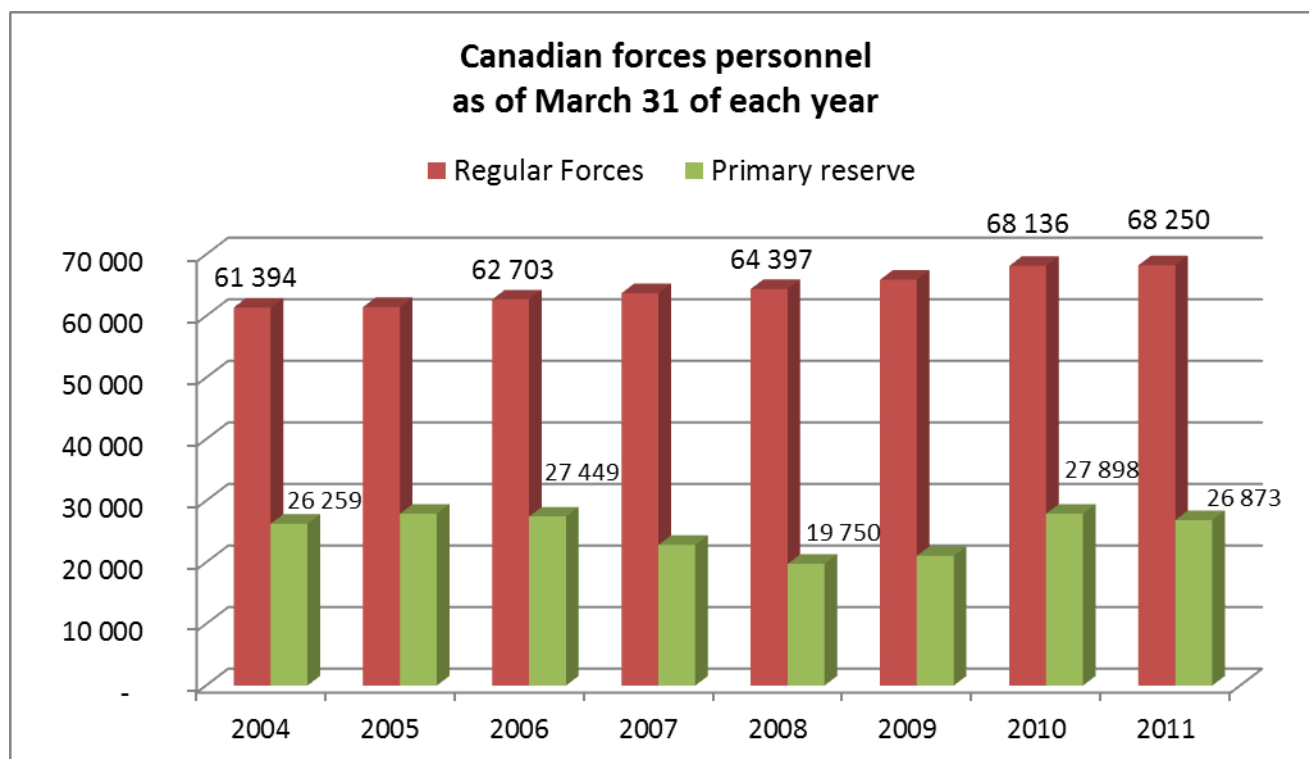
1.4.1 "Fight with the Canadian Forces"

To meet its goals in such a context, the Harper government launched the biggest military recruitment campaign since World War II. It first commissioned a survey by TNS Canadian Facts to obtain "a detailed current psychographic and demographic profile of eligible Canadians between the ages of 16 and 34." The survey found that the most likely to enrol were men, under 25, unemployed or underemployed and Aborigines, and that this potential "clientele" was more interested in fighting than in any other sector of employment.

Reflecting this survey and the urgent needs of the war in Afghanistan, the Canadian Forces' advertising campaigns adopted its "Fight with the Canadian Forces" slogan and became the largest component of Canadian government spending on advertising. On average, more than \$17 million a year was spent from 2006-2007 to 2009-2010. As well, staff was increased at the army's 39 recruitment centres and offices. Advertising campaigns targeted young people with limited job prospects as well as "those who influence youths' career decisions: parents, teachers, guidance counsellors, friends, community leaders, etc." For a critique of this campaign, its audio-visual materials and the propaganda myths that it perpetuated, see *L'armée canadienne vous parle*, by Isabelle Gusse.

But when it comes to the colossal efforts made by the Canadian Forces, advertising and recruiting agents are just the tip of the iceberg. In 2006, the CF launched Operation Connection, aimed at mobilizing the armed forces as a whole to "make contact and attract recruits":

"As a member of the Canadian Forces, we count on your presence at the hundreds of activities we will participate in over the next year... festivals, ship visits, visits to schools, car shows, job fairs, air shows, sports events... Telephone your children's schools or your grandmother's seniors' residence and ask if you and/or your unit could be of help planning a Canadian Forces Day event or setting up a Remembrance Day program...."



Source: <http://www.forces.gc.ca/fr/nouvelles/article.page?doc=le-recrutement-et-le-maintien-de-l-effectif-dans-les-forces-canadiennes/hnps1v9e>

As a result of this campaign, the number of recruits jumped substantially. In 2008-2009, the army signed up 7,701 recruits; the following year, 7,520. From 2006 to 2010, regular Forces personnel grew by 8.7% to 68,136 members despite rising attrition rates – 27% of recruits leave before the end of their first year, and at the other end of the age spectrum 22% of CF members leave after 20 years of service. During the same period, the Primary Reserve, which started out at 27,449 members, first shrank by 28% over two years and then went back to 27,898 members. Keep in mind that the Canada First Defence Strategy sets targets of 70,000 for the regular Forces and 30,000 for the Reserve by 2027-2028.

Recruitment begins long before the recruiting stands and advertising

"Our new model is about raising awareness, and that takes a ten-year span. It starts with a seven-year-old boy seeing a parachutist at an air show and thinking 'That looks great'. From then on the army is trying to build interest by drip, drip, drip."

– Colonel David Allfrey, responsible for British recruitment strategy, 2007

"Recruiting is everybody's business. I expect every sailor, soldier, airman and airwoman to recognize their role as a potential CF recruiter..."

– General Rick Hillier, Canadian Chief of Defence Staff, 2006

EXAMPLE #1

As part of an intercultural week in November 2012, history and geography teachers at CÉGEP St-Laurent organized an “educational activity” revolving around talks by two Canadian soldiers to explain the kind of training they receive about the society and culture of a country to which they go on a mission and whether soldiers develop relations with the local population to explain their role. Disrupted by a group of about 20 students opposed to the army’s presence at the CEGEP, the conference didn’t take place in the end.

EXAMPLE #2

In May 2011, at the initiative of a phys ed teacher and as part of Physical Activity Week, 100 girls in Secondary I to V at the *École secondaire de filles Louise-Trichet* – located near the Longue-Pointe military base in Montréal – participated in the annual trades test competition organized by the 34th Canada Brigade Group. The ten tests included face camouflage, wearing a bomb protection suit, throwing a grenade, and wearing CBRN (chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear) protection equipment.

EXAMPLE #3

In the fall of 2007, Saint-Charles-de-Bourget elementary school in the Saguenay, a school specialized in sports and outdoor activities, decided to organize an educational project promoting the value of a military career, including meetings with military, sports activities based on military training and activities in support of Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan. The three phases of the project, approved by the school council and the Jonquière school board, lasted until December.

1.4.2 Targeted recruitment campaigns

In its *Report on Plans and Priorities 2008-2009*, the Department of National Defence indicated that one of the key initiatives for the year would be targeted recruitment of women, visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples. In the case of Aboriginal people, for example, the outreach campaign’s events included:

- presentations to associations of Aboriginal university/college students;
- networking through the National Association of Friendship Centres;
- visits to Aboriginal communities;
- participation in pow-wows and other cultural events.

In this last category, note that the Canadian Forces had a stand at the *Présence Autochtone* Festival in Montreal a few years ago.

1.4.3 Cadets

Designed for young people between the ages of 12 and 17, the Cadet program is the largest youth organization, entirely funded by the Canadian government at a cost of about \$200 million a year. Although its promoters stress the benefits of participating in terms of physical fitness, citizenship, self-esteem and leadership, it goes without saying that stimulating young people’s interest in the land, sea and air activities of the Canadian Forces is the basic reason for the Cadets’ existence. The program aims above all to instil discipline, hierarchy and an esprit de corps in young people and inculcate them with

basic concepts related to the training of future military members. Starting at age 13, young people learn to shoot rifles; in summer camps the following year, they can even shoot real bullets with the kind of weapon used by the Canadian military in Afghanistan.

Although the Canadian army refuses to disclose the comparable information, the fact that 46% of serving officers in Britain's army enrolled as cadets in their youth says a lot about the recruiting potential for the Canadian Forces. Yet between 2006 and 2010, the number of Canadian cadets dropped from 58,201 to 49,460. In 2010, the Director General, Reserves and Cadets announced the Cadet Population Growth Initiative. Today, Canada has 52,890 cadets and the DND *Report on Plans and Priorities 2012-2013* set a target of 60,000 cadets.

1.4.4 Rangers and Junior Rangers

Canadian Rangers are part of the Reserve and ensure a military presence in remote and isolated regions like the Far North and along the coast. Since 2007, when Prime Minister Harper began his annual visits to the Far North, the number of Rangers has grown by 20%, reaching 5,000 in 2013.

The Junior Canadian Rangers program, aimed at girls and boys aged 12 to 18 living in remote and isolated communities in Canada, is presented as an "altruistic, responsible and practical youth program that embraces culture and tradition, promotes healthy living and positive self-image, and reflects the proud military legacy of the Canadian Rangers." According to the program's web site, there were 3,400 Junior Canadian Rangers in 125 remote and isolated Canadian communities in March 2012.

1.5 OMNIPRESENCE OF THE ARMY

Apart from direct recruiting activities, there has been phenomenal growth in all Canadian Forces public relations activities – on which recruiting depends – in recent years. It is very hard to estimate the overall budget for this, since it can come from various sources, not all of them explicitly identified. For example, there is the Department of National Defence's *Canadian Identity* program activity (\$370 million in 2011-2012), the *Canada Remembers* program activity under Veterans Affairs Canada (\$41 million in 2011-2012) and various Canadian Heritage programs.

The funding sources may be hard to track, but the results of the public relations campaign are obvious: the army is present everywhere – in most major sports events, in most big festivals and in numerous commemorative events.

1.5.1 Sports events

On June 21, 2007, just before they were deployed to Kandahar, Afghanistan, close to 2,000 soldiers from Valcartier base attended a pre-season match between the Alouettes and the Toronto Argonauts at the Percival Molson Stadium in Montréal. It was one of the many events sponsored by the Canadian Forces,

but above all a sign of political support from the Alouettes' management for the presence of Canadian troops in Afghanistan. And the fans were associated with it, in their role as extras... a blatant attempt at "winning hearts and minds...."

Since professional sports are some of the most pervasive and influential cultural institutions in our societies, the Canadian Forces cultivate intensive ties with them. Each year, the Grey Cup games and festivities for the Canadian Football League championship are marked by a strong Canadian Forces presence. Hockey – Canada's national sport – is not to be outdone. Various Canadian teams in the National Hockey League (NHL) have for some years now held special Canadian Forces Appreciation Nights attended by hundreds of military members and their families, thanks to corporate season ticket holders. To grasp the extent of the promotion of the army in professional sports, see the boxed insert.

The interest of the army and the federal government in being associated with professional sports – especially team sports – is fairly obvious: it is an attempt to transfer fans' support for their teams and favourite sports stars to the military and its combat role. On the other side, the interest of major professional sports teams in promoting the army and war – because this promotion is heightened in wartime – is surely worth analysing in greater depth. Here we will content ourselves with making two points. First, promotion of the military fits in with their business interests: big corporations that benefit from militarism and war – military industries, but also the big mining and oil companies, engineering firms, banks, etc. – are the same ones that purchase advertising and season tickets for professional sports and sponsor various events. Second, the army and contact sports like football and hockey have shared patriarchal ideological attitudes and values that are expressed in particular in the promotion of "virility" inclined to violence and combat, and an "esprit de corps" not only vis-à-vis the "enemy" but also vis-à-vis any "outside" accusation or criticism...

Promotion of the army in professional sports: a few examples

Football: In 2007, the Grey Cup travelled from Hamilton to Toronto like this: from the Hamilton airport, a Canadian Forces helicopter carried it to Toronto Island Airport, where a Canadian naval vessel carried it to the mainland and transferred it to an army convoy, which took it to Toronto City Hall. In 2010, the biggest attraction at the Grey Cup Festival in Edmonton was a zipline, with soldiers from the 1st Battalion of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry helping participants prepare their descent and inviting them to donate to the Edmonton Garrison Military Family Resource Centre. In 2012, the Canadian army web site invited its visitors to join it in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Grey Cup, notably by taking the "CF Challenge", an obstacle course in Toronto's Nathan Phillips Square open to the public for the 10 days of festivities. The day of the game, two Snowbirds planes from the CF air show demonstration team flew over the stadium to signal handing the Cup over to game officials.

Hockey: *Hockey Night in Canada*, the very popular TV show, has often presented images of Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan encouraging their favourite team; and while visiting Afghanistan in 2010, Don Cherry, the show's provocative commentator, even autographed bombs and fired a shell. In Calgary, military flag-bearers often flank the person singing the national anthems.

The Stanley Cup has also paid numerous surprise visits to Canadian troops in Kandahar, accompanied by former star players and political and military leaders, notably former Chief of Defence Staff Rick Hillier and former Defence Minister Peter Mackay. The Forces Appreciation Nights held by various NHL teams – so far (March 2014), there have been 7 in Vancouver, 7 in Calgary, 8 in Toronto and 9 in Ottawa – are often marked by Canadian Forces members demonstrating their skills by rappelling down from the rafters, ceremonial face-offs by senior army officers, military singers for the national anthem, and minutes of silence in memory of those who “have sacrificed their lives for our freedom.” Finally, note that in the summer of 2011, the Winnipeg Jets adopted a new logo: a silhouette of the CF-18 on a red maple leaf inside a blue circle. The Department of National Defence holds all the rights to the logo, and its use is regulated by a 9-page contract in which the team pledges to protect and preserve the reputation of the Canadian Forces. The team even unveiled its new sweaters at the military base of the 17th Squadron near the Winnipeg airport. True North Sports and Entertainment, the company that owns the Jets, also promised to donate \$1 million over 10 years to charities for the military.

Basketball: On Saturday, January 2, 2013, the Toronto Raptors held their 6th Appreciation Evening for the Canadian Forces: the team and cheerleaders wore camouflage sweaters and had a group picture taken with coaches and the military who were present.

Soccer: Saturday, May 25, 2013, two CF-18 planes from the 3rd Squadron based in Bagotville flew over Montréal in the afternoon in preparation for a later evening flight over the Saputo stadium at the beginning of the Impact’s game, attended by a delegation of 150 military, an honour guard and flag-bearers. It was designed to promote the Bagotville International Air Show, a free event one month later as part of festivities celebrating the 175th anniversary of Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean.

Many other examples of the army’s omnipresence in sports events could be given. Just in Québec, there was the Champ Car Grand Prix in 2006 and the Montréal International Marathon. In the world of Canadian junior hockey, the Canadian Forces are associated each year with Memorial Cup celebrations, a trophy that we are now reminded first appeared in 1919 to honour Canadian soldiers who lost their lives in World War I. Various junior hockey teams also organize Forces Appreciation Nights.

1.5.2 Festivals

With lots of resources at their disposal, the Canadian Forces are always ready to sponsor organizations that have trouble making ends meet and have often had their grants cut. Apart from its own air shows, the army pays to be present in many, many festivals and other small or large “family” events. Examples of small-scale events include the presence of a light off-road vehicle carrying a machine gun just beside a children’s zoo at the Ayer’s Cliff village fair in August 2012 as well as the presence of military personnel at the fall Townshippers Day in the Eastern Townships, and the annual Family Day in Westmount Park in Montréal. We’ll take a closer look at three examples of large-scale events.

Taking advantage of what they called an “ideal opportunity”, the Canadian government and Canadian Forces invested millions of dollars in various activities to transform the celebration of Québec City’s 400th anniversary into a tool for promoting militarism and the war in Afghanistan. Activities included the “freedom of the city” ceremony in which Québec City authorities gave the military permission to parade through the streets, as well as the Québec Naval Gathering, the Québec International Air Show, cannon firing at the Citadel, the Grand Reunion of Youth Cadets and the Québec City International Festival of Military Bands. All in all, more than twenty activities were programmed, accompanied by the permanent presence of army recruiters at a kiosk in the Canada Pavilion.

Each year the National Capital Commission (NCC) in Ottawa organizes a three-week winter festival known as Winterlude. In 2012, the theme for the event became the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812. For the occasion, Parks Canada – one of the NCC’s partners and an unexpected funding source for the promotion of militarism – recreated a historic site in a pavilion called Snowflake Kingdom in Jacques-Cartier Park in Gatineau. The young and young at heart were invited to sign up for 1812 Canadian militia.

From August 31 to September 3, 2012, the first annual An Army of Culture – Montreal’s Military Culture Festival was held in Montréal’s Old Port, with a program of military band concerts, exhibits of war propaganda posters, a commemoration of the War of 1812, period cannon firing and, for young people, demonstrations by parachutists, fighter plane flyovers, boat tours, cockpit tryouts, etc... At a time when the Conservative government didn’t have any money for the army help the victims of the Richelieu River flooding, and when it was scaling back funding for the National Film Board, CBC/Radio-Canada and Telefilm Canada, there was no shortage of money to “offer the public in Montréal the opportunity to realize the military’s contribution to general culture yesterday, today and in the future”!

1.5.3 Commemorative events

Governments and the Canadian big business circles that promote militarism here have often organized ceremonies to honour the “courage and sacrifices” of Canada’s military.

In November 2011, a red-carpet benefit evening for dignitaries called the *Fleurons Glorieux* Gala was held in Montréal to mark the return of Canadian troops from Afghanistan at the end of their combat mission. The evening was attended by the cream of business leaders, politicians, high-ranking military officers, Olympic medalists Joannie Rochette and Alexandre Bilodeau, actress Caroline Néron, former hockey star Guy Lafleur, Céline Dion (on a big screen), etc. The event raised a million dollars in ticket sales and corporate and private donations for support for military families.

Just a few weeks later, the Harper government organized a large-scale ceremony on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to celebrate the contribution of Canadian soldiers to NATO’s war mission in Libya. At a cost of more than \$800,000, no effort was spared for the outdoor part of the ceremony: inspection of the guard of honour by the Governor-General, 21-gun salute, several waves of flyovers, etc. The ceremony continued indoors in the Senate, where Prime Minister Harper gave a speech full of military patriotism and sprinkled with euphemisms on war:

"...soldier for soldier, sailor for sailor, airman for airman, the Canadian Armed Forces are the best in the world.... History shows us this: that freedom seldom flowers in undisturbed ground.... And, heaven forbid that we should fail to do that of which we are capable, when the path of duty is clear. Our Government is not that kind of government. Canada is not that kind of nation. And Canadians are not that kind of people."

According to *Le Devoir*, only 75 people attended the event, which was nonetheless heavily covered by all the major media.

Veteran Affairs Canada budgeted \$41 million for the *Canada Remembers* activity program in 2011-2012, which covered both "awareness and participation of Canadians in remembrance activities" (\$12.8 million) and "maintenance and improvements of [national and international] memorials, cemeteries and grave markers" (\$28.6 million). Despite the smaller budget allocated for "awareness", this is what 78 of the activity program's 101 full-time employees work on.

Each year, various smaller-scale specific commemorations are planned: in 2010, the 65th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands and the end of World War II in Europe and the Middle East; in 2012, the 95th anniversary of the battle of Vimy Ridge and the 70th anniversary of the Dieppe Raid; and in 2013, the 60th anniversary of the armistice ending the Korean War.

Each year as well, Veteran Affairs and its partners put a lot of effort into ambitious commemorations for Remembrance Day and Veterans' Week. In 2008-2009, it claimed it expected 2 million visitors to the Canada Remembers web site and planned to "fund 90 Community Engagement partnerships at the national and community level" and "promote approximately 450 remembrance initiatives internationally, nationally and regionally." Its goal for that and the following year was to have 15% of Canadians taking part in commemorations. The target was 25% for 2010-2011 and 35% for 2011-2012. Although these goals were certainly not met, participation in these activities has definitely increased. Furthermore, all of Veteran Affairs Canada's reports in recent years have stressed their efforts to each "youth in particular" through various technological tools and social media.

Finally, on March 18, 2014, as the last contingent of Canadian soldiers returned from Afghanistan, the government announced a National Day of Honour which was held on May 9, 2014, marked by various events in Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada to commemorate soldiers who participated in the Afghan war.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL:

AN OMNIPRESENT FRIENDLY ARMY HERE AT HOME AND THE INVISIBLE HORROR OF WAR OVER THERE

For years, the population of Québec and Canada was relatively satisfied with a foreign policy that, officially at least, emphasized diplomacy and the peacekeeping role of Canadian troops abroad. After 1991, the reality gradually changed, but the illusion persisted. And even during the first four years of the

war in Afghanistan, there was little opposition from the population, thanks to initial acceptance of the discourse of legitimate defence and the “war on terrorism”, the focus on the war in Iraq and, it has to be said, the very small number of Canadian victims during that period. When Canadian foreign policy shifted to an openly pro-war stance in 2005-2006, it was a shock for many, and opposition to the war grew, with a majority of the population soon opposed, but without mass mobilization.

In militaristic societies, phoney “humanitarian” justifications for the wars decided by governments are generally not enough on their own to ensure popular consent or at most passive opposition for long. But other factors can contribute greatly.

A first factor is the “friendly” omnipresence of the military in society that has developed in Canada in recent years and in the United States for much longer. Associating the army with sports, entertainment, leisure activities and family recreation creates a proximity and familiarity between the army and the population. Associating the army with sports stars, well-known artists and charities helps transfer a capital of sympathy from people and activities appreciated by the public to the military. This capital of sympathy is strongly reinforced when all the media attention to war is focused on heartrending scenes of young families as one of the parents leaves “on a mission”, the joy when they return, the risks they run and the courage they show “over there,” the devastation of those who lose someone dear to them (and, of course, the military patriotism of the official declarations when the bodies of dead soldiers are brought back).

A second factor that is at least as important as the first is the invisibility of the real horror of war and the total absence of empathetic reporting on what our wars inflict on human beings on the “enemy” side. In Kandahar, the Canadian army was equipped with tanks, combat helicopters, heavy artillery, machineguns, etc. In Libya, Canadian aviation carried out 10% of the airstrikes during NATO’s bombing campaign, which was run by a Canadian. When have we seen the dead or injured, the houses or buildings destroyed by “our” firepower? When especially have we seen the reality of the suffering of Afghans or Libyans resulting from the “collateral damage” inflicted by the Canadian military or its allies? The day after the Lac-Mégantic rail disaster in July 2013, Stephen Harper declared that what he saw there was “like a war zone.” Thanks to the media, it was easy for people to realize the full extent of the terrible human tragedy that it caused. The wars in which our governments embroil us inflict hundreds of similar tragedies on the populations of the countries concerned. Tragedies that the majority of our media don’t show us, thus collaborating with the political and military warmongers.

The military’s “friendly” omnipresence establishes ties with the population and deflects attention from what’s at stake in wars abroad. The focus is instead on the “nerves of steel” and training required for their airborne feats, the skill and good physical fitness of the parachutists demonstrating jumps, their resistance and techniques for surviving in inhospitable environments, and for the young... and young at heart... the pleasure of seeking and touching “for real” all the military hardware for use on land, sea and air.

But getting the army off the base and showing its nice side is not enough. It is just as important to hide the suffering and destruction caused by the action of “our” soldiers at war abroad from the population

here at home. Because, generally speaking, when the population learns about it, it tends to ask the “real questions”: What are we doing over there? Whose interests does it serve? Why all this spending to create such horrors? And its support or passive opposition to the war is liable to turn into growing mobilization.

1.6 PROMOTING A MILITARY DIMENSION IN ALL FIELDS

Besides the militaristic shift in Canadian foreign policy, skyrocketing military spending, expanded recruiting efforts for the Canadian Forces and the omnipresence of the army in society, there is also an orchestrated promotion of a military dimension in all fields: history, the economy, education, research, immigration, heritage, etc.

1.6.1 History

Military history is central to the vision of history that Stephen Harper’s Conservative government promotes. In their vision, wars are important events to celebrate, and even founding events in Canada’s history, as can be seen in these statements by the Prime Minister:

"Every nation has a creation story. The First World War and the battle of Vimy Ridge are central to the story of Canada."

(Speech commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge)

"...Well, to punch above your weight, you first have to be able to punch. And that is what you have done here." »

(Speech to Canadian soldiers participating in the bombing of Libya)

In October 2011, Women’s History Month was also used to contribute to the development of this vision, on the theme of *Women in Canadian Military Forces: A Proud Legacy*. At Winterlude in Ottawa in February of the same year, Veteran Affairs Minister Jean-Pierre Blackburn inaugurated an ice sculpture recreating the Nursing Sisters Memorial to nurses who served in World Wars I and II, located in the Hall of Honour in Centre Block on Parliament Hill.

In planning ahead for the 150th anniversary of the founding of Canada in 2017, the Conservative government is clearing attempting several years in advance to add a strong military dimension to the founding mythology of Canada. “On the Road to 2017”, as its plan is called, wants to highlight various historical events over the next four years, with a central place for Canadian participation in the two world wars of the 20th century. The Department of Canadian Heritage will sponsor events about these two wars each year between now and 2017, beginning with the 100th anniversary of World War I this year and the 75th anniversary of the start of World War II. As well, the 2013 Economic Action Plan announced a \$5 million investment to build a visitor centre at the Vimy Memorial in France.

In its early preparations for 2017, the government already spent at least \$42 million in 2012 and 2013, most of it - \$34.7 million – on a whole array of activities marking the bicentennial of the War of 1812 in

one way or another. On the government site www.1812.gc.ca, this is how the “Prime Minister’s Message” presents the war:

"The War of 1812 was a seminal event in the making of our great country.... The War helped establish our path toward becoming an independent and free country, united under the Crown with a respect for linguistic and ethnic diversity."

One of the productions subsidized by this program is *The Loxleys and the War of 1812*, a "compelling interactive graphic novel for tablets [which] tells the historically based story of a fictional family from Upper Canada," produced by the NFB in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage, for audiences aged 12 or older.

As part of the lead-up to the 150th anniversary of Canada, the federal government announced on October 12 that the name and mission of the Canadian Museum of Civilization would be changed: the programming of the new Canadian Museum of History will focus more on Canadian history and society. Bill C-7 making the changes official received royal assent on December 12, 2013. It’s a good bet that the museum’s new orientation, more nationalist than universalist, will also be impregnated with the Conservative government’s military, British and monarchist vision of Canada’s history.

On April 29, 2013, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage decided to do a comparative analysis of the course content of history courses in each province’s and territory’s elementary and high schools. This gave rise to controversy, since education is clearly a provincial jurisdiction. But there is another aspect to the decision that is just as disturbing: the disproportionate importance of wars in the list of the historical periods and events that interested the Committee more especially. A few weeks later, Heritage Minister James Moore announced – again in the context of preparations for Canada’s 150th anniversary – an investment of \$12 million, with the lion’s share going to a new Canada History Fund, notably for a program of awards for “outstanding students and teachers who show an interest in celebrating Canadian history.”

Canada has had a War Museum since 1880, but in May 2005 a new Canadian War Museum was inaugurated in Ottawa. One of Canada’s leading museums, it is aimed at "educating present and future generations on Canada’s military heritage, preserving historical artifacts, and encouraging Canadians to reflect on past sacrifices." Upon closer look, this encouragement seems limited to trying to justify war and sowing confusion in the public, presenting war as a battle for peace! The Canadian War Museum even went so far as to organize an exhibit from May 31, 2013 to January 5, 2014 entitled *Peace – the Exhibition*. Taking a superficial look at many aspects, from the Six Nations Confederacy several centuries ago to humanitarian aid to Haiti after the January 2010 earthquake, the exhibition ignored the collective actions of anti-war movements and their arguments in opposition to the Canadian government’s positions.

1.6.2 The economy

According to the Conservative government, the purpose of the unprecedented military investments announced in its 2008 Canada First Defence Strategy – \$490 billion over 20 years – is to "meet the

country's defence needs" while offering "major new opportunities for Canadian industry and produce significant economic benefits for Canadians".

In its 2011 budget, the government announced the development of a military procurement strategy "to maximize job creation... and bolster economic growth." Then in February 2013 came the Jenkins report, which emphasized "the unique 'once in a century' opportunity presented by major investments in Canada's Armed Forces to create jobs and economic growth." Jenkins invited the government to adopt a strategy for promoting Canadian military industry so as to "generate high-value exports and support high-paying jobs for Canadians." He proposed an estimated \$49 billion worth of "Industrial and Regional Benefits obligations" for foreign companies obtaining major military equipment contracts through until 2027.

The 2013 Conservative budget endorsed the Jenkins report and tied its job creation plan to future military purchases. It announced that the government would collaborate with military industries to identify more precisely the sectors in which Canada is competitive and "trends in global demand and supply in defence-related industries." It would ensure that any major equipment purchase has a Canadian component. The October 2013 Speech from the Throne announced that "[o]ur Government's National Shipbuilding Plan will create 15,000 well-paying, skilled jobs over 30 years for Canadians."

The portrait that emerges from all these statements is that the militaristic shift that the Harper government is driving is not limited to foreign policy and the role of the army. Its aims also include a major reinforcement of the military and "security" sector of the Canadian economy, both to meet some of the "needs" of the Canadian Forces and to expand its presence in the very lucrative international arms trade. In passing, it holds out the promise of benefits "for Canadians."

Despite most Canadians' lack of knowledge about it, Canada has a large military-industrial sector. Canada regularly ranks among the 10 to 15 largest arms exporters in the world. Furthermore, this sector is growing. In March 2010, the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI), an umbrella organization that is a very powerful lobby, had 700 members. Two years later, it had 945, generating total revenue of \$12.6 billion a year, half of that in exports. Of these exports, between 75% and 80% generally go to the United States. No permit is required for them and they don't appear in any of the annual reports on the arms trade from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), because those reports are limited to weapons that appear on the "Export Control List".

Since 2003, each of these annual reports begins with the assertion that peace-keeping and security is a fundamental priority of Canadian foreign policy. Yet research by Richard Sanders, of the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT) shows the contrary. He estimates, for example, that 96% of munitions included in DFAIT's reports for 2007 to 2009 went to some forty countries involved in the wars of occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan (with the United States at the top of the list, of course). Furthermore, a large proportion of Canadian military exports to the United States – not included in DFAIT's count – is composed of technological components for incorporation into major weapons systems. For instance, 30 Canadian companies provided goods and services for F-15 planes, 18 for Apache helicopters and 40 for F-16 planes.

According to Project Ploughshares' Kenneth Epps, between 2006 and 2011, Canadian military exports were authorized to 126 countries, including countries at war or responsible for serious human rights violations. To give one striking example: in 2011 Canada granted export permits for arms to Saudi Arabia worth more than \$4 billion. In 2011 and preceding years, that country imported hundreds of light armoured vehicles from General Dynamics Land Systems in London, Ontario. And it was precisely these vehicles that were used for the bloody repression of popular revolts in Bahrain. That's how Canada supported the Arab spring...

More recently, Mike Blanchfield from Canadian Press reported that Canada's arms exports in 2012 were up 4% over 2011, despite a substantial reduction in purchases by a number of its traditional allies (United Kingdom, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain). The rise can first be explained by a 9% increase in exports to the United States, but also by more exports to various countries responsible for serious human rights violations (Bahrain, Algeria, Iraq, Pakistan, Mexico, Egypt).

For several years now, the Harper government has been stepping up its efforts to help Canadian military industries increase their exports. Already in 2008, it had expanded the number of countries to which Canadian military corporations can export automatic weapons and other controlled military goods from 20 to 32. On December 13, 2012, Colombia was added to the list,² just in time for a sale of 24 light armoured vehicles to that country four weeks later, worth a total of \$65.3 million. Note in this regard that in May 2013, the World Congress of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) described Colombia as "the world's most dangerous country for the exercise of human rights defence," and condemned "the impunity for attacks and threats aimed at defenders," etc.

Kenneth Epps also emphasizes another important trend: the presence of numerous departments and regional development agencies alongside Canadian military industries at international arms fairs. In September 2013, for instance, at the Canada Pavilion during the Defence Security and Equipment International exhibition in the United Kingdom, representatives of the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI) were flanked by the following organizations: Department of National Defence, Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, Industry Canada, Public Works and Government Services Canada, Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Economic Development for Québec Regions, Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario, Western Economic Diversification Canada, Export Development Canada, Canadian Commercial Corporation and representatives of the governments of Alberta and British Columbia.

Acting as a broker between Canadian military exporters and potential foreign clients, the Canadian Commercial Corporation (CCC) presents itself as an alternative to the U.S. program of arms sales, offering a service that is "faster and more flexible" than the U.S. system. It was the CCC that closed the sale of 24 light armoured vehicles to the Colombian army in January 2013. And it was also the CCC that helped land Canada's largest manufacturing export contract in February 2014, for the delivery of armoured vehicles and other equipment and services by General Dynamics Land Systems to Saudi Arabia

² According to what has been announced, 9 other countries could soon be added, including India, Kuwait, Brazil, Chile, Peru and South Korea.

over a 14-year period, for a total of \$10 billion. The Harper government claims that this will generate 3,000 jobs annually and economic spinoff effects for more than 500 Canadian companies.

Militarism and “regional development”: the Unmanned Aerial System Centre of Excellence (UASCE)

Pascal Pilote, the president of the Unmanned Aerial System Centre of Excellence (UASCE) in Alma, is the CEO of the airport and also a municipal councillor in Alma. The vice-president is Gilles Laflamme, from CAE in Montréal, specialized in training equipment for civilian and military airplane pilots. Mr. Laflamme is also responsible for government communications at Unmanned Systems Canada. Other partners of the UASCE include the *Université du Québec à Chicoutimi*, the *Collège d’Alma*, *Université Laval*, the *École de technologie supérieure* (ETS) and Defence Research and Development Canada.

1.6.3 Education and research

Veterans Affairs Canada is more than a government agency offering various services to veterans and taking care of commemorative sites and activities. It is also heavily involved in educational activities, producing and distributing a whole range of “resources” that promote war – all the wars in which Canada has participated – to children and adolescents and above all to their educators. These are some of their “learning resources,” distributed as part of Veterans’ Week (November 5-11):

- *Take Time to Remember*: an activities book for children from kindergarten to Grade 2 (5 to 8 years old);
- *Tales of animals in war*: a newspaper and teacher’s guide, produced each year since 2006 for students from kindergarten to Grade 6;
- *Canada Remembers Times*: a newspaper and teacher’s guide, produced each year since 2006, for students aged 12 to 18; the introduction to the teacher’s guide says: “The paper also helps introduce and enhance students’ understandings of the concepts of war, peace and remembrance. Please invite youth to take a newspaper home and to share it with their families and friends.”

In an exchange of e-mails with a peace activist in 2012, an education officer with Veteran Affairs Canada explained: “At the beginning of the school year, we send a promotional kit to all schools, containing an example of each of the learning resources available for that year.... This year, exceptionally, we included a packet of poppy seeds with each 30 copies of *Tales of animals in war*, because the theme of the *Tales of animals in war* newspaper this year was flowers that symbolize remembrance, like the poppy. There is also a Veterans’ Week Speakers Program at the Department of National Defence, which co-ordinates visits by Canadian Forces members to schools.

Veteran Affairs Canada and the Department of National Defence are constantly putting out new materials. For example, as part of the Canadian Naval Centennial in 2010, the department developed an educational kit “under the direction of Naval Reservists who are educators or teachers in civilian life” for elementary-school and kindergarten students. In 2013, as part of the Year of the Korean War Veteran,

Veteran Affairs proposed three complete step-by-step learning activities, with resources (sheets, videos, exercises, etc.). For those interested in “research and history,” it offers a good 20 “historical booklets” and 36 shorter “historical sheets,” including one on Afghanistan.

The Department of National Defence and the Canadian government also show great interest in university students and researchers, seeking both to promote military research in science and engineering faculties and centres of excellence and to cultivate the production of “expert” opinions favourable to official policies in strategic, security, foreign policy and defence studies and research centres.

Military research in Canadian and Québec universities is nothing new. Two very significant historical cases are worth mentioning briefly. One is Canadian participation in the Manhattan Project to produce the first two atom bombs, which took the form of a secret international laboratory set up in the west wing of the main building of the *Université de Montréal*. The laboratory’s mandate was to design a pilot heavy-water nuclear reactor to produce plutonium, the fuel used for the bomb that destroyed Nagasaki. The second was the participation of the Gas Dynamics Laboratory at McGill’s Department of Mechanical Engineering in developing fuel-air explosives during the 1960s that were subsequently used in the Vietnam War. At the time, the research was funded directly by the U.S. Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

Funding for research on military technologies in science and engineering departments in Canada comes first from various public agencies, such as the Department of National Defence, Defence Research and Development Canada, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada and the National Research Council of Canada. It can also come directly from various U.S. armed forces agencies or sub-contracts from companies that have obtained research and development funds from the federal government.

General factors contributing to the growing influence of the private sector – including military industries – on research

Changes since the 1970s in criteria for government funding of university research have created conditions that favour the growing influence of the Department of National Defence and military industries on research activity. Cuts to higher education have been paralleled by the emergence of new criteria for assessing the “performance” of universities that emphasize the convergence between research and business interests, stressing public-private partnerships in research, tax credits to encourage “corporate” funding of university research, encouraging the commercialization of inventions that become a larger source of potential revenue for universities, etc.

During the 2010-2011 fiscal year, the Department of Defence committed to research contracts with Canadian universities worth \$17,371,606. And Defence Research and Development Canada – which has 8 research centres in Canada, including one at Valcartier – runs three partnership research programs promoting collaboration between the Defence Department, the private sector and academia. About half of its \$300 million annual budget is earmarked for this.

For a number of years now, the military application technologies studied the most in Canadian universities are those related to unmanned vehicles, in particular unmanned aerial systems – i.e. drones. In 2002, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada alone handed out \$6,784,318 in research grants to professors and bursaries for graduate students working on these technologies. In Québec, all the universities were already involved. In 2003, a study funded by the Canadian Forces Experimentation Centre outlined the results of a decade of Canadian university research on all types of unmanned vehicles – aerial, orbital, ground, floating and underwater – and presented the technological challenges to be met with a view to supporting Department of Defence missions in... 2025!

In 2005, a student group called VAMUdeS (*Véhicule Aérien Miniature de l'Université de Sherbrooke*, or Autonomous Aerial Vehicle of the *Université de Sherbrooke*) was formed. It is an aeronautic and avionic project entirely managed by some 15 undergraduate engineering students in mechanical, electrical and computer engineering.

VAMUdeS of course benefits from resources at the *Université de Sherbrooke*, and some of its main private sponsors have substantial military contracts. In 2013, it racked up a fifth victory at the Unmanned Systems Canada UAV Student Competition, which took place at the Alma airport for the first time.

A similar student club called Dronolab has operated at the *École de technologie supérieure* (ÉTS) since 2011. It specializes in indoor navigation without GPS. Consider, for instance, the topic of an assignment that one teacher gave his students in the winter of 2012 in a software engineering course at ETS. The students were to produce an analysis that would be used to develop embedded artificial intelligence software for the Dronolab's drone. That year, the scenario put to the international competition in which the club participates – the International Aerial Robotics Competition, Mission 6 – was to have a drone infiltrate a building in the context of a simulated spying mission. The drone had to survey the inside of the building, get around security measures, locate a specific room while being able to interpret information printed on the walls (in Arabic!) and finally pick up a small object and replace it with a similar one. Note that this competition is subsidized by the Association for Unmanned Vehicle Systems International, lavishly subsidized by the Pentagon, with an executive committee composed of senior management from big arms manufacturers (Northrop Grumman, L-3 Airborne Technologies and EADS North America).

In December 2013, the Defence Department released its new Science and Technology policy under the title "Science and Technology in Action: Delivering Results for Canada's Defence and Security." Although the Conservative government tends to ignore the results of scientific research and impose cutbacks on research programs when they concern environmental or social issues, the 29-page document stresses the importance – for defence and security – of basing decisions on scientific data and proof. The document also implied a desire for even closer ties between the Department of National Defence and university research, stating, "Going forward, strategic interaction and strong oversight of government-funded research are needed to fully exploit the capacity the academic sector can offer."

In the field of political science, funding from the Security and Defence Forum (SDF) was until recently the channel the Department of National Defence used for influencing the production of analyses, the publication of comments and organization of special events favourable to government military policy. With a five-year budget of \$12.5 million, the SDF's Class Grant Program provided funding to 12 "centres of expertise" in 14 Canadian universities, paying for research grants, salaries, bursaries, special projects and national and international conferences. Three of these "centres of expertise" were located in Québec:

- The "International Peace and Security" program at *Université Laval*,
- the *Centre d'études des politiques étrangères et de sécurité* (CÉPES – centre for studies in foreign policy and security, a group of researchers from *UQAM* and Concordia University) and
- the Research Group in International Security (REGIS), composed of researchers from *Université de Montréal* and McGill University, now renamed the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies.

The Defence Department asserts that academic freedom and objectivity are central to the SDF's mandate, but the reality is quite different. On the one hand, as the saying goes, you don't bite the hand that feeds you... and on the other, more often than not even the representatives of "general society" who sit on the SDF's selection committee have direct ties to the military-industrial complex.

In fiscal year 2007-2008, the "experts" at the 12 centres subsidized by the SDF were invited to give more than 1,300 interviews in the media, wrote some one hundred opinion pieces in newspapers and organized 412 events reaching more than 18,000 people. All of these were basically favourable to Canadian participation in the war of occupation in Afghanistan.

According to Amir Attaran, who holds the Canada Research Chair in Law, Population Health and Global Development Policy at the University of Ottawa, the Defence Department's direct funding of "experts" is very problematic, because the public generally doesn't know that this is the case. He also notes that the public servant who manages the SDF's grants to "experts" is also DND's liaison officer with cabinet and Parliament: "When DND needs a kind word in Parliament or the media - presto! - an SDF-sponsored scholar often appears, without disclosing his or her financial link." For instance, a professor at Queen's University whose programme of defence management studies had just received a \$825,000 grant from the SDF, testified to the Standing Committee on National Defence on September 25, 2006 and said, without mentioning that he was funded by DND, that Canadian policy in Afghanistan "is the right mission for Canada and the right mission for the Afghan people."

Following an access to information request, the NDP revealed in 2008 that DND even provided \$100,000 in annual funding for the public positions taken by the Conference of Defence Associations (CDA), an organization regrouping some fifty associations of Canadian military run by retired high-ranking officers. To "earn" its subsidy, the CDA has to get at least 15 opinion pieces published and be cited at least 29 times in the media!

1.6.4 Immigration

The Harper government has also put its militaristic stamp on government publications for new immigrants and the protocol for citizenship ceremonies.

On April 2, 2013, Immigration Minister Jason Kenney, released a new introductory publication for immigrants entitled *Welcome to Canada: What you should know*. At 150 pages, the new version is three times longer than the one it replaces, with new sections on the royal family, national defence and the “fundamental” importance of marriage in Canadian society. Chapter 4 on “Your rights and freedoms in Canada” includes a new section entitled “Defending Canada,” where one can read:

"In Canada, service in the military is not required but it is a noble profession and an excellent career choice... We have a proud military tradition of protecting Canada and upholding freedom and democracy. Canada's roles in the First World War and the Second World War were particularly notable and the Canadian Forces remain active around the world and in Canada today. You are encouraged to find out about Canada's military history, a key component of the Canadian identity. For more information, visit www.forces.gc.ca."

In November 2009, the Conservative government published a new official study guide for the citizenship test called *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*, replacing the one that had been distributed to immigrants since 1997. This 68-page document contains:

- a section on "Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" that ends with a boxed insert of two paragraphs under the heading “Defending Canada”;
- a 10-page section on “Canada’s History” that devotes a lot of space to Canada’s military history:
 - three quarters of a page on "The War of 1812: The Fight for Canada";
 - two thirds of a page on "The First World War";
 - two thirds of a page on Remembrance Day;
 - one page on "The Second World War";
- a section on “Modern Canada” that indicates notably that Canada has participated in "other international security operations such as those in the former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan."
- a 4-page section on "Canadian Symbols", with a photo of a Snowbirds show and another of the Canadian “Red Ensign” that "has been carried officially by veterans since 2005"; this section also spends three quarters of a page on the “Victoria Cross” and some of the 94 soldiers who received it between 1854 and 1945.

The official Guide to Citizenship Ceremonies published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada has also been revised. The latest version, dated December 21, 2011, indicates that one of the important roles at such ceremonies should be played by members of the Canadian Forces or veterans:

Article 5.5.3:

"All efforts should be made to ensure that an active CF member or a veteran is in attendance at citizenship ceremonies, and certainly at all enhanced ceremonies where a platform party or other special guests are in attendance.... In the initial stages of planning for citizenship ceremonies, local citizenship office should contact their CF/veteran representative..."

Article 5.5.4:

"The citizenship judge or volunteer presiding official must acknowledge the presence of the CF member or veteran at the ceremony in the words of welcome to the new citizens during the judge's or presiding official's opening remarks, where active citizenship through military service or during war time is referenced. The CF member or veteran in attendance should also be officially recognized and thanked for their service and dedication to Canada..."

Article 16.5:

"...The citizenship judge or volunteer presiding official says... in the opening remarks: 'As a Canadian citizen, you live in a democratic country where individual rights and freedoms are respected. Thousands of brave Canadians have fought and died for these rights and freedoms. The commitment to Canada of our men and women in uniform should never be forgotten or go unrecognized. We thank them...'"

On February 6, 2014, the government tabled Bill C-24, the *Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act*. The bill is in fact one of a long series of measures aimed at restricting access to citizenship and Canada's refugee protection system. Reflecting the Harper government's ideology of militaristic patriotism, however, it gives preferential treatment to permanent residents who belong to the Canadian Forces. Thus, on the web site of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the promotional materials for Bill C-24 found under "Protecting and Promoting Canada's Interests and Values" indicate this in particular:

"The Government of Canada recognizes the importance of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) and Crown servants working abroad and their commitment to defending the values and interests of Canada. This is why new legislation to amend the Citizenship Act would fast-track citizenship for permanent residents (PRs) and individuals on exchange who are serving Canada in the CAF and allow children born to those serving Canada abroad to pass on citizenship to their children...."

"Bill C-24 would accelerate citizenship for PRs and individuals on exchange who are serving Canada in the CAF by reducing the qualifying period for citizenship by one year. This measure honours the important contributions of those who serve our country."

For young immigrants from modest backgrounds who can't get a decent job, it's an additional incentive to enrol.

1.6.5 Postage stamps, currency and place names

Canada's military "heritage" and history are also highlighted in new postage stamps, new coins and bank notes, new names for highways, etc.

In 2013, Canada Post issued its first two series of new stamps to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812. "These stamps feature War Chief Tecumseh and British Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, two important leaders in the War of 1812" and commemorate "the daring exploits of two legendary Canadian heroes Laura Secord and Charles de Salaberry." In the "Heritage" column of its spring-summer 2013 circular, Canada Post proposes these stamps along with various others commemorating different Canadian army regiments.

In October 2008, on the eve of Remembrance Day and the 90th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, the Royal Canadian Mint, in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Legion, issued a 25-cent coin in colour, with a red poppy, for exclusive distribution in Shoppers Drug Mart/Pharmaprix stores. Eleven million red poppy coins were minted. In 2004, 30 million similar coins had been issued.

In May 2012, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty and Governor of the Bank of Canada Mark Carney unveiled the new \$20 polymer bill. On the back of this bill, which accounts for more than half of bank notes in circulation, images of red poppies and the Canadian National Vimy Memorial replaced a quotation from Gabrielle Roy and images of works by Bill Reid, an indigenous West Coast artist with an international reputation, that had formerly appeared on the back of the \$20 bill. "The Canadian Corps' victory at Vimy is often described as Canada's 'coming of age' as a nation" said Mr. Flaherty in unveiling the bill.

In August 2007, the Ontario government renamed the 170-kilometre section of Highway 401 between Toronto and Trenton the "Highway of Heroes" in honour of Canadian soldiers who died in the war in Afghanistan. Similarly, in May 2012 the *Commission de toponymie de Québec* decided to rename the 9.2 km road extending Autoroute Henri-IV from Val-Bélair towards Shannon and the Canadian Forces Valcartier base the "*Route de la Bravoure*" (or Bravery Road). The original proposal to rename the entire Autoroute Henri-IV – initiated by CAQ MNA Gérard Deltell and backed by Premier Jean Charest and Québec mayor Régis Labeaume – had been rejected by the Commission in 2009, and the "compromise" was only adopted after changes in management at the Commission.

2 WHY IS MILITARISM ON THE RISE IN CANADA?

An analysis of the worldwide, Western, and Canadian context for the rise of militarism is beyond the scope of this publication. *Échec à la Guerre* has previously published important parts of that analysis, which are summarized below:

- The rise of militarism in the West has been driven primarily by the United States. When the Cold War ended, the US saw an opportunity to extend its economic, political, and ideological control over parts of the former Soviet sphere of influence. After the Second World War, the US had a

huge economic lead, which narrowed as the European and Japanese economies were rebuilt, and continues to erode to this day with the ascendancy of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa). Conversely, US military might has been and remains supreme. The United States is not only the world's leading military spender, it spends more than the next nine countries combined! Thus, an alternative means of expanding the US empire emerged: to take by force of arms what could not so easily be acquired through economic competition.

- Wars against Iraq (1991) and Serbia (1999) were followed by the “war on terrorism” (Afghanistan, Iraq). Other countries unreceptive to the neoliberal order also attracted US attention: Libya (2011), Syria, Iran, and North Korea. For each new war, the United States formed alliances wherever it could: ideally with the UN, failing that, with NATO or even a “coalition of the willing” including both NATO and non-NATO members. The new US military agenda led to a major realignment of its global network of military bases, with a focus on the Middle East, Central Asia and, more recently, Africa.
- A close and faithful ally of the United States throughout the Cold War, Canada had nonetheless managed to preserve a degree of foreign policy autonomy. In the 1990s, Canadian foreign policy acceded to the demands of the US empire and became more openly bellicose, with Canada participating directly in wars of aggression against Iraq, Serbia, and Afghanistan. “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists,” proclaimed George W. Bush, and there was no mistaking where Canada stood. But merely signing on to US foreign policy was not enough: Canada also had to be made to ramp up its military spending. This it was less willing to do, and so it had to be economically shoehorned into compliance. From 2001 to 2004, US Ambassador to Canada, Paul Cellucci, constantly repeated mantra that “security trumps trade” – a veiled threat of US protectionism as the tool that would be used to extract a budgetary commitment to the war on terrorism. Specific tactics included sluggish border processing for Canadian goods, drawn-out softwood lumber negotiations, and a trumped-up mad cow disease crisis — in short, heightened US protectionism in the name of security. Concurrently, within Canada itself, the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE) enthusiastically endorsed this turn of events.
- The desired response came in 2005 when Paul Martin’s Liberal government announced the largest increase in Canadian military spending since the Second World War: a \$12.8 billion increase over five years. That same year’s International Policy Statement indicated that the priority for this money would be to increase the regular forces by 5000 members and the reserves by 3000, as well as to procure equipment that would double the Canadian Forces’ rapid response capacity. In July 2005, the Government announced that the Canadian troops in Afghanistan would be moved from Kabul to Kandahar. This news prompted Canada’s new Chief of the Defence Staff, Rick Hillier, to enthuse that the army would now be able to play its true role of “killing people,” “terrorist scumbags” in particular.
- As discussed above, successive Conservative governments since 2006 have not only stepped up the militarist foreign policy begun under the Liberals, but have also undertaken a profound

transformation of other areas of society – the economy, history, research, immigration, heritage – by focusing on their military dimensions. In this, as in its promotion of Canadian oil and gas exports to the US, the Harper government has (notwithstanding its support of Canada's monarchist heritage) furthered economic, ideological, and military integration with the United States.

3 WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES?

3.1 INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

The most significant and devastating consequence of resurgent militarism, now a guiding feature of Canada's development, is obviously the terror visited on the countries targeted by the United States war machine over the past 20 years (Iraq, Yugoslavia), and especially since the onset of the "war on terror" in 2001 (Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya).

The authorities have tried to keep us ignorant of this reality. Far from having fulfilled their deceitful promises of democracy, freedom, protection, and security for civilians, these wars of occupation and bombardment have caused death and mutilation, destroyed habitat and the environment, demolished public infrastructure, stirred up ethnic and tribal divisions, provoked regional destabilization, and produced hundreds of thousands of refugees, widows, and orphans.

The Canadian media have never provided any information on the number of Afghan combatants killed by Canadian forces, much less the number of civilian casualties.

“Liberation” by the US empire and its allies:

AFGHANISTAN:

- The war has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of Afghan citizens since 2001, whether killed directly by occupying forces or armed opponents of the regime (Taliban and others) or indirectly by famine, disease, exposure, lack of medical care, or war-related crimes.
- Starting in 2001, torture was practiced systematically at the US military base at Bagram and in Afghan prisons, with the collusion of the Canadian army and other foreign occupiers. In March 2013, the 3000 Afghan prisoners housed at Bagram were transferred to the Afghan authorities, but the United States kept 67 non-Afghans imprisoned, two-thirds of them Pakistanis, who have no access to independent legal counsel.
- US soldiers burned Korans, urinated on dead Afghans, and entertained themselves by killing unarmed individuals and massacring whole families.
- Since 2001, companies with dubious qualifications have been awarded billions of dollars in contracts (often without tenders or follow-up) to supply US military bases, train Afghan forces, or “rebuild” the country. Many hospitals and schools provided in this way have structural defects, and were jerry-built. Several are unsanitary or unsafe; some have never been completed.
- The Afghan parliament is extremely corrupt and many warlords are sitting members.
- Afghanistan is the world’s leading producer of opium, from which heroin is derived. Trade in this drug finances not only the Taliban insurrection, but also the warlords allied with foreign forces. Afghanistan is also the country afflicted by the highest rate of heroin addiction.
- Opposition forces, some of them Taliban, control much of the country and are able to stage attacks even in the centre of Kabul.
- The number of Afghan police officers killed in 2013, most of them victims of the rebels’ homemade bombs, was double that of the previous year. Each week in the summer of 2013, over 100 Afghan soldiers were killed and some 300 injured, while occupying forces lost 13 to 27 members a month. The authorities have stopped publishing these statistics so as not to undermine troop morale.
- The Afghan forces (army, police, and village militias) are losing a third of their numbers every year (100,000 men) to desertion.
- Two-thirds of the Afghan population suffer from some form of mental illness (UN-sponsored 2009 survey by the Afghan Department of Health).
- Violence against civilians has been on the rise since 2006. For 2013, the UN reported 8615 civilian victims, including 2959 deaths — a 14% increase over the previous year.

- After 2014, the United States intends to keep 10,000–20,000 soldiers on nine military bases but is demanding immunity from prosecution for offences committed on Afghan soil. Germany, with 600-800 soldiers, would still lead the international contingent in the north, while Italy would command the western sector. Berlin and Rome are looking for potential partners; even non-NATO members such as Ukraine are reportedly under consideration.

IRAQ:

- The then Secretary General of the UN declared the 2003 US invasion of Iraq to be illegal.
- By some estimates, between 2003 and 2011, nearly half a million Iraqis died from war-related causes, while well over a million died from the consequences of the international sanctions imposed from 1991 to 2013.
- The US-led coalition invasion of 2013 became an infamous torture regime, particularly at the Abu Ghraib prison, where atrocities were front page news. No high ranking US officer or politician has ever been convicted.
- The Gulf War of 1991, the sanctions running from 1991 to 2003, and the war of occupation from 2003 to 2011 destroyed most of the civilian infrastructure, including water supply, electricity, health, education, and agricultural endeavour. What was not destroyed is now dilapidated.
- Under the pretext of rebuilding the country, the US invaders illegally attempted to privatize Iraq's economy and to remodel its institutions in their own interests. During the first year of the occupation, US companies obtained spectacularly lucrative contracts (often without tenders), to devise new trade and investment rules, to set up a media network, to develop local public affairs management mechanisms, to revamp the education and health care systems, to reorganize the police, etc.
- The status of women has also greatly suffered during the past 25 years of war and sanctions. While the Personal Status Act of 1959 formerly enshrined legal gender equality, banned forced marriages, and set the legal age of consent at 18, the Council of Ministers passed a bill (25 February 2014) lowering the legal age of consent for girls to 9! According to Human Rights Watch, Iraqi security forces have illegally imprisoned thousands of women, many of whom have been tortured, assaulted, or raped.
- The occupation forces have divided and conquered along sectarian lines, playing Shia and Kurds off against Sunni, exacerbating tensions between different Shia political parties, etc. In 2006-2007, sectarian violence brought the nation to the brink of civil war. Tensions lessened for a few years, but bombings and suicide attacks have now resumed.
- Oil and gas production appear to be the only things that have returned to normal in Iraq . In February 2014, exports of these products reached their highest levels since Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

- But the proceeds, rather than being earmarked for reconstruction of the country's infrastructure, are mainly used to buy arms in order to consolidate the regime's repressive power. The United States has reportedly sold \$14 billion worth of arms to Iraq since 2005. In March 2013, the regime of Nouri al-Maliki, prime minister since 2006, purchased 140 M1 Abrams tanks. In February 2014, it bought 2400 Hellfire missiles for its assault helicopters. Shortly thereafter, a \$6.2 billion contract was signed for the purchase and maintenance of 24 additional helicopters. A similar contract for more helicopters had already been signed with Russia. The regime used this firepower against protest movements in Anbar province, particularly in the city of Fallujah, the object of a ferocious US bombing campaign in the spring of 2004. In short, what the al-Maliki regime is doing in Iraq resembles what the Assad regime is doing in Syria, but no criticism of al-Maliki is heard from the West.
- Hospital and clinic records, along with some independent studies, have pointed to a significant multiyear increase in serious congenital deformities and a rising incidence of numerous forms of cancer in the regions where large quantities of depleted uranium armaments were reputedly used (notably in Southern Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War and in Fallujah in 2004). For several years, US pressure prevented the World Health Organization (WHO) from looking into this issue. More recently, a joint WHO-Iraq Ministry of Health report on cancer and congenital deformities, slated to be published in November 2012, was delayed several times. When a "summary" was finally published in September 2013, it stated that the study had given Iraq a clean bill of health! The WHO refuses to publish the full report. A number of international experts, including two former UN humanitarian coordinators for Iraq, Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponeck, have denounced this situation.

LIBYA:

- Three years after the 2011 air strikes, oil exports have plummeted by 83%.
- The overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi has not improved the situation in Libya. Surveys conducted in November 2013 and March 2014 told the same story: 41% of Libyans thought their country was worse off than it had been under the Gaddafi regime, 32% thought it was better off, and 60% thought the priority going forward was to provide for public safety and disarm the militias.
- According to Patrick Cockburn, who writes for the British daily, *The Independent*, the country is lapsing into chaos and violence to the total indifference of the Western leaders who went to war in 2011, supposedly to defend the interests of the Libyan people.
- Militias, some of them more powerful than the remnants of the Libyan army, have staged spectacular attacks in the last year. These include the attack on the US consulate in Benghazi that killed four people, including the ambassador; the assassination of the attorney general and the chief of the military police; the temporary occupation of parliament; and the six-hour kidnapping of the prime minister. Militias have also seized oil fields and depots, demanding a greater share of the profits for their regions. In March 2014, one of these militias defied the central

government and exported a tanker full of oil from a field under its control, which led to a vote of no confidence against the Prime Minister in Congress.

- In Benghazi in June 2013, militiamen opened fire on a demonstration calling for disarmament, killing 31 and wounding many others. According to Human Rights Watch, in November 2013, militias from Misrata armed with assault rifles, machine guns, and heavy weaponry fired on an overwhelmingly peaceful demonstration in Tripoli, killing several people. The protesters had gathered to demand the withdrawal of armed militias from their city. In the ensuing fighting between these militias and other armed groups, 43 people were killed and 460 were wounded.
- An October 2013 UN report indicated that some of the 8000 prisoners held by various militias have been tortured to extract confessions and other information. Most of these victims have no legal recourse against their captors.
- The overthrow of the Gaddafi regime released a great many weapons into circulation, causing further instability throughout the region. Foreign militias once active in Libya have returned to their home countries armed to the teeth. In Mali, Libyan war veterans played a central role in the northern insurrection that led to French military intervention in January 2013.

3.2 DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES

In 1986, a talk by Montreal peace activist, Solanges Vincent, was published as a pamphlet entitled *The Human Costs of the War Economy*. Vincent's denunciation of skyrocketing US military spending in the Reagan era, and the Mulroney government's desire to follow suit, was prescient. Mulroney was being lobbied by the Business Council on National Issues, the predecessor to the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE), to increase Canada's military budget by 80% and the size of the Canadian Forces by 70%. At the time, F-18 fighter jets were being purchased for inflated prices, just as F-35s are today: while the government announced a price tag of \$2.4 billion for the F-18s in 1980, the Auditor General eventually found the real cost to be \$8.5 billion.

The current situation is similar but more worrying. Military spending is being stepped up just as it was 30 years ago, and there is a thrust on the Government's part to develop the military sector of the Canadian economy to the point of making it a driver of regional development. This time, however, the militarization process is more flagrant, since Canada is now fighting directly in wars of aggression

alongside the United States, and is implementing a comprehensive policy to make the armed forces a central and omnipresent institution of Canadian society.

3.2.1 Erosion of rights and freedoms, global surveillance

Since September 2001, throughout the West, national security measures have been implemented in violation of civil liberties and basic principles of justice such as the presumption of innocence and the right to a fair trial. Canada is no exception, with its anti-terrorism law (L.C. 2001, ch. 41), given royal assent on 18 December 2001; its complicity in the deportation of Canadian citizens to torture (e.g., Maher Arar); its use of “security certificates” to imprison individuals indefinitely without charge, while imposing draconian conditions of release; and its generalized public surveillance mechanisms.

On this last point, it is important to recall Edward Snowden’s revelations about the global surveillance carried out by the US National Security Agency (NSA) and the close cooperation of the Communications Security Establishment of Canada (CSTC) with the NSA:

- In June 2013, it was learned that the US company Verizon, and apparently other telecommunications conglomerates as well, had been providing the NSA with all their data on telephone calls within the US, and from the US to overseas correspondents, for at least seven years. Snowden also revealed the existence of the NSA’s PRISM program for Internet surveillance. The NSA and the FBI had been given free access to the servers of at least nine US web giants: Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, Paltalk, YouTube, Skype, AOL and Apple.
- Canada belongs to the Five Eyes intelligence alliance with the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. In this capacity it has been involved in the XKeyscore mass surveillance program, which can track the activities of any Internet user, thanks to hundreds of servers located in dozens of countries.
- In 2010, the CSTC facilitated an NSA operation to spy on the G8 and G20 summits in Toronto.
- On 9 December 2013, the CBC made public a confidential memo stating that the CSTC had set up and was operating spy posts in 20 countries at the request of the NSA; that CSTC personnel regularly worked at an NSA facility in Maryland; and that the two agencies are working together on technologies, equipment and projects.
- On 30 January 2014, the CBC revealed that the CSTC had used information collected from the free Internet service provided by a major Canadian airport to track the movements of thousands of passengers for days after they left the terminal.

The existence of data exchange agreements among the Five Eyes countries, means that statutory bans on targeting the citizens of these countries cannot be trusted.

MILITARISM: A WOMEN'S ISSUE³

"Militarism as an ideology creates a culture of fear and supports the use of aggression, violence and military interventions for settling disputes and enforcing economic and political interests. Militarism privileges violent forms of masculinity, which often has grave consequences for the safety and security of women, children, men, and society as a whole."

-- *Center for Women's Global Leadership*

Among other things, militarism is predicated on the glorification of the armed forces and their values: the use of force, hierarchy, obedience, submission, esprit de corps, and the cult of personality. Military culture overvalues reductive, stereotyped masculinity, normalizes violence as a means of resolving conflict, trivializes violence against women, and devalues cultural and racial minorities. This state-sponsored culture of violence pervades the whole of society.

Normalization of violence against women

In countries or territories under attack, women's bodies are considered to be objects belonging to the enemy. When an army occupies a territory, the soldiers believe it is their right to take the women. Rape is used to humiliate the enemy and to signal control or possession of a territory. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, an estimated 1000 women are raped every day, or 48 every hour. Around the world since the Second World War, over a million women have been raped during a conflict. Furthermore, trafficking and prostitution tend to increase significantly in the vicinity of a military base. For example, an estimated 50,000 female Iraqi refugees have reportedly been taken out of the country with the promise of a job and have then been forced into prostitution. Rape and violence against women proliferate in refugee camps as well. Women have very little recourse, since those who are supposed to protect them are themselves often perpetrators. In Colombia, from 2004 to 2009, 70% of the recorded 91,000 rapes were allegedly committed by the police or the army.

When occupying soldiers return home to their countries, there is a corresponding increase in rape, spousal abuse, and violence against children. It seems as if certain soldiers transfer their "right" to rape and kill from the war setting to their home communities. This phenomenon has been noted on Canadian military bases when soldiers return from Afghanistan, and in the United States as well.

Moreover, a female Iraqi soldier was more likely to be raped by a US army colleague than to be killed by enemy fire. Sexual assault is clearly endemic in both the US and Canadian armies.

The documentary film *The Invisible War*, winner of the Audience Award at the Sundance Festival in 2012, states that according to official statistics, 22,800 violent sex crimes were committed in the US army in 2011, with over half of the victims being female soldiers ages 18 to 21. Kirby Dick, the film's director and

³ Taken in large part from a pamphlet published by the Comité Femmes et mondialisation of the Fédération des Femmes du Québec in October 2013; see "Further Reading" at the end of this report.

co-producer, affirms that 20% of women in the armed forces have been sexually assaulted. Another study showed that, in 2009, 1% of military men were sexually assaulted.

An April 2014 investigative report published in *L'Actualité* revealed that an average of 178 sexual assaults have been reported to the military police in Canada every year since 2000. "If, as Statistics Canada estimates, less than one in ten sexual assaults is reported to the authorities, then that means a total of 1780 incidents per year in the armed forces: five per day." *L'Actualité* also reported the results of a 2012 survey of the regular forces in which 9% of the women and 0.3% of the men claimed to have experienced sexual harassment or unwanted sexual contact in the previous 12 months.

These figures are alarming, especially since it is not easy to report a rape committed by another soldier. There is a pervasive military culture that encourages the perpetrators to trivialize, if not outright deny, such incidents. In some cases, rape victims have reported that when they did file a complaint, they were not believed. Among those who were believed, some came under pressure to refrain from pursuing the charges so as not to damage their military careers. In one case (that of Stéphanie Raymond), a complainant who persisted in reporting assaults and demanding action from the army was declared "unfit to continue her service" and discharged for placing an "excessive administrative burden" on the Canadian Forces.

In the United States, an increasing number of female ex-soldiers are becoming homeless. A report in *The Independent* (24 June 2007) estimated that as many as 50% of them may have been sexually assaulted during their time in the armed forces.

Deterioration of living conditions

In countries or territories under attack, bombardments, combat, and other violence cause a host of problems in addition to the initial casualties: broken families, orphaned children by the thousands, people who are displaced or become refugees. As the principal homemakers, women bear the brunt of these tragic situations, and they do so in a context made even more problematic by the destruction of drinking water facilities, hospitals, schools, and roads; by difficulties in obtaining supplies and getting from place to place, and by health problems related to malnutrition, epidemics, and toxic pollutants.

3.2.2 A culture of secrecy, misinformation, and censorship

The operations of the CSTC tend to be shrouded in secrecy, as are those of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and the Canadian special forces known as Joint Task Force Two (JTF 2). Officially, this is justified on the grounds of "national security," but in reality the purpose of secrecy is to conceal from the public the often illegal nature of these operations, their sometimes totalitarian extent, and the extremely deep integration of these Canadian agencies with their US counterparts.

Secrecy and information control have in fact become characteristic of the Harper government's conduct in most areas, with the goal of obscuring contradictions between reality and official government discourse. This pattern has been particularly evident in the case of the war in Afghanistan. Three months

after taking power, the Conservatives stopped publishing the number of prisoners taken there by Canadian Forces. Around the same time, it blocked media access to the military ceremonies held when dead soldiers were repatriated from Afghanistan. Then, for many years, it made strenuous efforts to hide the truth concerning allegations that prisoners transferred by the Canadian Forces to the Afghan authorities had been tortured (see inset).

Canada's concealed complicity in torture

As early as 2006, Richard Colvin, a senior Canadian embassy official in Kabul, wrote a number of memos to high ranking military and political personnel expressing his concerns that Afghan prisoners detained by the Canadian Forces ran the risk of being tortured if they were transferred to the Afghan intelligence services. The affair blew up and the chair of the Military Police Complaints Commission (MPCC), Peter Tinsley, opened an inquiry that the Harper government did everything in its power to block. It asked the Federal Court to stop the MPCC's public hearings, allegedly intimidated witnesses (of 22 civil servants called to testify, only Colvin did so), and refused to extend Tinsley's term as chair of the MPCC. It also attempted to block Colvin's testimony on national security grounds and to redact documents submitted to the MPCC. In testifying before a House of Commons special committee, in November 2009, Colvin stated that Canadian military officials knew that transferred detainees would be tortured and that, starting in 2006, the Red Cross had been warning Ottawa that abuses were taking place. This testimony discredited the Harper government who maintained it was out of the loop, and tried to discredit Colvin by claiming that his information was based on rumours and Taliban lies. In its attempts to defuse the scandal and hamstringing the inquiry, the Harper government went as far as to prorogue Parliament. In April 2011, it asked the Federal Court of Canada to strike out Colvin's testimony.

This pattern of secrecy and disinformation has also been evident in discussion around the costs of the Afghanistan war and the replacement of F-18 fighter planes. In October 2008, at a press conference to unveil his estimate of the costs of Canadian participation in this war, Parliamentary Budget Officer, Kevin Page, stated: "Although Canada is in the seventh year of the Afghanistan mission, Parliament and Canadians have not been provided with accurate and comprehensive departmental cost estimates." In early June 2009, the Canadian Forces refused an NDP request for disclosure of the annual costs of intervening in Afghanistan, invoking national security, only to change their position several weeks later. The official figure of \$11.3 billion for 2001–2011 remains, however, a significant underestimate.

In 2010, when the Conservative government announced that it would proceed with the purchase of 65 F-35 fighter jets, their purchase and maintenance costs were assessed at \$9 billion and \$7 billion respectively, for a total cost of \$16 billion. At the end of 2012, a report of the accounting firm KPMG confirmed the purchase cost but indicated that the costs of development, maintenance, and operation would be much higher than anticipated. The total bill to the taxpayer was going to be \$45.8 billion, a 186% cost overrun!

Finally, there is a notable pattern of barring certain foreign nationals from entering Canada when they hold political opinions contrary to the Conservatives' foreign policy. This has been especially true in regard to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Recent persona non

grata have included British MP George Galloway, peace activists Medea Benjamin (of the US organization Code Pink) and Ann Wright (former US Army colonel and diplomat before her 2003 resignation in protest over the Iraq war), and US folksinger David Rovics.

3.2.3 Misuse of public funds

The Government's commitment of \$490 billion to the military budget over the next 20 years is a scandal without parallel, since no other department has received such funding guarantees. It is not as if abundant resources are available for important public services such as health and education, but as the government withdraws from these areas in favour of the private sector, economic development becomes largely contingent on the war machine: arms deals, enlargement of military bases, and so forth. Major sports and social events are being offered sponsorships by the army in exchange for ubiquitous visibility. Even official development assistance is being reworked to fit the war agenda: at the height of Canadian participation in the war of occupation in Afghanistan, that country was the largest recipient of Canadian "aid."

The alleged spinoff benefits to be derived from public investment in the military are an illusion, and a gross deception.

What could be done with our war budget?

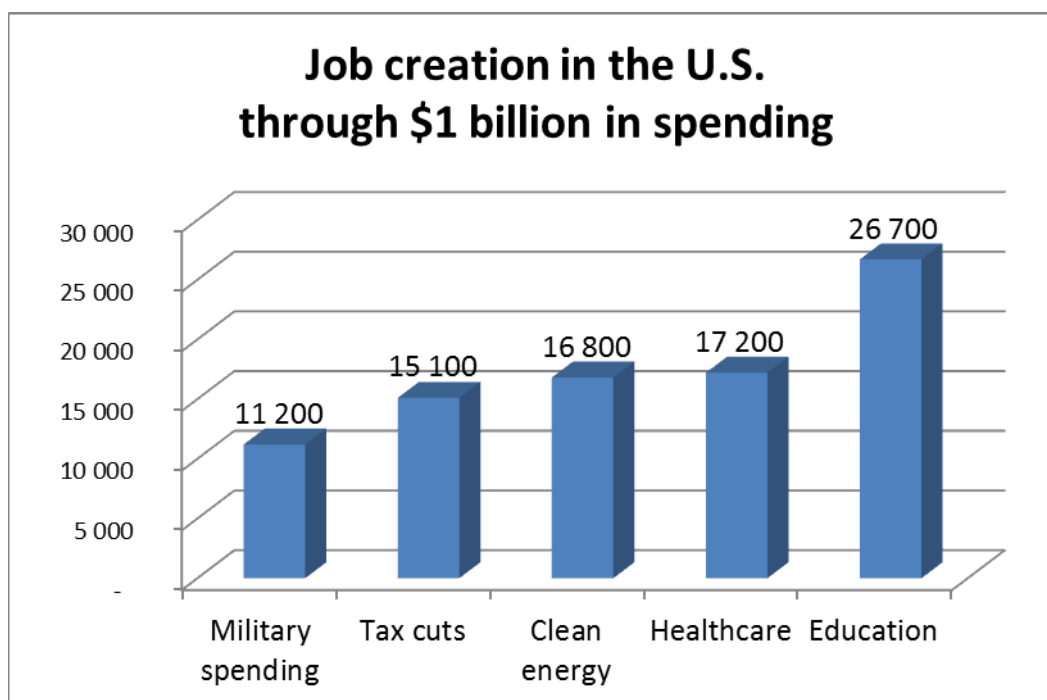
MILITARY SPENDING		SOCIAL SPENDING
In 2005, the Government announced it would phase in a \$12.8 billion increase over five years, to which \$5.3 billion was subsequently added.	⇒	\$10 billion over five years would raise 800,000 Canadian children and their families above the poverty line.
In 2010–2011: \$23.7 billion	⇒	12 times the budget of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (\$1.9 billion)
\$35 billion investment in the Navy	⇒	10 times the cost of buying 8500 buses for public transportation (\$3.4 billion)
Cost of purchase and maintenance of just one F-35: \$692 million ⁴	⇒	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 86 000 new daycare spaces OR • Construction of 34 hospitals in Africa OR • Construction of 10,456 social housing units in Quebec OR • More than twice the amount cut from international cooperation budgets (\$319 billion)

While there is plenty to criticize about the many products and services created to serve our culture of consumerism, the war industry's "products" are in another category entirely. At best, they are produced without ever being used and thus constitute an utter waste of taxpayer dollars. At worst, they are used in wars where they kill and maim on a large scale, as well as demolishing social infrastructure, destroying productive capacity, and polluting the environment: a devastating human and economic toll. In short, military spending is neither economically nor socially beneficial. The only winners are the arms industry, which is enormously profitable, and governments and their corporate backers, who sometimes manage to take advantage of the wars they start.

One might think, as is often claimed, that the war industry would at least produce positive impacts in terms of well-paid employment, technological innovation, and spinoff benefits for society. But the fact is that military spending is less productive in this regard than public spending in other sectors. In a study updated every two years, Robert Pollin and Heidi Garrett-Peltier of the Political Economy Research Institute (PERI) at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst compared the number of jobs created in the

⁴ Information in this box comes from the "Pas de démocratie sans voix" coalition.

US economy per billion dollars of public investment in defence, education, health, or clean energy. They also considered the number of jobs that would be created by tax cuts and the resulting consumer spending. Their results for 2011 are shown below:



Their study shows that many more jobs are created by civilian spending than by military spending. They also looked at the salaries associated with these jobs and found that investment in clean energy, health, and education generates more jobs than military spending for the three salary classes considered: over \$64,000, \$32,000–\$64 000, and under \$32,000.⁵

3.2.4 The spectre of martial law and the militarization of policing

In this section we address the consequences of the rise of militarism as observed primarily in the United States but which is also quite evident in Canada.

In “The Militarization of America” (July 2013), Bill Van Auken discusses the creation in 2002 of the US Northern Command (NORTHCOM). While US constitutional tradition forbids the deployment of the army as a repressive force within the country’s borders, which is in fact the main purpose of NORTHCOM.⁶ Van Auken notes that military training to that end took place in at least seven cities in 2012: Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Tampa, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Creeds, VA. Most importantly, he points out the

⁵ Of course, even if military spending turned out to be an effective job creator, we would still oppose militarism because of its destructive effects.

⁶ The NORTHCOM commander is also the commander of the US-Canadian North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and NORTHCOM’s mandate covers almost all of North America.

Pentagon's May 2013 announcement of new rules of engagement for military operations on US soil to provide "support" to civilian law enforcement authorities in emergency situations. Van Auken writes:

the document ... authori[zes] a "federal military commander" in "extraordinary emergency circumstances where prior authorization by the President is impossible and duly constituted local authorities are unable to control the situation, to engage temporarily in activities that are necessary to quell large-scale, unexpected civil disturbances." In other words, the Pentagon brass claims the unilateral authority to impose martial law.

In this context, there is nothing reassuring about the agreement signed 14 February 2008 by Canada and the United States that allows the latter to deploy its troops on Canadian soil in the event of a civil emergency.

In "Rise of the Warrior Cop" (August 2013), Radley Balko argues that since the 1960s, with the appearance of the first SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) team in Los Angeles, the distinction between police and army has blurred:

Driven by martial rhetoric and the availability of military-style equipment—from bayonets and M-16 rifles to armored personnel carriers—American police forces have often adopted a mind-set previously reserved for the battlefield. The war on drugs and, more recently, post-9/11 antiterrorism efforts have created a new figure on the US scene: the warrior cop—armed to the teeth, ready to deal harshly with targeted wrongdoers, and a growing threat to familiar American liberties.

While in 1983 only 13% of US cities with populations of 25,000–50,000 had SWAT teams, in 2005, 80% of them did. Furthermore, since its inception in 2002, the Department of Homeland Security has handed out \$35 billion in grants to various police forces, with much of the money going to the purchase of military hardware such as armoured personnel carriers.

Although SWAT teams are only supposed to intervene in rare circumstances, their use is becoming increasingly common and widespread, with deadly results. In another article, Balko states that in the last six months of 2009, SWAT teams were deployed 804 times in the state of Maryland alone – an average of 4.5 times a day! A study by the *Baltimore Sun* found that 94% of these deployments did nothing but deliver search or arrest warrants, and that only 6% responded to bank robberies, hostage taking incidents, barricades, and the like. Balko notes that he has uncovered over 50 cases of innocent people killed during raids carried out under warrants that related to misdemeanors or minor nonviolent offences.

Police militarization is a trend that worries the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), whose affiliates in 25 states have filed more than 260 requests with police and National Guard offices to ascertain the degree to which federal funding has driven the militarization of city and state police forces.

According to the *Washington Post*, the FBI has been using drones since 2010. In February 2013, the Electronic Frontier Foundation revealed the shocking fact that 81 city and county police forces had

quietly applied to the Federal Aviation Administration for permission to operate drones, without informing their constituents or proposing any policies to rein in their use.

One high-profile result of police militarization in the United States was the brutal repression of the “Occupy” movement.

In Canada, the scope of the police repression against the anti-G20 demonstrations in Toronto (June 2010) was unprecedented. The so-called security measures for this event cost more than \$900 million and resulted in the largest mass arrests in Canadian history (a total of 1090). According to the Ombudsman of Ontario, André Marin, Torontonians were effectively placed under martial law by means of a regulation quietly passed by the Ontario provincial cabinet and never revealed to the public, the media, or even Toronto city officials.

Two years later in Quebec, the student movement waged the longest and largest strike in its history. The movement and its allies were met with extensive and brutal police repression, marked by 3387 arrests between 16 February and 3 September 2012. On 6 November 2013, the Montreal police SWAT team unveiled an armoured vehicle it had just purchased at a cost of \$364,606, thus showing the Government of Quebec’s arrogance and intent to uphold the letter and spirit of Bill 78, which had provided the legal underpinning for this repression.

3.3 CANADA’S ROLE IN THE WORLD

By participating in wars of aggression and occupation or in shorter-term bombardments – both illegal under international law, whether subsequently endorsed by the Security Council or not – Canada contributes to the erosion of the international order and its weak legal instruments, which are becoming increasingly toothless as the law of the jungle takes over.

Far from contributing to conflict resolution around the world, Canada’s statements on international affairs – denigrating the United Nations, reneging on international obligations, offering unconditional support for Israel and a potential Franco-American attack on Syria, whipping up hostility towards Iran, urging interference in Ukraine’s internal affairs – have done much to exacerbate conflict.

By participating in the rise of militarism in the West, primarily motivated by US imperial interests, Canada – despite the Government’s claims to the contrary – has joined an arms race that is likely to provoke further conflict, instability, and insecurity around the world.

4 TAKING ACTION

In March 2014, Canada withdrew the last of its soldiers from Afghanistan and its military budget has declined since 2011. But this is a short-term reconfiguration that in no way invalidates the observation – whose scope and extent are documented in this report – that militarism is on the rise in Canada. Given the gravity of this situation, the work facing us is clear. We must:

1. Deconstruct arguments for militarism as a necessary response to allegedly grave threats to Canada's national security; for wars of aggression as humanitarian enterprises; and for military spending as a beneficial driver of the economy.
2. Demand a wide-ranging public debate on Canadian foreign policy and the role of the armed forces, the military industry and the arms trade.
3. Demand an immediate and substantial reduction in Canada's military spending at home and abroad, with the money freed up to be invested in social, environmental, cultural, international development, and similar programs.
4. Lobby ALL political parties on this agenda. Nothing of any substance will be gained solely by throwing out the Harper government in the next election.
5. Oppose the many facets of militarism by initiating or participating in local actions against military recruitment, army and war promotion at large public gatherings, youth indoctrination through Veterans Affairs materials, etc.

YOU AND YOUR ORGANIZATION CAN:

- ✓ Invite Échec à la Guerre to hold a workshop on the rise of militarism.
- ✓ Buy copies of this report for your members.
- ✓ Put a link on your website to Échec à la Guerre.
- ✓ Publish a story on the rise of militarism in your newsletter.
- ✓ Promote the white poppy campaign, a direct response to militarism.

5 FURTHER READING

Information and research websites

In English :

1. Ceasefire.ca 25,000 people working together for peace : <http://www.ceasefire.ca>

2. Center for research on globalization : <http://www.globalresearch.ca/>
3. Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade : <http://coat.ncf.ca>
4. Iraq Body Count : <https://www.iraqbodycount.org>
5. Rabble.ca, news for the rest of us : <http://rabble.ca>
6. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) : <http://www.sipri.org>
7. Transcend Media Service. Solutions-Oriented Peace Journalism : <https://www.transcend.org/tms>
8. Voices For Creative Non Violence : <http://vcnv.org>

In French :

9. Centre de recherche sur la mondialisation : <http://www.mondialisation.ca>
10. Investig'Action : <http://www.michelcollon.info>
11. Le Grand Soir, journal militant d'information alternative : <http://www.legrandsoir.info>

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LE COLLECTIF ÉCHEC à la GUERRE

This publication was produced by the Steering Committee of *Collectif Échec à la guerre* as a contribution towards highlighting the disturbing rise of militarism in Canada, to build a response. With no aim to impose a priority list among the struggles to protect and broaden the rights and social gains which are attacked by the neoliberal and conservative agenda in Canada, it must be recognized that militarism is actually at the core of the Harper government's ideology, and that its costly implementation advances rapidly, at the expense of the State's social missions. We therefore think it is important that the struggles to protect and broaden social gains, and to defend the common good, be pursued in conjunction with the denunciation of the rise of militarism in Canada.

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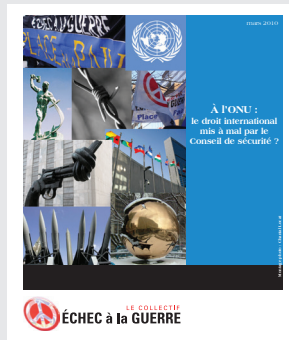
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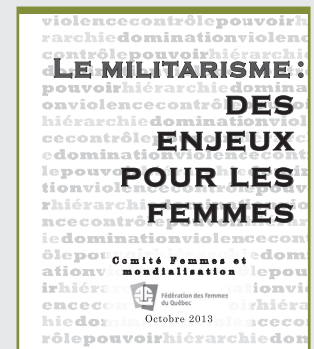
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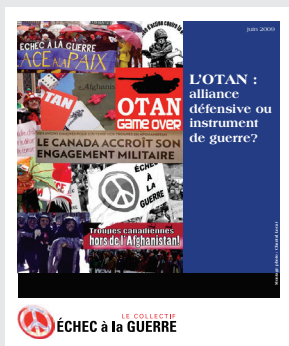
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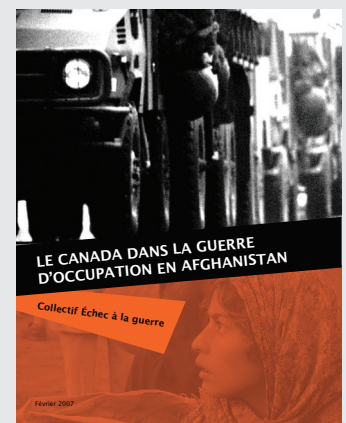
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