

External Affairs
Supplementary Paper

No. 54/16 THE JOINT UNITED STATES-CANADA DEFENCE
OF NORTH AMERICA

An address by the Associate Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ralph Campney, to the Business Paper Editors Association of Canada, the Society of Business Paper Editors of the United States, the National Conference of Business Paper Editors, at the Seignior Club, Montebello, Quebec, April 8, 1954.

I propose to speak to you briefly tonight on the joint effort being made by the United States and Canada to protect the North American continent against possible aggressive attack.

As late as twenty years ago this speech could not have been made. No such joint effort existed. None was even contemplated. There was no apparent need. And the state of mind in both countries was such that no suggestion to that end would have been entertained anyway. And yet today much of the joint thinking and planning of productive activity in both Canada and the United States and much of the material wealth of both countries is being directed to that end. We have come a long way down the road of defence co-operation in twenty years.

And this seems the more remarkable, at least to us in Canada, when we realize that eighty-odd years ago four of the United States was one of the most compelling factors leading to the confederation of our provinces into one Canadian Nation. The Alabama and the Trent affairs, the Fenian raids into Canada from across the United States border, the tense anti-British and hence anti-Canadian feelings engendered in the Northern states during the American Civil War exist today only as little shadows on our mutual history. They were potent sources of misunderstanding and distrust, bordering on hatred, less than eighty years ago.

Confederation of the provinces of Canada into one nation marked a turning point in Canada-United States relations. Never again would armed raids, threats of invasion or of annexation mar the steady progress of ever growing mutual understanding and respect of our respective countries for each other.

From 1867 down to this very moment there has never been an occasion when either Canada or the United States has had the remotest reason to consider the possibility of defending itself against its neighbour. We have always managed to settle all our differences - and we have had differences - without resort to arms or even the threat of arms. And today the rule of law as between us operates as a matter of course. We that not so, our present close co-operation in providing for our common defence, as well as in many other directions, could never have become the reality that it is today.

But it took many years to develop the understanding, the mutual trust and the confidence which characterize our relations today. They were, in many ways, prosaic years, but they were formative years, and, therefore, important years. The relationship between our respective peoples throughout that period was generally friendly though remote, correct but formal, and was based largely on personal contacts rather than on national understanding.

On our part, as Canadians, we felt perhaps a little superior, like the Scots of their southern neighbours, as we sent our well trained professional men in very considerable numbers down to the United States to take important positions. We were not too interested in the United States otherwise except that we were somewhat over-awed at the amazing scale and rapidity of that country's development. Yet throughout those long years, by what Carlyle called "the inevitability of gradualness", we did evolve understanding and appreciation of our American neighbour's great qualities.

Americans, on their side, in the early days regarded Canadians with somewhat easy tolerance, not being too well informed about us, perhaps, due to intensive pre-occupation in their own development and its attendant problems. In recent years, however, Americans have rapidly developed an amazing and widespread interest in all things Canadian. This has led, as we are all well aware, to many Americans and much American capital coming to Canada to participate in the great development of our resources, and to strengthen the community of interest which that brings.

You may think that reference to Canadian-United States relations during the long last half of the 19th century is irrelevant to the consideration of our joint defence effort of today. If so, I think you are wrong. Those were the years of getting acquainted - the years of developing ever closer association, the years during which the foundations of mutual understanding were laid, understanding without which there could be no confidence. And where there is no mutual confidence, there can be no enduring co-operation.

It is, of course, only in recent years that co-operation between Canada and the United States in matters of mutual defence has become necessary. That need arose suddenly and has been and continues to be steadily met.

The defence of this continent was not a factor in the First Great War. The fields of battle in Europe, in Africa and in Asia were far away. Powerful navies protected our coasts. The great oceans themselves formed a natural barrier to invasion. Never during the First Great War was any part of North America even remotely liable to attack.

In the Second Great War, however, the defence of North America quickly became a matter of major importance. Just as the English channel largely lost its effectiveness as a defensive moat for England with the development of large scale, long-range bombing, so the Atlantic and Pacific oceans shrank in relative size

and protective effectiveness. With the advent of submarine packs along the Atlantic coast and in the Caribbean, North Americans quickly learned that war could come to their shores in full force and fury. Later, Japanese landings in the Aleutian Islands sharply underlined the fact that this continent might not be impregnable.

Realization of the possibility that war, if it comes again, might touch the North American continent itself was in the minds of responsible leaders of Canada and the United States even before the forces of the last war were unleashed.

President Roosevelt, when receiving an honorary degree at Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario, in 1938, made the first formal commitment of the United States to aid in the defence of Canada when he declared in memorable and historic words:

"Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you the assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

Two days later at Woodbridge, Ontario, Prime Minister King announced the complementary obligation on the part of Canada when he announced that Canada would see to it that:

"Should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way either by land, sea or air to the United States across Canadian territory."

Thus was notice served on all the world by both Canada and the United States that henceforth both countries were committed to a co-operative system of mutual self-defence.

As a matter of fact, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King had already initiated discussions on the joint defence of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and had authorized talks by staff officers at Washington during the previous January.

Early in World War II the policy of joint defence action by the United States and Canada came to full fruition under the relentless pressure of events.

In the dark days of 1940, as the Germans overran the Lowlands and France, besieged Britain by air and threatened actual invasion, the future of the whole free world quickly fell into jeopardy. Canada, with its relatively small resources of population could scarcely hope by itself to defend its huge domain. The United States, as yet unprepared, could not easily protect itself from attack based on Canada.

These urgent contingencies were considered by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King on August 17, 1940, when they met at Ogdensburg, New York, and agreed to set up a Permanent Joint Defence Board to "consider" (in the words of their joint announcement)

"in the broad sense, the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere."

Throughout World War II this unique body served as the chief agency for co-ordinating the defensive military policies of the two nations. The Permanent Joint Defence Board is still in existence and meets at regular intervals to study and recommend to the respective governments of Canada and the United States further and better measures looking to the continental defence of North America. It has thus not only rendered throughout the recent past but continues to render today invaluable service to the common cause of joint defence.

Reverting to World War II, the policy of consultation and co-operation, initiated by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, was also applied in the field of production and supply under the terms of what is known as the Hyde Park Declaration of April 1941.

The Hyde Park Agreement, as it is generally called, provided for co-ordination of production facilities of both countries and allocation on a co-operative basis of the responsibility of making specific contributions to each other's effort in the common cause.

This agreement of co-operation in the economic field was a natural sequence of the establishment of the Permanent Joint Defence Board in the military field.

The co-operative efforts thus established worked so effectively throughout World War II that after its conclusion American defence authorities requested that defence collaboration, to ensure the continuing security of the North American continent, should continue indefinitely. To this Canada readily agreed.

The collaboration agreed on was based on certain principles, set forth as follows:

- (1) Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.
- (2) General co-operation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.
- (3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments.
- (4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this principle to be applied as might be agreed in specific instances.

As an underlying principle it was agreed that all co-operative arrangements would be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its own territory.

Harmonization of defence policies of Canada and the United States has continued steadily and while, as is inevitable in negotiations between two sovereign nations, progress has sometimes been slow, it has been so substantial that Mr. Brooke Claxton, Canada's Minister of National Defence, was able to say as far back as 1951:

"The general staffs of Canada and the United States have completed agreement on doctrine, plans and preparation for the joint defence of North America."

The co-operation between Canada and the United States, in steps looking to our common defence, to which I have referred at some length, has been closer, has existed over a longer period of time, and has achieved greater results than similar efforts between any two other free countries in the history of the world. That is a most significant not-to-be-forgotten fact.

That co-operation had its origin in a common purpose; it has continued in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual respect; it has grown until now it is the central factor in the defence of North America and perhaps in the ultimate defence of freedom in this world.

The joint communique issued by Prime Minister St. Laurent and President Eisenhower during the President's visit to Ottawa on November 14 last year noted in very definite terms that there is now complete agreement on the vital importance of effective methods of joint defence against direct attack on any part of this continent.

The general aim of military and foreign policy in both the United States and Canada is the preservation of world peace, but the primary aim must be, as it is with all nations, to defend ourselves from direct attack. The obvious effective means of attack is by air, and the recently developed concept of global geography has made it clear that the shortest and most direct air routes from prospective enemy bases to North American targets traverse the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions.

The armed forces of both countries are working in close co-operation to meet the possibility of such attack. A network of radar stations equipped with the latest and most powerful apparatus is being built. Our two governments agreed about two and one-half years ago to build a warning system working outward from the great industrial areas of North America, the chief target areas in any attack which might come. Stations which are of primary usefulness in the defence of the United States are manned by the United States Air Force, while installations of special usefulness to Canada are operated by the Royal Canadian Air Force. The radar screen is being linked with air force defenders by an extensive communications system utilizing high frequency and is partly in operation. It will very shortly be fully so.

For some time Chiefs of Staffs of both countries have been investigating the problem of providing still more early warning for the North American continent. Early warning of pending air attack becomes increasingly important day by day as our only potential attacker

develops longer range aircraft and as it progresses from possession of the atom bomb to the hydrogen bomb and after that to perhaps now undreamed of methods of destruction. Warning time grows less as the speed of any possible attack grows greater.

Alert to such developments, service and scientific advisers of both countries have been engaged in an extensive study as to what further steps might be desirable and practicable. In October last they completed their study and recommended that an early warning chain should be established north of the settled parts of Canada.

This project has been agreed to by both governments and the necessary surveys and set-ups of this early warning chain are now in progress and we hope that construction will commence later this year.

The proposed system is over 5,000 miles long and the surveys involve the examination of hundreds of possible sites.

One type of equipment which may be used was designed, produced and tested in Canada, largely at McGill University. Hence, this proposed line has come to be commonly known as "the McGill fence".

It is obviously just as important to have early warning of aircraft approaching target areas in North America from over the sea as from over northern Canada. For this reason, the United States government is extending the early warning barrier across the north-eastern and northwestern seaward approaches of North America.

The Alaska radar system is fully co-ordinated with the radar chains in Canada and the United States. In addition, Canada and the United States are working together continuously to improve the immediate defences of major target areas. Co-operation of air defence commanders in close, and unidentified aircraft are investigated by the nearest interceptor force, whether Canadian or American.

Much of Canada's research on military problems is carried out by the Defence Research Board, a division of the Department of National Defence, whose work is so important that it is regarded almost as a fourth service. This board is concerned with all phases of inquiry relating to defence and defence production, but in relation to continental defence it is obviously very active in the specialized field of Arctic research.

The vast Arctic and sub-Arctic expanses of northern Canada present special problems of transport, of equipment and of communication. Ionospheric disturbances in the auroral belt make radio communication difficult. Extreme cold during winter and insect nuisances in summer call for special protection. Likewise the winter cold poses problems of ignition and lubrication for mechanical equipment and alters the reactions of normal weapons. These problems are attacked at the Defence Research Board, working in conjunction with the National Research Council.

Recent achievements of this important body include the development of a storage battery for starting engines in a cold climate which reduces the efficiency of lead batteries. Studies have been made to determine the behaviour of petroleum products at low temperatures and to provide protection from the ravages of biting flies. Physiological studies are being carried out also to determine the load that can be carried most effectively by a soldier or airman in the north and the amount of equipment required for survival and operations. Scientists have devised nylon "fur" for Arctic clothing and gas masks that do not fog in the cold. Every study is directed to the goal of attaining the highest efficiency possible for our defenders under winter conditions.

Effective air defence requires adequate detecting apparatus, adequate communications and adequate attacking power to seek out and destroy invading planes.

I have touched on the detection of enemy aircraft and on communication of that information to defending forces.

As for fighter aircraft to meet and destroy invading planes, the United States has types suited to its needs based on operations of relatively short distances from base - interceptor fighters in the usual sense of the word. Canada, by reason of the vast distances in its northern areas, climatic conditions and other special circumstances, required an all-weather, long-range fighter with rapid climb and superior manoeuvrability and an armoury of varied heavy weapons. No such aircraft existed, so we in Canada developed one - the CF 100. So far as we know, no other country in the world has an aircraft that can match it in its chosen field. It is now in steady production and squadrons are being formed as rapidly as crews can be trained to man them.

Operations in the northern defence area pose many problems - many difficult problems. During most months the climate is terribly severe. There is the continual interference of the auroral belt with electric communications. There is the question of accessibility over the hundreds of thousands of square miles of frozen waste. Everything required for construction and operation in the area has to be brought in either by ice-breaker convoy during one - I repeat, one - month of the year, or be flown in by aircraft - or both. Construction costs are six to ten times greater than normal and maintenance costs are almost beyond comparison.

I could perhaps give you an idea of some of these problems by giving you a very brief sketch of what is involved in supplying one weather station in the Arctic - a station manned by nine men. To support one of these stations requires some 400 tons of supplies a year: aviation fuel, fuel for heating, food, and sundries. These 400 tons have to be taken from the United States or Canada by ship, accompanied by ice-breaker and tanker to arrive in the Arctic during one month of the year - mid-July to mid-August - when delivery is possible at a far northern base. Hundreds of stevedores and other workers have to be taken along to speed delivery at that base within the short time available. At the base, stone and gravel jetties have

to be constructed to enable trucks to connect with lighters which take the cargo ashore. A flexible pipe line for fuel oil and gasoline has to be run out a mile or two in the sea. And then the unloading of the supplies takes place in a sea almost covered with floating ice. The following spring - nine months later - the air force transports the supplies to the weather station hundreds of miles distant. To do this takes at least 30 round trips of a North Star between base and weather station - all this to keep nine men alive and functioning.

I am pointing this out to you in order to bring home to you some idea of the amount of support that is necessary to carry out even minor operations in the Arctic regions. I think you will realize, too, the practical impossibility of carrying out some of the "Buck Rogers" schemes propounded by highly imaginative writers who would criss-cross early warning lines over the North Pole and beyond.

Northern defence is colossal in scope, difficult of accomplishment, tremendously costly in execution. It bristles with problems and difficulties. It cannot, I suppose, be made perfect. For one thing, the cost would be insupportable. But we can make our defences as nearly fool proof and complete as possible, and we intend to do so. Both Canada and the United States recognize the urgency of that. As President Eisenhower put it when in Ottawa last fall:

"Canada and the United States are equal partners and neither dares waste time. There is a time to be alert and a time to rest. These days demand ceaseless vigilance. We must be ready and prepared. The threat is present."

And if "the threat" may seem in these last few months to have diminished slightly in urgency, it has vastly increased in capacity for destruction with the knowledge that our only possible attacker possesses the secret of the hydrogen bomb. We have learned to our dismay in recent days something of the potential power of the hydrogen bomb and there is no solace in that knowledge. The fact that we also possess the hydrogen bomb gives us confidence but the fact that it exists at all sits heavily upon the world.

And so Canada must continue with energy and vigilance working in conjunction with the United States to maintain and to strengthen the defences of North America. Only thus will be ensured our chances of survival. As President Eisenhower has said:

"You of Canada and we of the United States can and will devise ways to protect our North America from any surprise attack by air. And we shall achieve the defence of our continent without whittling our pledges to Western Europe or forgetting our friends in the Pacific."

Because we must remember that the defence of North America cannot be considered apart from the defence of Western Europe. The continent of Europe is still of primary concern to the continent of North America. That is one reason why Canada and the United States have joined in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that

is why both countries have air and land forces in western Europe. Whatever long-range bombing destruction may be aimed at this continent, the decisive fighting in the event of war will be waged finally by ground troops, and likely in Europe.

NATO is a regional defence association within the framework of the United Nations, and the defence of North America is part of the defence of the North Atlantic region. The two cannot be separated.

I have not attempted to deal with the part that Canada and the United States have played and continue to play in the NATO aspect of defence of the free world, and I shall not seek to do so now. It is a heartening and inspiring story in itself.

But I would remind you that every brigade we sent to Europe - every squadron of aircraft we base there - every modern naval ship we construct is a basic contribution to our own specific defence as well as to the defence of the free world. In conjunction with our friends of NATO and the U.N. we are jointly trying at one and the same time to strengthen our defences and bring about conditions to prevent, if possible, another global war - a global war which might prove to be, if it occurred, a war to end all wars but not in the way that we would like to see all wars ended.

I have sought to outline to you the steps by which defence collaboration between Canada and the United States has grown steadily closer and stronger as the years have passed.

It is not easy for two independent individualistic nations living at each other's doors to achieve such unanimity of purpose. It is still more difficult when one is a small nation, jealous of its freedom, and the other is a great world power fully conscious of its strength. It is difficult for two such nations to continue as a free-wheeling partnership and have that partnership not degenerate into a patron and satellite relationship.

Canada and the United States have done just that. They have demonstrated that such a partnership can be established and that it can be maintained and strengthened as the years go by.

Frankness in the exchange of views, full recognition of each other's point of view and a willingness to seek to meet that point of view, an understanding approach, mutual confidence based on mutual recognition of each other's sincerity, common ideals in respect of freedom, right and justice and all the things that really matter - these are the reasons for the outstanding results which have been achieved.

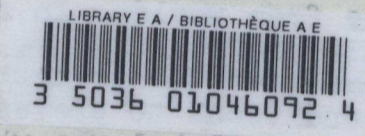
The spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding in which the United States and Canada have worked to provide for their common defence at home has made it easier for each of them to work closely and effectively with the other free nations of the world for the defence of all abroad. Understanding breeds

understanding. Co-operation becomes easier as one learns with practice how to co-operate. Common ideals provide a stimulus for common action.

May we not hope that the success which has attended the joint efforts of Canada and the United States in co-operative defence will inspire and encourage every free nation to ever increasing effort looking to the preservation of themselves and the free world.

Only thus can a world poised on the edge of the atomic abyss hope to avoid annihilation and at the same time preserve its freedom and those precious things which make life worthwhile. We must not and will not fail to meet this greatest challenge of all history.

But I would remind you that every bridge we sent to Europe - every ship of aircraft we base there - every modern naval ship we construct is a basic contribution to our own specific defence as well as to the defence of our friends of the Atlantic. We are jointly trying to build a world which will be a global war which might prove to be, if it occurred, a war to end all wars but not in the way that we would like to see all wars ended.



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