



# **Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence: *Defying Logic and Politics***

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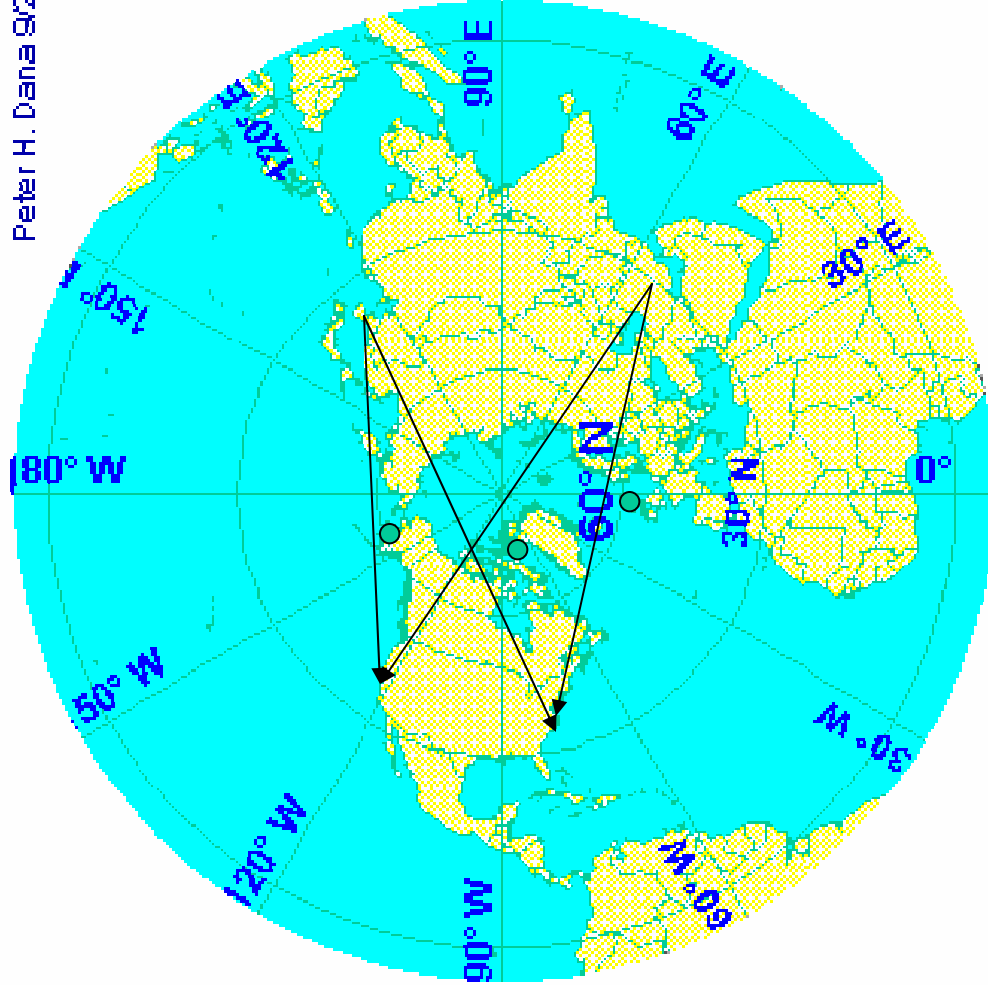
# The North American Context

- **Canada's Unique Situation Among Allies**
  - **An institutionalized, integrated continental defence arrangement**
    - **Likely to expand to maritime and land integration with 06 NORAD Renewal**
  - **US Ground-based Mid-Course Defense (GMD) defends Canada**
    - **Independent of Canadian participation**
  - **Sovereignty, independence and identity always at issue, not defence**
    - **Maintaining a privileged strategic relationship publicly at arms length**



# North American Defence

Peter H. Dana 9/20/84



**Stereographic  
North Polar Aspect**



# Current Situation

- **NORAD obtains early warning mission for GMD (Aug.04)**
- **Participation/negotiations and/or decision pending**



# Current Policy

- **Paul Martin (end of year interview Dec. 14)**
  - **No interceptors on CDN soil (no one asked)**
  - **Not spend millions on (surprise, surprise)**
  - **No weapons in space (irrelevant)**
  - **Apparent right or US obligation to consult/allow input on operational planning and command and control**
    - **“If there is going to be an American missile going off somewhere over Canadian airspace, I think Canada should be at the table making the decisions**



# Current Policy

- **George Bush, Halifax Dec.1**
  - "I hope we'll also move forward on ballistic missile defence cooperation to protect the next generation of Canadians and Americans from the threats we know will arise"
- **Paul Martin (response)**
  - Canada is a sovereign country...



# Evolution of Canadian Policy

- Opening the Door
  - 1994 Defence White Paper
- Avoiding the Issue (1996 to Dec. 02 Deployment Decision)
  - No architecture, no deployment decision, no invitation, nothing to decide
- Moving to Participation
  - Martin announces support for participation (April 03)
  - Opposition motion in favour of missile defence command being assigned to NORAD passes 156 to 73 (38 Liberals oppose), May 20, 2003
  - Chretien announces discussions with US (June 03)
  - Basic arrangement in-place (Oct. 03)
  - Martin as PM reiterates primary foreign policy goal to repair relations with the US and Pres. Bush



# Evolution of Canadian Policy

- Full Speed Ahead
  - January 04 Letter from Def. Minister Pratt to SoD Rumsfeld with positive response
    - Recognizes threat
    - Missile defence appropriate response
    - Complement to non-proliferation (implicit rejection of arms race case)



# Evolution of Canadian Policy

## – Objectives

- assign EW to NORAD
- MOU to include Canada as a participant
- identify opportunities and mechanisms for consultation and Canadian contribution to operational planning issues
- as system evolves, “explore appropriate technical, political and financial arrangements related to potential defence of Canada and the United States against missile attack”.



# What Happened

- All Stop - Elections, and Minority Government
  - Declining popularity
    - Ad Scandal, not defence
  - Martin plays nationalist card
    - Defender of CDN values versus US values
  - Opposition unite to force Liberals to pledge House vote on participation
  - Current Party Positions
    - Liberals divided
    - NDP/Bloc opposed
    - Conservatives don't know
      - Pending submission of agreement to House



# What Happened

- **Shifting (?) Public Opinion**
  - **Oct. 2000**
    - 76% support CDN Participation in BMD
    - 82% support significance of CANUS Defence Relationship
  - **March 2003**
    - 90% support improved CANUS Defence Relations
  - **Nov. 2004**
    - 49% oppose missile defence (44% support)
    - 49% support if no to MD =no Canadian input on continental defence
    - 48% support MD = part of Northern Command
    - 60% support full partner in Northcom



# What Happened

- **Nov. 2004**
  - **52% oppose (46% support)**
  - **78% NORAD Important**
- **Regional Breakdown (Sept and Nov 04)**
  - **Quebec opposed (49% in Sept.: 65% in Nov)**
  - **Atlantic/Prairies (56% in Sept; 59% in Nov)**
- **Party Breakdown (Sept)**
  - **49% Liberals against**
  - **64% Conservative support**



# Defying Logic and Politics

- Nation divided
  - Reflects id of MD with Bush
- Fear of political punishment
  - Defence not salient, and offset by other political considerations
- Myth of US wants/needs Canada
  - No Canadian leverage



# Where to From Here

- EW in NORAD endgame
- Wait for next election
- Roll into NORAD 06 renewal
- Sign Bilateral MOU like other allies
  
- Two Key Issues Remain
  - Closed doors and operational input
  - Future of strategic vs continental relationship