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CANADA'S LONG TERM STRATEGIC SITUATION

by

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CANADA'S LONG TERM STRATEGIC SITUATION

CANADIAN GEOGRAPHY, DEMOGRAPHY

The main part of my talk this morning will be an attempt to relate the factors determining national power and national interests, as described by Professor Hartmann, to Canada in particular.

GEOGRAPHY

POLAR PROJECTION

- only close to one other country
- very large in area
- lies directly under the shortest (gt circle) routes between USSR and USA, and alongside the shortest (gt circle) sea routes from Arctic area to NW Europe

DEMOGRAPHY

CANADA'S WORLD RANKING (CWR) POPULATION SIZE (out of 188)

- population very unevenly distributed geographically
 - clings to southern border
 - highly urbanized
 - proportion of older citizens will increase in coming years.

(Professor Hartmann) remarks on population

- large population can be strength or weakness
- does one new citizen bring needed skill and labour or one more mouth that will be difficult to feed?
- for Canada, added population has been needed in past
 - with chronic unemployment, immigration being curtailed
- need to consider capacities and skills as well as numbers
- introduction of new groups with their own language, religion, culture, ethics, may bring stimulating diversity but also potential for internal stress

HISTORY

History before Confederation makes good example of Professor Hartmann's treatment of national concepts, appreciations, and predictions.

- Canadian history not very interesting as compared to many other countries, but it does have a very strong influence on our behaviour today
- several occasions in past when USA believed erroneously that Canadians would prefer to be liberated from British rule
- War of Independence, War of 1812, boundary disputes, Fenian Raids, did not represent an untroubled border prior to 1807
- one major motivation for Confederation was to be less tempting for annexation by USA

CANADIAN
ETHNIC
ORIGINS

- close ties of blood and trade to Europe: originally Britain and France, more recently many others
- economy now largely dominated by exports of raw materials to USA, Europe, more recently Japan (earlier was mainly to Europe)
- no military threat from USA for over a century - in fact long protection of Monroe doctrine.
Pax Britannica (in the days of British naval supremacy)
- participation in distant wars as junior member of large alliance: British Commonwealth (South Africa, WW I, WW II), UN (Korea, peacekeeping)

SLIDE OFF

- policy of collective defence in NATO
 - cornerstone is deterrence of war through collective strength balance of power (by process described by Professor Hartmann) rather than domino concept?
 - To some extent, Canadian national interests equated to collective interests of the North Atlantic Alliance
Canada does not think bilaterally (except in sense of NATO/WP)
 - deterrence requires strategic offensive forces (provided by USA)
 - forces to defend these (including warning as well as active defence): Canadian roles in air and sea
 - conventional forces - standing armies and air forces in Europe - means to reinforce and resupply these - transatlantic SLOC
 - third element is TNF (Canada no longer operates TNF herself). Subject of great concern today.
 - conscious decision taken in early 1950s not to design and build our own nuclear weapons
 - but Canada joined NATO consensus for LRINF modernization, and has agreed to test the cruise missile
- very limited requirement for territorial defence of Canada
 - obviously underwritten by USA no evident threat
- Canada has never joined the OAS

- Canada sympathetic to Britain over Falkland Isl. dispute, but had no direct role
- recent incident in Granada found Canada completely out of the question
- recent concerns over questions of sovereignty
 - some caused by changes in LOS, increasing effectiveness and competition in exploring maritime resources
 - some artificially stimulated for political reasons (anti-American isolationist sentiments), perhaps waning.

DEFENCE

- in past, very much oriented across the Atlantic
 - large land and air forces serving in Mediterranean and NW Europe in both World Wars
- seaborne supply of W. Europe
 - First Battle of the Atlantic 1917-18 vs U-boats
 - Second Battle of the Atlantic 1939-45 vs U-boats, aircraft, surface raiders. In latter years Canada supplied about half the escorts in the North Atlantic. Canada ended WW II with the third largest navy in the world.
 - importance of Canadian seaports, ships, aircraft
 - Canadian participation in occupation of Iceland (1940)

SECOND BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

NEW SUPPLY ROUTES IN WW II

- WW II air ferry - NE route (Crimson)
 - NW staging route to Alaska and USSR (airfields and Alaska highway)

- Slow and painful buildup before efficient capability really acquired
 - had years to convert potential into actual usable capability
- NATO Role - Defence of transatlantic sea lines
 - ASW escort
 - GIUK gap and air defence primarily by NATO partners

BOMBER APPROACHES

- surveillance of approaches to North America by ICBM, bomber aircraft, SSBN
 - most effective detection system for missile launching is now based in space

SOVIET ICBM TRACKS

- SSBN with 5000 mile SLBMs now able to remain far from target

SOVIET SUBMARINE ROUTES

- some Arctic passages negotiable by submarines, even when ice-covered
- anti-bomber defence more of north than East or West, Pinetree, MCL, DEW Line, interceptors, joint program, NORAD
- BMD
 - active defence not deployed
 - could be LOADS or High altitude overlay, neither requiring bases in Canada
 - could be based in space
- space surveillance

- Pacific Ocean

- what role for Canada?

- USN does surveillance over nearly all the area
- is there a need to defend transpacific SLOC? to where?
- regional conflict in Western Pacific?
- tanker traffic from Alaska
- importance of Trident SSBN base in Bangor, Washington

- Arctic Defence

- lodgements?
- is it necessary? what purpose for enemy?
- oil or gas tanker routes could be important in the future

- Naval Priorities: how much concentration on ASW?
attempt a balanced force?

- will NATO send naval or other forces out of the SACLANT area?
 - if US, UK, France do, will other allies fill in the vacuum?

Geography has given Canada military significance primarily because (1) it lies between the Superpowers, could, if in unfriendly hands, offer a danger to the USA, and (2) it flanks the sea communications between North America and Europe. Canada lacks serious enemies of her own.

The most likely military action threatening serious destruction inside Canada is that of intercontinental missile or bomber attack on US strategic assets such as ICBM fields. If groundburst nuclear weapons are used, radioactive fallout would be expected in Canadian cities. Direct attack on Canadian defence installations, industrial and population centres is also quite likely in the event of an all-out exchange of inter-continental nuclear weapons.

ARCTIC
SHIPPING
ROUTES

SLIDE OFF

CANADA'S CURRENT POSITION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

- (has been) getting less important year by year
- came out of WW II one of the most powerful countries in the world. Both World Wars were very good for the Canadian economy. Since then the countries shattered by the war have been rebuilt and are more than able to hold their own in economic competitions.
- many now have more than regained their economic position in the group now forming the North Atlantic Alliance, Canada has slipped from near the top to near the bottom of the table in terms of military power, and for the simple reason that we have chosen to devote a decreasing proportion of our resources to defence
 - e.g., fraction of GNP spent on defence 1953 - 7.5%
 - 1981 - 1.7%
- halving of number of Canadian troops stationed in Europe
- reduction of squadrons of fighter-bombers from 12 to 3
- a withdrawal from nuclear strike role
- scrapping of the aircraft carrier
- has taken initiative and achieved some success in area of preserving or restoring international stability, peacekeeping, starting with Suez in 1956
- peace observation, truce supervision, etc.
- including the supervisory commission in Vietnam and UN forces in Cyprus, Egypt, and Syria

- Canada may have an opportunity to increase its economic power and influence because of possession of assets likely to be in short supply in the world
 - energy, including uranium and nuclear technology as well as oil, gas, coal
 - minerals
 - food (one of the few net exporters)
 - water

- a key question is accommodation with USA over distribution of resources
 - a continental policy?

CWR ECONOMY
AND
TRANSPORTATION

- economy 1979
- transportation

CWR ENERGY
MANUFACTURING
FARMS
FORESTS

- energy
- manufacturing
- farms and forests

- food in world's top five producers of barley, oats, wheat

CWR
MINERALS

- minerals

1976

TRADE

SCIENTIFIC & TECHNOLOGICAL

- engineering - civil Hi-Tech?
- electrical
- chemical

WORLD POWER ASSESSMENTDEFENCE
COMPARISONS

defence expenditure, enlistment, population, GNP comparison

world power assessment (Cline does what Professor Hartmann discourages;
he expresses them as a simple mathematical
formula)

- Hartmann's Historical-psychological-sociological element
 - scientific-technological element
 - organizational-administrative element
- | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------|
| } | policy, plus | related to Cline |
| | concept, plus | national will & |
| | content, plus | national strategy |
| | implementation | |
- long term strategic situation for Canada, which is strong enough in terms of population, territory, and economic capability, is sadly lacking in (these) more intangible determinants. More and more emphasis on social security rather than national security. Tend to base plans on pacific intentions of opponents, rather than on powerful capabilities. Great trust in legal protection.
 - much of our intellectual and political energy is being spent on internal squabbling over such matters as federalism, provincial rights, constitutions, foreign ownership, minority representation, human rights, or freedom of information, leaving correspondingly less to deliver power or influence on the international scene. It is a story of great potential, decreasing accomplishment. But if Canada does not break up into pieces, the potential will remain there and can perhaps be realized some time later, in the long term, probably by a later generation.

- as far as the military factor is concerned, a very important consideration for capital acquisition and force structure is to keep alive healthy nuclei of skills in the critical military areas, ones that can be expanded when the need arises, as it very likely will be, sometime in the long term.

COUNTRY	DEFENCE EXPENDITURE		NO. IN ARMED FORCES (1983)	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	GROSS NAT'L PRODUCT		
	% GNP	PER CAPITA			PER CAPITA	TOTAL	
		\$ (1982)			\$B (1982)	\$B (1982)	
ISRAEL	37.9 %	~ 2,060	~ 8.2	172,000	4.1	5,400	22
USSR	10-20 %	~ 1,100	~ 300	5,050,000	272	5,400	1350-1600
USA	7.2 %	938	216	2,136,400	235	12,800	3,012
UNITED KINGDOM	5.1 %	432	24	320,600	56	8,500	473
F. R. GERMANY	4.3 %	461	28	495,000	62	10,600	659
INDIA	3.5 %	8	5.6	1,120,000	724	220	161
AUSTRALIA	3.1 %	299	4.5	72,400	15	10,900	163
CANADA	2.0 %	247	6.0	82,900	25	11,700	294
JAPAN	1.0 %	87	10.4	241,000	119	8,900	1,058

CANADIAN MINERAL PRODUCTION, 1978

<u>MINERAL</u>	<u>CANADIAN WORLD RANKING</u>	<u>PERCENT WORLD PRODUCTION</u>
ZINC	1 ST	20%
NICKEL	2 ND	32%
URANIUM	2	16.6%
SULPHUR	2	23%
POTASSIUM	2	23%
ASBESTOS	2	30%
SILVER (1979)	4	11
GOLD (1979)	3	4.3%
PLATINUM	3	7%
LEAD	4 TH	25%
COPPER	4	10%
NATURAL GAS	5 TH	5%

GLOBAL IMPORTS
AND EXPORTS, 1978

1.	USA	13 %		
2.	FRG	11		
3.	JAPAN	7		
4.	FRANCE	6		
5.	UK	6		
6.	ITALY	5		
7.	NETHERLANDS	4		
8.	USSR	4		
9.	BELGIUM	4		
10.	CANADA	3.6 %		

<u>CANADIAN EXPORTS 1979</u>	
TO	USA (1982) 68 %
TO	W. EUROPE (1982) 10.4%
TO	ASIA 9 %
TO	LATIN AMERICA 4 %

CANADA RANKED SIXTH IN 1970

CANADA'S WORLD RANKINGS

	<u>INDEX</u>	<u>WORLD RANKING</u>	
POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION (1977)	31	0.54 % (1980) OF WORLD TOTAL
	ESTIMATED FOR 2000	37	0.5 % " " "
	ANNUAL GROWTH RATE	140	1.4 % (WORLD MEDIAN 2.4 %)
	ANNUAL BIRTH RATE	170	15.1 x 10 ⁻³ (WORLD MEDIAN 35.5 x 10 ⁻³)
	ANNUAL DEATH RATE	148	6.9 x 10 ⁻³ (" " 10.5 x 10 ⁻³)
	POPULATION DENSITY	154	2 MI ⁻² (WORLD MEDIAN 97)
	POPULATION IN CITIES >50,000	28	39 % (WORLD MEDIAN 25 %)
	URBAN GROWTH RATE	102	2 % (WORLD MEDIAN 4.5 %)
SIZE	LAND AREA	2	6.6 % OF WORLD TOTAL
	LENGTH OF COASTLINE	1	15 %
	LENGTH OF INTERNATIONAL BORDER	3	

ECONOMY	GNP	8	
	GNP PER CAPITA	19	
	EXPORTS PER CAPITA	20	9 X WORLD MEDIAN
	IMPORTS PER CAPITA	16	5 1/2 X WORLD MEDIAN
TRANSPORTATION	RAILWAY TRACK LENGTH	3	
	RAILWAY TON-MILES	4	
	ROAD LENGTH	8	(8 1/2% OF CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE EMPLOYED IN TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS)
	PAVED ROAD LENGTH	10	
	CARGO HANDLED IN SEAPORTS	12	
	NO. OF REGISTERED CIVIL AIRCRAFT	2	
	NO. OF USABLE AIRFIELDS	6	
	AVIATION PASSENGERS CARRIED	6	3% OF WORLD TOTAL
	TOTAL LENGTH OF PIPELINES	4	

FOOD

BARLEY PRODUCTION	5	4.9%	OF WORLD TOTAL
OATS PRODUCTION	4	6.8%	" "
WHEAT PRODUCTION	6	4.2%	" "
BEAN PRODUCTION	13	2.5%	" "
MILK PRODUCTION	12	1.7%	" "
MEAT PRODUCTION	13	1.7%	" "
Egg PRODUCTION	14	1.2%	" "
FISH CATCH	16	1.9%	" "
NICKEL ORE PRODUCTION	2	18.7%	" "
ZINC PRODUCTION	1		
ASBESTOS PRODUCTION	1	40%	OF WORLD TOTAL
SILVER PRODUCTION	4	11%	" "
COPPER ORE PRODUCTION	5	8.3%	" "
IRON ORE PRODUCTION	6	6.8%	" "
GOLD PRODUCTION	3	4.3%	" "
ALUMINIUM PRODUCTION	5	5.1%	" "
SALT PRODUCTION	8	3.7%	" "
Pig IRON PRODUCTION	9	2.0%	" "
STEEL PRODUCTION	10	2.2%	" "
CEMENT PRODUCTION	20	1.2%	" "

MINERALS

ENERGY	ENERGY PRODUCTION	6	2.9%	OF WORLD TOTAL
	CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION	15	2.3%	" "
	PETROLEUM PRODUCTS PRODUCTION	7	3.6%	" "
	PETROLEUM RESERVES (XTS)	16	1.1%	" "
	NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION	4	5.3%	" "
	NUCLEAR ENERGY PRODUCTION	5	4.1%	" "
	URANIUM RESERVES	4	10.7%	" "
	COAL PRODUCTION	12	1.0%	" "
	COAL RESERVES	7	1.2%	" "
	ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION	5	4.5%	" "
MANUFACTURING	PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES	8	3.1%	" "
	TELEVISION RECEIVERS	17	3.1%	" "
FARMS & FORESTS	AGRICULTURAL LAND PER INHABITANT	39	5	ACRES PER CAPITA (WORLD MEDIAN 2)
	PERCENTAGE OF FORESTED LAND	42	44%	(WORLD MEDIAN 25%)
	PRODUCTION OF NEWSPRINT	1	36%	OF WORLD TOTAL
	TIMBER	4	6.4%	OF WORLD TOTAL