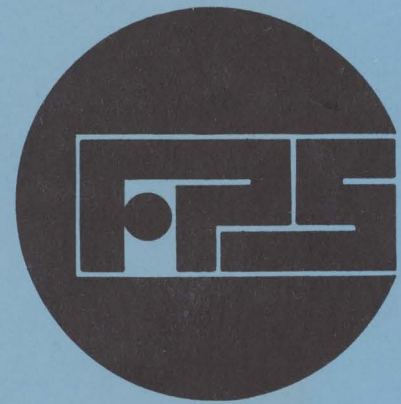


**CENTRE FOR
FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES**

THE CUMULATIVE RECORD

**AUTUMN
1978**



**centre for
foreign policy
studies**

**department of
political science
dalhousie university
halifax, nova scotia**

CENTRE FOR
FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES
THE CUMULATIVE RECORD

AUTUMN

1978

Centre for Foreign Policy Studies
Department of Political Science
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

PREFACE

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies has been in existence since 1971. Since that time it has filed regular reports with its principal benefactor, the Donner Canadian Foundation, but it has not disseminated a general report to the public or the academic community. This cumulative report is intended to inform the wider community about the personnel and activities that have constituted the Centre since its beginning in 1971. It is distributed along with the grateful acknowledgement of the support received over the past years from the Donner Canadian Foundation and Dalhousie University.

Gilbert R. Winham
Director

PREFACE

The Office for Foreign Disarmament has been established since 1971. Since that time it has been engaged in a wide range of disarmament activities. The present Council's report, however, is not the first of a series of reports on the work of the Office. This report is intended to provide a general overview of the work of the Office since its establishment in 1971. It is intended to provide a general overview of the work of the Office since its establishment in 1971. It is intended to provide a general overview of the work of the Office since its establishment in 1971.

CONTENTS

Page

I	CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES: DESCRIPTION	1
II	CURRENT PROGRAMME	5
III	STAFF	11
IV	CENTRE ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE	
	1. Government Commissioned Studies and Consultantships	15
	2. Workshops and Seminars	16
	3. Publications Refereed by Centre Staff	22
	4. Courses Offered by Centre Members	22
	5. Outside Speakers and Visitors	23
	6. Centre Publications Programme	28
V	PUBLICATIONS BY CURRENT STAFF	
	1. Books	31
	2. Monographs	32
	3. Articles and Book Chapters	33
	4. Papers	43
	5. Reviews	45

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES: DESCRIPTION

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies is affiliated with the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie University. It is concerned with teaching, research and other professional activity in the fields of foreign policy and international politics.

The Centre was established in 1971 with a grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation which enabled it to attract new faculty and fellows and to commence a research programme on comparative foreign policy analysis. At the same time, the Department of National Defence funded a Chair of Strategic Studies at Dalhousie University which further strengthened the Centre's activities.

The Centre consists of seven members of faculty and, through its fellowship programme, it has had several Research Fellows or Associates in residence at any one time. The routine activities of the Centre include a bi-weekly seminar, a set of publications and a series of speakers and visitors from both academic and governmental institutions. The seminar is open to faculty, fellows and students interested in world politics, and it consists of a critical discussion of papers produced by members or visitors. In addition, the Centre has organized several seminars on particular issues or themes, which have been funded by the Canada Council.

Centre faculty offer courses in the Department of Political Science on international relations, foreign policy and world order at both undergraduate and graduate levels. They also supervise masters and doctoral students and dissertations in these fields.

Four objectives were set down in the original proposal which constituted the Centre, and the Centre has made considerable progress toward realizing each of them. The first objective called for a closer integration of theoretical and descriptive approaches to the study of foreign policy decision making. This objective has been largely met since 1971 by recruiting personnel whose academic interests spanned both theory and practice, and by encouraging foreign policy research that draws inspiration from both academic literature and from observation of actual practice. Today, Centre members share a common research interest in

the policy-making process and a commitment to scholarship which bridges the perspectives of academic social scientists and practitioners. The results of this scholarship can be assessed in the publications of Centre staff.

A second Centre objective was to evaluate explanations about foreign policy by applying them to a variety of concrete cases rather than to concentrate exclusively upon the foreign policies of a specific group of nations. The Centre has simultaneously pursued both country/area and comparative foreign policy studies since 1971, each proving to be to the benefit of the other. Moreover, the geographical diversity of the interests of Centre members means that they are able to bring to bear a balanced perspective on the study of Canada's role in international relations. In large measure, the Centre's current focus on the variety of internal and international transformations associated with the "New World Order" sustains the pursuit of this objective.

A third objective was to generate interpretive analyses and policy proposals of relevance to Canadian foreign policy decision makers. Perhaps the best indicator of the Centre's accomplishment of this objective is outside recognition. The Centre has hosted two Foreign Service Visitors--Donald W. Munro and Margaret Meagher--for one academic year each. Additionally, at the request of the Department of External Affairs, the Centre hosted a workshop on Canadian foreign policy featuring presentations by foreign service officers and Centre staff. Finally, the Centre has successfully attracted mid-level federal and provincial civil servants to its summer foreign policy workshop series. These workshops are held over three-day periods and are organized around specific themes; for example, "Canada's Future in a Changing World" (1977) and "Canadian-American Relations in a Changing World" (1978). Each Workshop takes as its purpose to provide a stimulating environment for individuals with different perspectives to reflect on future directions in Canadian foreign policy.

The final objective set down at the Centre's inception was to contribute to Canada's available store of experts capable of conducting a sophisticated examination of foreign policy-making processes. In conjunction with the Department of Political Science, the Centre staff contributes to graduate and undergraduate programmes in international relations, foreign policy, and world order. Since 1971, the Centre has also funded a total of fifteen Research Fellows, the majority for multiple twelve-month periods, as well as seven Research Associates.

The Centre will pursue these four objectives in the future, and will continue the teaching, research and professional activities that have occupied its members to date. It is anticipated that Research Fellows and Associates will be recruited as needed and that graduate students will continue to be affiliated with the activities of the Centre. Additionally, the Centre is developing links with related institutions in Canada and abroad. At Dalhousie University, the Centre works closely with faculty in other disciplines interested in international studies, especially with the Centre for International Business Studies, the Centre for African Studies, and the Ocean Studies Group.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation in the country. It is noted that the economy is showing signs of recovery, but that there are still many problems to be solved. The government is working hard to improve the situation, and it is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The second part of the report deals with the social situation. It is noted that there are still many people who are living in poverty, and that there are many social problems to be solved. The government is working hard to improve the situation, and it is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The third part of the report deals with the political situation. It is noted that there are still many problems to be solved, and that the government is working hard to improve the situation. It is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The fourth part of the report deals with the economic situation. It is noted that there are still many problems to be solved, and that the government is working hard to improve the situation. It is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The fifth part of the report deals with the social situation. It is noted that there are still many people who are living in poverty, and that there are many social problems to be solved. The government is working hard to improve the situation, and it is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The sixth part of the report deals with the political situation. It is noted that there are still many problems to be solved, and that the government is working hard to improve the situation. It is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The seventh part of the report deals with the economic situation. It is noted that there are still many problems to be solved, and that the government is working hard to improve the situation. It is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The eighth part of the report deals with the social situation. It is noted that there are still many people who are living in poverty, and that there are many social problems to be solved. The government is working hard to improve the situation, and it is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

The ninth part of the report deals with the political situation. It is noted that there are still many problems to be solved, and that the government is working hard to improve the situation. It is hoped that the people will be able to enjoy a better life in the future.

II

CURRENT PROGRAMME

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies is currently conducting a three-year programme entitled "Canada's Future in the New World Order." The purpose of this programme is to examine the transformations that are now occurring in international and internal politics, and to assess the effects of these changes on Canadian foreign policy. The programme is supported by a major grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation. The Departments of External Affairs and National Defence also provide support for related research and seminar activities as does Dalhousie University.

The current programme springs from a recognition of significant transformations in both the international and domestic political systems. The world is currently undergoing changes that are as profound as those ushered in by the Second World War. Nations and peoples previously not of direct concern to Canadian policy makers are demanding answers to problems that are both immediate in their urgency and global in their scope. Traditional allies of Canada are becoming preoccupied with their own problems, and the Canadian authorities can rely less than before on the constancy of established relationships. At the same time, internal changes are occurring in Canadian society which create new and more varied demands on Canada's foreign policy establishment. Any of these changes taken singly would give rise to policy adjustments, but taken together they create an enormous problem of adaptation. The programme that has been developed thus stems from the conviction that intelligent policy is not possible when reality overwhelms imagination, and it seeks to create an understanding of change and the implications of change for policy making.

The programme encompasses activity in five areas, each proceeding currently with overlapping research teams.

First

The first area entails an inquiry into the new global environment, and is conducted through a regular set of seminars led by Centre personnel and outside persons. Visitors whose work concerns the future international order have been invited to the Centre for discussion and consultation. Among these visitors are Dr. Seyom Brown, Carnegie Endowment for

International Peace and author of New Forces in World Politics; Professor Silviu Brucan, University of Bucharest and member of the Board of the Foundation Reshaping the International Order (RIO); and Mr. Bernard Wood, Director of the North-South Institute, Ottawa. In 1978-79, the Centre engaged Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, as a Killam Senior Fellow. Mrs. Borgese will continue her work on the Law of the Sea and the New World Order, relying on the strengths of the Centre and Dalhousie University for support in this area.

Second

The second area consists of an examination of the methods of foreign policy analysis, with the planned publication of a volume on analytical approaches to Canadian foreign policy. The volume, on which some work is already completed, will facilitate the application of systematic theory and research methods to the study of Canadian foreign policy, and will provide examples of the Canadian experience which are comparable to studies carried out in other countries.

Third

The third area consists of several related research projects which explore the decision-making environment of Canadian foreign policy, and which examine the impact of changing domestic conditions on Canada's external policies. These projects take up questions such as changing societal demands on foreign policy, the problems of technology in foreign policy making, and the process of representing Canada's interests abroad. The focus in these projects is on bureaucratic politics, negotiation, and the tactics of influence exercised by the press and interest groups. Specific cases being considered are the negotiations on the Law of the Sea and foreign trade, the International Joint Commission and the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development.

The specific projects that are being conducted in the third area are as follows:

1. "Changes in the Policy Process: Exploding Bureaucracies and other Variables" (*Professor Denis Stairs*)
2. "The Impact of Science and Technology on Canadian Foreign Policy" (*Professor Peter Aucoin*)
3. "Domestic Pluralism in Canadian Negotiation" (*Professor Gilbert Winham*)

4. "The Law of the Sea Negotiations and the Canadian Policy Process" (*Professor Michael McCGwire*)
5. "Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of the Press" (*Professor Denis Stairs*)
6. "Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy: Pundits, Publics, and Pressure Groups" (*A group research project headed by Professor Denis Stairs*)
7. "Public Opinion in the Canadian Foreign Policy Process: The Case of the IJC" (*Professor Don Munton*)

Fourth

This area consists of a series of issue-oriented research projects which illustrate the problems Canada faces in the context of changing conditions in world politics. The specific projects that are being carried out in this area are as follows:

Environment

1. "Environmental Politics in Canada-U.S. Relations: The Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement" (*Professor Don Munton*)
2. "Canadian Participation in International Policy-Making on the Environment" (*Professor Kwasi Nyamekye*)

Energy

3. "Canadian Trade in Fuels: The Impact of External Factors" (*Professor John McDougall*)
4. "Canada and International Energy Politics" (*Professor Robert Boardman*)
5. "Canadian Nuclear Reactor Sales: Process, Issues and Outcomes" (*Mr. James Keeley*)

International Economic Problems

6. "Forecasting Canadian-American Relations" (*Professor Don Munton*)
7. "Canada and the European Community" (*Professor Robert Boardman*)
8. "The Future of Canadian Wheat Trade and the Chinese Political Economy" (*Professor Roger Dial*)

9. "The Third Option: Canada and Japan" (*Dr. Herbert Yee*)

International Development

10. "Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order" (*Mr. Glyn Berry*)
11. "Canada and the Third World: Interdependence and Dependence" (*Professor Timothy Shaw*)

Fifth

The fifth area comprises a series of three annual workshops conducted with Canadian government officials, designed to stimulate discussion of foreign policy problems between Centre staff and policy makers from various Federal departments and Provincial governments. These workshops were motivated by the belief that scholarly activity may not necessarily make its widest impact through the publication of research in traditional academic outlets. As scholars of foreign policy, Centre members wished to have their research made available to the policy community, who are often the subjects of this research and to whom, among others, the findings are implicitly directed. Workshops were viewed as an innovative means of interacting with the policy community, and of making the results of scholarship available to that community. In this manner the Centre hoped to help bridge the gap between academics and practitioners that members of the scholarly community often complain about.

1977

The first workshop was held in Lunenburg, N.S. in May 1977, entitled: "Canada's Future in a Changing World." Organized by *Gilbert Winham* and *Glyn Berry*, the purpose of the workshop was to provide a stimulating environment for individuals with different perspectives to reflect on future directions in Canadian foreign policy. This workshop attracted 18 civil servants from six agencies of the Federal government, as well as three Provincial governments. It also benefitted from the presence of two senior officials as resource persons, *Mr. Geoffrey Pearson* from External Affairs, and *Mr. Alex MacPherson* of Finance.

The major portion of the workshop was devoted to a simulation of a negotiation between Canada and a fictitious Third-World country over economic issues, conducted by *Gilbert Winham* and *Glyn Berry*. A Delphi

forecasting exercise on Canadian foreign policy was conducted by *Don Munton*. The workshop also included seminar presentations by Centre staff, namely: "Forecasting Global Trends in the 1980's (*Don Munton and Timothy Shaw*); "Changing International Relations: Canada and the Third World" (*Timothy Shaw and Glyn Berry*); "Changing Atlantic Relations: Canada and the EEC" (*Robert Boardman*); and "The Policy Process, Public Accountability and the New Foreign Policy Agenda" (*Denis Stairs*).

Some of the material presented by Centre staff at the 1977 workshop has subsequently been published. This includes: *Denis Stairs*, "Responsible Government and Foreign Policy," International Perspectives, May/June, 1978; *Robert Boardman*, "Canada and the Community: One Year After," The World Today, October, 1977; and *Glyn R. Berry and Gilbert R. Winham*, Canada-Third World Simulation, Halifax, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1978.

1978

The second workshop was held in Chester, N.S. in May 1978, entitled: "Canadian-American Relations in a Changing World." This workshop was organized by *Don Munton* and *Dean Swanson*, and was similar in purpose and design to the first workshop. The participants included 16 civil servants from the Federal government and three Provincial governments. Also attending the workshop were *Mr. J. R. McKinney*, Director-General, Bureau of United States Affairs, External Affairs; and *Professor John Sigler*, Director of the School of International Affairs, Carleton University. *Professor Sigler* led an evening discussion of Canada-United States relations from the American perspective.

The workshop featured a simulation of Canadian-American negotiation of Great Lakes environmental issues, conducted principally by *Don Munton*, with assistance from *Dean Swanson* and *Gilbert Winham*. A forecasting exercise on Canadian-American relations was conducted by *Don Munton*. Seminars were presented by Centre staff on the following topics: "Intellectuals and the American Connection: A Discussion of the Literature on Canada-U.S. Relations" (*Denis Stairs*); "Canada, United States, and the NIEO: Contrasts in Policy and Perception" (*Timothy Shaw*); "Science and Technology for Development: Canada and the United States" (*Peter Aucoin*); and "The Effect of Domestic Pluralism on

Canadian and American Negotiation" (*Gilbert R. Winham*; revised and published as "Bureaucratic Politics and Canadian Trade Negotiation," International Journal, Vol. 34, Winter 1978/79).

1979

The third workshop is currently being planned for May, 1979. It will be under the direction of *Robert Boardman* and *Lawrence Gould*.

STAFF

1. ADMINISTRATIVEDirector

Denis Stairs, 1971-75

Gilbert R. Winham, 1975-

Executive Director

Gordon R. S. Hawkins, 1972-73

Secretariat

Mrs. Doris Boyle, Administrative Secretary, 1971-

Mrs. Eileen LeVine, Secretary, 1975-

2. ACADEMIC

Robert Boardman, B.Sc. (Econ.), Ph.D. (London), *British External Relations, Comparative Foreign Policy, and International Organization, 1971-*

Roger L. Dial, B.A. (California/Santa Barbara), M.A., Ph.D. (California/Berkeley), *Politics and Foreign Policy of China, International Relations and Organization Theory, 1971-*

Michael K. McGwire, B.Sc. (Econ.) (Wales), *Maritime and Strategic Studies, Soviet Naval Policy, 1971-*

Don Munton, B.A., M.A. (British Columbia), Ph.D. (Ohio State), *International Politics, Canadian Foreign Policy, Quantitative Research Methods, 1972-*

Michael G. Schatzberg, B.A. (Tufts), M.A., Ph.D. (Wisconsin), *Politics and Foreign Policies of Central African States, International Relations, 1978-*

ACADEMIC, cont'd

Timothy M. Shaw, B.A. (Sussex), M.A. (East Africa), M.A., Ph.D. (Princeton), *Foreign Policy and Political Economy of African States, World Politics, 1972-*

Denis Stairs, B.A. (Dalhousie), M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Toronto), *Foreign Policy Formulation and Canadian External Relations, 1971-*

Gilbert R. Winham, B.A. (Bowdoin), Ph.D. (North Carolina), *Foreign Policy Making, American Foreign Policy, Director of Centre, 1975-*

Jonathan Wouk, B.A. (Harvard), M.P.I.A., Ph.D. (Pittsburg), *Foreign Policy Formulation and Comparative Politics, 1971-75.*

3. SENIOR VISITING PERSONNEL

Donald W. Munro (Foreign Service Visitor, 1971-72), *Department of External Affairs, Former Ambassador to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Panama.*

B. Margaret Meagher (Foreign Service Visitor, 1973-74), *Department of External Affairs, Former Ambassador to Israel, Austria and Sweden.*

Georges Charpentier (Foreign Service Visitor, jointly appointed with Centre for African Studies, 1977-78), *Department of External Affairs, Former Ambassador to the Ivory Coast and Director of the Francophone Africa Division.*

Elisabeth Mann Borgese (Killam Senior Fellowship, 1978-79), *Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, California. Author of The Drama of the Oceans and other works on the management of maritime resources.*

4. RESEARCH FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES

See charts on following pages.

RESEARCH FELLOWS*	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79
Timothy M. Shaw	X							
Kunjar Sharma	X	X						
Gordon R. S. Hawkins	X							
Jan Jorgensen					X			
John McDonnell		X	X					
John McDougall		X	X					
Thomas A. Levy				X				
Mark Haven				X				
William J. McGrath				X	X			
Kwasi Nyamekye				X	X			
Agrippah Mugomba					X			
Dean Swanson					X	X	X	
Herbert Yee						X	X	
Lawrence Gould								X
James Keeley								X

* Bracketed information indicates last known affiliation.

RESEARCH ASSOCIATES*	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79
John McDonnell					X	X	X	X
Brian Cuthbertson				X	X	(Archives of Nova Scotia)		
Donald A. Lawrence					X	(Employment and Immigration Canada)		
Hugh Macdonald							X	(University of Alberta)
David Kushner							X	(University of Tel Aviv)
Agrippah Mugomba							X	(California/Santa Barbara)
Wilma Broeren								X
David Cook								X

POST-COMPREHENSIVE PH.D. STUDENTS*	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79
Glyn R. Berry			X	X	X	X	(Department of External Affairs)	
Marnie Mitchell				X	X	X	X	(University of Victoria)
Paul Evans					X	X	X	X
Malcolm Grieve						X	X	X
Tom Keating						X	X	X

* Bracketed information indicates last known affiliation.

IV

CENTRE ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

1. GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONED STUDIES AND CONSULTANTSHIPSGovernment Commissioned Studies

- Report prepared for Department of External Affairs, 1975
(Don Munton)
"Approaches to Forecasting in Canadian Foreign Policy"
- Report prepared for the Department of External Affairs, 1977
(Don Munton and Timothy M. Shaw)
"Global Patterns for Canadians: Forecasts of the 1980's"
- Canadian Defence Research Board (Michael MccGwire)
"The Nature of Canada's Maritime Interests"
- Centre for Naval Analyses, Washington, D.C. (Michael MccGwire)
"A Preliminary Analysis of the Gorshkov Series"
- U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce and the National Oceans
Policy Study (Michael MccGwire)
"Naval Power and Soviet Oceans Policy"

Consultantships

- Michael MccGwire
Center for Naval Analyses. Since 1972, on Soviet naval developments.
International Institute for Strategic Studies. Intermittently since 1971 on Soviet naval matters.
Naval Studies Board, U.S. National Academy of Science. Member of 1976 summer study, and continuing.
Brookings Institution. Study on a hypothetical navy for the year 2000.
Atlantic Council of America. Member of the study group on "Securing the Sea," 1976-78.
U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, Survey Discussion Group on the future of the U.S. Navy, 1977-78. Developing a conceptual framework for establishing naval requirements in 1990.
Visiting Professor at U.S. National War College. Organized a one and a half day conference for government agencies on future Soviet naval developments.

Consultantships, cont'd

- Don Munton

Consultant, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1974-77.

- Timothy M. Shaw

Consultant, Rockefeller Foundation Project on "Afro-Arab Relations," and Consultant, RIO Foundation Project on "World Order Studies," 1978.

- Gilbert R. Winham

Consultant, Department of State, Washington. Conducted training for foreign service personnel on methods of trade negotiation, 1975-78.

2. WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS

Canadian Maritime Interests: 1980-1999

Organized by Michael K. McGwire, a 25-person, two-day workshop was held in April 1972. This workshop involved senior federal officials, naval officers, and academics, and sought to open up new ways of thinking about maritime interests and about the consequential requirements for maritime forces.

Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy

Under the guidance of Roger L. Dial, a four-day workshop was held in May 1972 for the purpose of stimulating and promoting the social scientific approach to understanding Chinese international behaviour. Fourteen distinguished students of Chinese foreign policy were assembled to consider a series of papers presenting discrete conceptual areas of social science that are applicable to China studies. Funding for the workshop was provided by the Canada Council and the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. The Centre subsequently published a collection of twelve workshop papers: Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy, Roger L. Dial, ed., 1974.

Soviet Naval Studies Group

Under the Chairmanship of Michael K. MccGwire, a series of four seminars have been held on "Soviet Naval Developments." Participants have constituted themselves as the Soviet Naval Studies Group, an informal association of analysts working in this and related fields. The group is international in scope, comprising principally Canadians, Americans and British, but others as well. Its members are affiliated with the academic research organizations and government agencies, and include most of the prominent figures professionally concerned with this topic. The objective of the seminars is to raise the level of informed analysis and debate by ensuring that as much data as possible is made readily available on Soviet naval capabilities and deployments, and that analysis of Soviet naval developments is carried out within the full and proper context. The latter encompasses the whole range of Soviet domestic, economic, foreign and military policies, as well as naval developments world wide. Michael MccGwire acts as informal coordinator of the group, assisted by John McDonnell, a Research Associate of the Centre. The first three conferences were held at the Saraguay Club in Halifax, the fourth in Washington, D.C.

The first seminar was held in October 1972, in response to contradictory assertions about the substance and significance of Soviet naval developments advanced in connection with western naval appropriations debates. It was hoped that by assembling those with special expertise in this and related fields, irrespective of institutional affiliations, some balance could be achieved between capabilities and context, which could thereby raise the level of informed analysis and debate. Funding was provided in part by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, as well as by the Department of National Defence. Approximately 45 individuals participated in this four-day intensive seminar, out of which emerged, if not complete agreement, a fairly general consensus as to the background and context of Soviet naval developments, including their underlying causes. The success of the experience led to the publication of a collection of thirty-six papers, initially in a soft-cover version as part of the Centre's publication series, and subsequently in hard cover: Soviet Naval Developments: Capability and Context, Michael MccGwire, ed., New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1973.

The second seminar on Soviet Naval Developments was held in October 1973, using the same four-day intensive format, with some 60 participants. Funding was obtained in the form of a special grant from the

Department of National Defence. A series of eleven articles by Admiral Gorshkov, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy, which had been published in that service's professional journal in 1972-73, provided the background and focus for the seminar. Discussion covered such topics as economic and political constraints in the formulation of Soviet naval policy, the Soviet Navy as an instrument of foreign policy, and Soviet naval developments in comparative perspective. Papers from this conference were subsequently published in Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints, Michael McGwire, Ken Booth and John McDonnell, eds., New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1975.

The third seminar was convened in September 1974, using the proven format of an intensive workshop limited to sixty participants (which now required turning away a number of applicants). Funding was provided by the Canada Council as well as by the Department of National Defence. Discussion continued on the evolution of Soviet naval developments, and particular attention was focussed on warfighting and projection capabilities, East-West naval interaction, and Soviet naval involvements in the Third World. A third collection of papers was subsequently prepared and published as Soviet Naval Influence: Domestic and Foreign Dimensions, Michael McGwire and John McDonnell, eds., New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1977.

A fourth Halifax seminar had been planned for the spring of 1977, but circumstances made it more convenient to convene an abbreviated session in Washington, D.C., in June, under the title "Update on Soviet Naval Developments." This three-day session was co-sponsored by, and held at the facilities of, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Approximately sixty individuals participated, drawn mostly from the Washington policy-making community, but with both Ottawa and the academic community well represented. Admiral Gorshkov's writings, in particular his recent book The Seapower of the State, were the focus for the first day. The second and third days focussed on the Soviet Navy's mission structure in war, based on a thorough review of all relevant aspects such as operational capabilities and deployments.

Although there are no immediate plans for further publications or conferences, the Soviet Naval Studies Group continues to serve the purpose of bringing together analysts in various sectors of the community for informed interaction.

Canada in World Perspectives

With the assistance of Denis Stairs and Don Munton, an in-house seminar on external perspectives of Canadian foreign relations was begun in 1973. Papers authored mostly by Centre staff were presented, extensively discussed, and revised for publication in a volume to be entitled, How Others See Us: Canada in World Perspectives. Individual chapters present views of Canada's role in international politics held by major powers, smaller powers, international organizations, and transnational actors. Contributors not affiliated with the Centre include Brian W. Tomlin and David Cox. Under the sponsorship of the Centre, work on this volume is in progress with the editorial assistance of Denis Stairs and Don Munton.

The Changing Role of the Diplomatic Function in the Making of Foreign Policy

In late January 1973, the Centre sponsored a four-day seminar in order to consider the changing structures and processes of diplomacy with special reference to Canadian foreign relations. The thirty participants included diplomats and scholars mostly from Canada, but with visitors from Britain, West Germany, and the United States. Media, business, and provincial interests in the diplomatic function were also represented. Five papers were commissioned either for the seminar itself or as an outcome of the discussions that took place there. They have been collected and published by the Centre as an Occasional Paper: The Changing Role of the Diplomatic Function in the Making of Foreign Policy, John W. Holmes, et al., June 1973.

Energy and Defence: Canada's Continental Concerns

A one-day public seminar was held in April of 1973 for the purpose of considering Canadian policy options with respect to several continuing continental concerns. Participants from Canadian and American universities, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, business, industry, defence, and the local community exchanged views on the topics of the Atlantic Provinces in the context of national energy policy and continental defence policy in the context of the then pending renewal

of the NORAD agreement. The seminar was held under the auspices of the Centre and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Southern Africa: A Case Study of a Regional Subsystem

Timothy Shaw and Kenneth Heard organized a workshop in August 1973 in order to assemble academic specialists to consider patterns of interaction in Southern Africa within three issue areas: (1) culture, race and history; (2) economic and infrastructural linkages; and (3) political and military systems. The workshop explicitly examined the utility of viewing Southern Africa as a subordinate state system and found that this approach not only permitted the analysis of hitherto undiscovered patterns of conflict and cooperation, but a wider range of actors than more traditional approaches. Funding for the workshop was provided by the Canada Council, the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Dalhousie, and the Centre. Revised workshop papers are included in Cooperation and Conflict in Southern Africa, Timothy M. Shaw and Kenneth A. Heard, eds., Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1976 and 1977.

Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy

With the assistance of Denis Stairs and Don Munton, a three-day workshop was held in May and June 1974 for the purpose of considering demonstrations of alternative perspectives on and methods of studying Canadian foreign policy. Forty-two scholars and officials met under Centre auspices and with the financial support of the Canada Council and the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Dalhousie University. Nine papers were presented for discussion around four themes: the concept of foreign policy, domestic and external sources of Canadian foreign policy, and the Canadian foreign policy-making process. A record of the proceedings has been published by the Centre: Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy, Denis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., 1975.

Foreign Policy Seminar

A seminar focusing on issues associated with Canadian foreign policy was held in February of 1976 for the purpose of stimulating a dialogue between representatives of the Department of External Affairs and concerned individuals in the Atlantic Provinces. Participants were selected to include academics, provincial government leaders, media representatives, regional business and community leaders, and officials from External Affairs. Issues associated with Canadian policy toward the Middle East, the United States, and maritime interests were intensively considered, and the then Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. MacEachern, conducted a question and answer session. The workshop was sponsored by the Centre and the Department of External Affairs.

Trade and Aid to the Third World

Two public workshops were held in April of 1976 on the topics of trade and foreign aid in the context of Third World development. Academic participants, federal officials, and representatives of civil groups considered issues concerning Canada's aid and trade policies, seeking to increase understanding of these problems in the Atlantic Provinces. Canada's international role in the United Nations conferences on the new international economic order received particular attention. The workshops were sponsored by the Centre, the International Education Centre at St. Mary's University, the United Nations Association in Canada, and local committees of the Canadian University Services Overseas.

Foreign Policy Workshops

A series of three workshops for Canadian civil servants is being conducted over the years 1977 and 1979. These workshops are described on pages 8-10 of this report.

Workshop on Conflict and Change in the Horn of Africa

A public workshop concerning the evolution and implications of the contemporary changes in the Horn of Africa was held in April of 1978, attended by Canadian and foreign scholars as well as specialists in East

African development and politics. Participants discussed economic, political, and regional factors in the historical evolution of the conflict occurring within and between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic and, in addition, the global, strategic, and ideological implications of the processes of change in the Horn. The workshop was sponsored by the Centres for Foreign Policy Studies and for African Studies.

3. PUBLICATIONS REFEREED BY CURRENT STAFF

a) Journals

African Affairs, Africa Today, American Political Science Review, The Canadian Forum, Canadian Journal of African Studies, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Public Administration, Dalhousie Review, International Interaction, International Journal, International Studies Quarterly, International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies, Journal of Developing Area, Pacific Affairs, Queens Quarterly, Sage Professional Papers: International Studies Series, and other publications.

b) Publishers

McGill-Queen's University Press
 McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press
 Prentice-Hall of Canada
 University of Toronto Press

4. COURSES OFFERED BY CENTRE MEMBERS

- European Comparative Politics (*Robert Boardman*)
- The United Nations in World Politics (*Robert Boardman and Michael K. MccGwire*)
- Chinese Foreign Relations (*Roger L. Dial*)
- Chinese Politics: Domestic (*Roger L. Dial*)
- Introduction to Political Science (*Roger L. Dial*)

COURSES OFFERED BY CENTRE MEMBERS, cont'd

- Politics Through Literature (*Roger L. Dial*)
- The Politics of the Sea (*Michael K. MccGwire*)
- Canadian Foreign Policy (*Don Munton and Denis Stairs*)
- Futurology and Politics (*Don Munton*)
- Research Methods and Data Analysis (*Don Munton*)
- Theories of War and Peace (*Don Munton*)
- African Politics (*Timothy M. Shaw*)
- African Studies (*Team teaching, including Timothy M. Shaw*)
- Conflict and Cooperation in Southern Africa (*Timothy M. Shaw*)
- Foreign Policies of African States (*Timothy M. Shaw*)
- Towards a New World Order (*Timothy M. Shaw*)
- World Politics (*Timothy M. Shaw*)
- Canadian External Relations (*Denis Stairs*)
- Introduction to International Politics and Foreign Policy
(*Denis Stairs*)
- American Foreign Policy (*Gilbert R. Winham*)
- Theories of International Relations (*Gilbert R. Winham*)
- Negotiation and Diplomacy (*Gilbert R. Winham*)

5. OUTSIDE SPEAKERS AND VISITORS

December, 1971

Professor James N. Rosenau, then at Ohio State University, visited the Centre for a period of seven days. He participated in a weekend residential seminar which focused on the ideas raised in his work, The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy. The week following was spent in a series of discussions, seminars and lectures on various aspects of Professor Rosenau's work.

OUTSIDE SPEAKERS AND VISITORS, cont'd

- October, 1973 Dr. Robert Friedheim, Center for Naval Analyses, Washington, presented a seminar on a quantitative analysis of the Law of the Sea Conference.
- December, 1973 Professor Gilbert R. Winham, McMaster University, visited the Centre for three days to conduct a negotiation simulation with students interested in foreign policy.
- March, 1974 Mr. Arthur J. Andrew, Director-General of the Bureau of Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of External Affairs, presented a seminar, along with Professor Roger Dial of the Centre, on Canada's developing relationship with China.
- March, 1974 Mr. Arthur Blanchette, Director of the Historical Division, Department of External Affairs, and Mr. J. R. Maybee, Director of the Secretariat, Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations, Ottawa, together gave a presentation to students from the Centre and from the Department of Political Science more generally on various aspects of Canadian foreign policy and diplomatic practice.
- March, 1974 Professor Ken Booth, Department of International Politics, University College of Wales (Aberystwyth), participated in a discussion with Centre members on the topic "Navies and Foreign Policy."
- April, 1974 Professor David Cox of Queen's University conducted a seminar based on his research into recent peace-keeping operations in Vietnam. He also spoke on the same subject to a meeting sponsored jointly by the Centre and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.
- April, 1975 Professor Brian Tomlin, Carleton University, presented a paper entitled "The Distribution of Canadian Development Assistance: A Comparison of Allocation Patterns from Donor and Recipient Perspectives."

OUTSIDE SPEAKERS AND VISITORS, cont'd

- October, 1975 Mr. Derek Thomas, Head of the North American Department, Foreign Office, London, spoke on aspects of Canadian-British relations.
- January, 1976 Three Members of Parliament, Messrs. Andrew Brewin (NDP, Toronto-Greenwood), Irenée Pelletier (Liberal, Sherbrooke) and Douglas Roche (PC, Edmonton-Strathcona) spoke at a meeting organized by the Centre on issues of foreign aid and international economic development.
- January, 1976 Professor Howard Lentner, Baruch College, CUNY, presented a paper on "Canada's Nuclear Weapons Decision."
- February, 1976 Professor John McDougall, University of Western Ontario, presented a paper on "Canada's Place in the World of International Business."
- April, 1976 Mr. Georges Charpentier, Director of African Affairs Francophone Division, Department of External Affairs, spoke on "Canada's Role in the New World Order."
- October, 1976 Mr. Melvin Conant, an international energy consultant, presented a seminar entitled "Geopolitics of Energy."
- October, 1976 Mr. Peter Vigor, Director of the Soviet Studies Centre (R.M.A.S.), England, presented a seminar entitled "The Soviet Approach to War, Peace and Disarmament."
- October, 1976 Mr. Wiegand Pacsch, Head of the Disarmament and Arms Control Section, Political Directorate, NATO, and Mr. Eivin Berdal, Chief of Public Information, AFNORTH, NATO, spoke on the general background of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and provided an update on the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks.
- November, 1976 Professor Susan Strange of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, presented a seminar entitled "The Future of the International

OUTSIDE SPEAKERS AND VISITORS, cont'd

- Monetary System." She also met with several faculty members separately, discussing matters arising from the Centre's programme.
- November, 1976 Mr. Derek Burney, Director, Pacific Division, Department of External Affairs, presented two seminars. He discussed career opportunities and career patterns in the Federal Government, and DEA particularly; and he discussed Canadian-Japanese relations at a meeting arranged for the entire Department of Political Science.
- December, 1976 Dr. Seyom Brown, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Brookings Institution, visited the Centre for two days. He presented a seminar entitled "Basic Trends in International Relations," and gave a general address entitled "The Future of American Foreign Policy." He also met with several faculty members separately, discussing matters arising from the Centre's programme.
- December, 1976 Ambassador Thomas O. Enders (United States) presented a seminar on Canadian-American relations for Centre members and other individuals invited from the University community.
- March, 1977 Dr. Don Page, Historical Division, Department of External Affairs, presented a seminar entitled "Canadian Perceptions of the USSR and the Cold War, 1946-1947."
- June, 1977 Professor John McDougall, University of Western Ontario, presented a paper entitled "Canadian-American Relations on Matters Regarding Fuels."
- November, 1977 Professor Silviu Brucan of the University of Bucharest, and member of the Board of the Foundation Reshaping the International Order (RIO), presented a seminar entitled "The Second World and the New International Order." He also consulted with various Members regarding the work of the Centre in world order studies.

OUTSIDE SPEAKERS AND VISITORS, cont'd

- December, 1977 Professor William Epstein, Visiting Professor at Carleton University, presented a seminar entitled "Proliferation and Deterrence." He also lectured in two classes on nuclear proliferation.
- December, 1977 Dr. Jan van Ettinger, Director of the RIO Foundation, Rotterdam, presented a seminar explaining the work of the RIO Foundation.
- January, 1978 Dr. Kwasi Nyamekye of the University of Papua New Guinea presented a seminar on "Canadian Participation in International Policy Making on the Environment."
- January, 1978 Professor Richard Stubbs, Department of Political Science, St. Francis Xavier University, presented a paper entitled "Commodity Prices and the New International Economic Order: Malaysia's Search for an International Rubber Agreement."
- March, 1978 Professor Robert Heilbroner, New School of Social Research, New York, presented a talk entitled "The Great Ascent Revisited."
- March, 1978 Mr. John Stiles, Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service Visitor, Mount Allison University, presented a seminar entitled "The Demba Affair."
- April, 1978 Mr. Bernard Wood, Director of the North-South Institute, addressed the Centre on contemporary issues in North-South politics, particularly the upcoming U.N Conference on Science and Technology for Development.
- May, 1978 Professor John Sigler, Director of the Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, addressed a joint meeting of the Centre and the Halifax Chapter of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, on the contemporary situation in the Middle East.

6. CENTRE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAMME

The Centre has maintained a series of publications since 1972. This series has included monographs, occasional papers, collections of conference papers, bibliographies and simulation materials. Centre publications are reproduced from typescript and bound in soft covers, and may be ordered from the Centre office. Administrative management of the publications programme is under the direction of Mrs. Doris Boyle. The list of Centre publications to date, listed in chronological order, includes the following:

- DILLON, G. M., Canadian Naval Policy Since World War II: A Decision Making Analysis. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1972. *With comments by Dr. G. R. Lindsey (Chief, Defence Research Analysis Establishment, Department of National Defence, Ottawa) and Jonathan Wouk (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies).*
- HOLMES, JOHN, et al., The Changing Role of the Diplomatic Function in the Making of Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1973. *This is a collection of original papers presented at a conference on the diplomatic function sponsored by the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. Papers by John Holmes, Denis Stairs, G. A. H. Pearson, Peter Dobell and Thomas Levy. Introduction by Gordon R. S. Hawkins, and Appendix by J. R. Maybee.*
- MCCGWIRE, MICHAEL, editor and major contributor, Soviet Naval Developments: Context and Capability. Limited edition published by Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, March 1973. Republished by Praeger Publishers September 1973. *This is a collection of original papers relating to Russia's maritime interests and based on a conference held at Dalhousie University in 1972.*
- DIAL, ROGER, Studies on Chinese External Affairs: An Instructional Bibliography of Commonwealth and American Literature. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1973. *This contains 2,085 citations, arranged in categories, with each section preceded by a brief narrative highlighting the key themes.*

6. CENTRE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAMME, cont'd

BOARDMAN, ROBERT, Britain and the International System, 1945-1973: A Guide to the Literature. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974. *This contains 1,647 citations, arranged in categories, and similar in design and purpose to Dial (above).*

BOARDMAN, ROBERT, and KUNJAR M. SHARMA, Patterns of Actor Involvement in Foreign Policy Issues: A Comparative Study of Britain and Nepal. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974. *This is a collection of eight empirical cases in which Drs. Boardman and Sharma employ a common theoretical framework for analyses in their respective area specialities.*

DIAL, ROGER L., editor, Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974. *This is a collection of papers developed from those delivered in May 1972 at a conference sponsored by the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. Its purpose is to bring the conceptual and methodological resources of international relations research to bear on the analysis of Chinese foreign policy.*

BERRY, GLYN R. and GILBERT R. WINHAM, Canada-Third World Simulation. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1977. *This simulation represents a bilateral negotiation between Canada and a fictitious Third-World nation. The instructor's kit includes scenario, news clippings, and scoresheets.*

MUNTON, DON, editor, Measuring International Behavior: Public Sources, Events, and Validity. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1979, forthcoming. *This collection of articles focuses attention on questions regarding adequacy of sources and data collection procedures, the range of validity problems, and demonstrates techniques for investigating these problems.*

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES

The political economy of the United States is a complex and multifaceted subject that has evolved significantly over time. It encompasses the interplay between economic structures, political institutions, and social forces. In the early stages of the nation's history, the political economy was largely defined by the needs of a young, agrarian society. The focus was on land ownership, trade, and the development of a stable government that could protect these interests. As the country expanded westward, the political economy shifted to address issues of territorial acquisition, statehood, and the rights of settlers. The industrial revolution brought about profound changes, as the economy became increasingly dependent on manufacturing and commerce. This led to the rise of a new class of industrialists and the emergence of labor unions, which in turn influenced political movements and policies. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by a period of rapid economic growth, but also by significant social inequalities and political corruption. Reformers and progressive leaders sought to address these issues through legislation and the establishment of new government agencies. The Great Depression of the 1930s was a pivotal moment, leading to a dramatic expansion of federal government power and the implementation of social welfare programs. In the post-World War II era, the political economy continued to evolve, characterized by a period of economic boom, the rise of the welfare state, and the increasing influence of multinational corporations. More recently, the political economy has been shaped by globalization, technological advancements, and the challenges of a changing world order. The ongoing debate about the role of government in the economy, the distribution of resources, and the protection of individual liberties remains a central theme in the study of the United States.

PUBLICATIONS BY CURRENT STAFF

In addition to the books produced by the Centre, the following listing indicates the publications by current staff members produced during their tenure with the Centre:

1. BOOKS

BOARDMAN, ROBERT, and A. J. R. GROOM, eds., The Management of Britain's External Relations. London: Macmillan, 1973.

BOARDMAN, ROBERT, Britain and the People's Republic of China, 1949-1974. London: Macmillan, 1976.

MccGWIRE, MICHAEL, ed., Soviet Naval Developments: Context and Capability. New York: Praeger, 1973. Fourth printing.

MccGWIRE, MICHAEL, KEN BOOTH, and JOHN A. McDONNELL, eds., Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints. New York: Praeger, 1975. Second printing.

MccGWIRE, MICHAEL and JOHN A. McDONNELL, eds., Soviet Naval Influence. New York: Praeger, 1977. Second printing.

SHAW, TIMOTHY M. and KENNETH A. HEARD, eds., Cooperation and Conflict in Southern Africa: Papers on a Regional Subsystem. Washington: University Press of America, 1976. Third printing.

SHAW, TIMOTHY M. and KENNETH A. HEARD, eds., Politics of Africa: Dependence and Development. London: Longman, and New York: Africana, 1978.

SHAW, TIMOTHY M., DOUGLAS G. ANGLIN and CARL WIDSTRAND, eds., Canada, Scandinavia and Southern Africa: Perspectives and Policy Options. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, and New York: Africana, 1978.

SHAW, TIMOTHY M., DOUGLAS G. ANGLIN and CARL WIDSTRAND, eds., Conflict and Change in Southern Africa: Papers from a Canadian-Scandinavian Conference. Washington: University Press of America, 1978.

BOOKS, cont'd

SHAW, TIMOTHY M. and DOUGLAS G. ANGLIN. Zambia's Foreign Policy: Studies in Diplomacy and Dependence. Boulder: Westview, 1978.

STAIRS, DENIS. The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War, and the United States. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

2. MONOGRAPHS

MCCGWIRE, MICHAEL K. Naval Power and Soviet Oceans Policy. A 70,000-word monograph prepared for the Soviet Oceans Policy Study of the United States Senate's Committee on Commerce, February 1976.

MCDONNELL, JOHN A. Content Analysis of Soviet Naval Writings. Report for the Center for Advanced Research, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, July 1977.

MUNTON, DON. Approaches to Forecasting in Canadian Foreign Policy. Report prepared for the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1975 (5 volumes).

MUNTON, DON and DENIS STAIRS, eds. Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy: Summary of Proceedings of a Workshop. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1975.

MUNTON, DON and TIMOTHY M. SHAW. Global Patterns for Canadians: Forecasts of the 1980's. Report to the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1977, 3 volumes).

SHAW, TIMOTHY M. Dependence and Underdevelopment: The Development and Foreign Policies of Zambia. Athens, Ohio: Ohio State University Papers in International Studies, Africa Series, Number 28, 1976.

SWANSON, DEAN and DON MUNTON. "Forecasting the Political Economy of Canadian-American Relations, 1976-1986: Report on a Delphi Exercise." Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, March 1976 (mimeo.).

WINHAM, GILBERT R. and GLYN R. BERRY. "Trade Negotiation Simulation." Revised Edition. Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1977.

MONOGRAPHS, cont'd

WINHAM, GILBERT R. "Checklist for Negotiators." Halifax: Dalhousie University, April 1977 (mimeo.).

WINHAM, GILBERT R. and H. EUGENE BOVIS. "Report on the Slobbovia Negotiations." Halifax: Dalhousie University, September 1977 (mimeo.).

3. ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERSROBERT BOARDMAN

"Conflict in Western Perceptions of Change: Two Profiles of China," British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 1 (April 1971), 191-208.

(with C. R. Mitchell) "Crisis Decision-Making and Simulation," in P. J. Tansey, ed., Educational Aspects of Simulation. McGraw-Hill, 1971.

"China's Rise as a Nuclear Power," Yearbook of World Affairs, Vol. 25 (1971), 56-71.

"Chinese Diplomacy and the United Nations," Contemporary Review, Vol. 219 (September 1971), 155-60.

"British Public Opinion and the Common Market Issue," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 52 (Spring 1972), 34-56.

"The EEC's Impact on Britain's Foreign Policy," International Perspectives (March/April 1973), 7-11.

"Comparative Method and Foreign Policy," Yearbook of World Affairs, Vol. 27 (1973), 372-82.

"Pride, Prejudice, and Politics: Memoirs of a Supermac," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 54 (Summer 1974), 349-54.

"Chinese Foreign Policy: Towards Authentic Social Science," debate with Edward Friedman, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Vol. 5 (April/August 1974), 2-6, 7-14.

"Themes and Explanations in Sinology" and "Perception Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy," in Roger L. Dial, ed., Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974.

ROBERT BOARDMAN, cont'd

(with James Oliver and Roger Dial) "A Quantitative Measure of Causal and Consequential Explanation in the Literature on Chinese Foreign Policy," in Roger L. Dial, ed., Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974.

(with Greig Macleod) "Scottish Nationalism and Oil," International Perspectives (March/April 1975), 36-9.

"Ocean Politics in Western Europe," in Douglas M. Johnston, ed., Marine Policy and the Coastal Community: Studies in the Social Sciences. London: Croom Helm, 1976.

"Coming up for Oil," International Journal, Vol. XXXII (Spring 1977), 232-52.

"China," and "Conclusion: Foreign Policy Making in Socialist States," in Hannes Adomeit, ed., Foreign Policy Making in Socialist States: A Comparative Perspective. London: D. C. Heath, 1978.

"Canada and the Community: One Year After," The World Today (October 1977), 395-404.

ROGER DIAL

"Mao Tse-tung: On His Rationality and Marxist Credentials," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 51, Summer 1971), 190-201.

"Sino-American Relations After the Nixon-Chou Meetings," International Perspectives (July/August 1972).

"An Organization Decision-making Approach to Chinese Foreign Policy: Towards an Explanation of Revisionism" and "The Interest Group Approach in the Analysis of Chinese Foreign Policy," in Roger L. Dial, ed., Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974.

(with James Oliver and Robert Boardman) "A Quantitative Measure of Causal and Consequential Explanation in the Literature on Chinese Foreign Policy," in Roger L. Dial, ed., Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974.

"The Press and Foreign Policy Formulation in China," International Journal, Vol. XXXI (Spring 1976), 293-318.

ROGER DIAL, cont'd

"Defence of Diplomatic Functions and Ideals During the Cultural Revolution: The Nepal Case," in C. T. Hseuh, ed., Dimensions of China's Foreign Relations. New York: Praeger, 1976.

"In Search of a New China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 49 (Winter 1976), 680-685.

MICHAEL K. MccGWIRE

"The Background to Soviet Naval Developments," The World Today (March 1971), 93-103.

"Soviet Maritime Requirements," NATO Fifteen Nations (October 1971).

"Soviet Naval Interests and Intentions in the Caribbean," in J. D. Theberge, ed., Soviet Seapower in the Caribbean. New York: Praeger, 1972.

"The Mediterranean and Soviet Naval Interests," International Journal (Autumn 1972), 511-527.

"Soviet Naval Programmes," Survival (September/October, 1973).

"The Turning Points in Soviet Naval Policy" and "Soviet Naval Interests and Intentions in the Caribbean" and "Soviet Naval Policy: Prospects for the Seventies," as well as ten other chapters in Michael MccGwire, ed., Soviet Naval Developments: Capability and Context. New York: Praeger, 1973.

"East-West at Sea," Navy International (December 1974), 8-13.

"A Preliminary Analysis of the Gorshkov Series," in Admiral Gorshkov on Navies in War and Peace. Centre for Naval Analyses, Washington, 1975.

"The Geopolitical Importance of the Strategic Waterways in the Asian-Pacific Region," Orbis (Fall 1975), 1058-76.

"Current Soviet Warship Construction and Naval Weapons Development" and "The Evolution of Soviet Naval Policy: 1960-74" and "Command of the Sea in Soviet Naval Strategy," as well as two other chapters in Michael MccGwire, Ken Booth, and John A. McDonnell, eds., Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints. New York: Praeger, 1975.

"Maritime Strategy and the Superpowers," in Power at Sea, Adelphi Paper No. 123, London 1976.

MICHAEL K. MccGWIRE, cont'd

"The Navy," in D. R. Jones, ed., Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual, Vol. I. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1977.

"Changing Naval Operations and Military Intervention," in E. P. Stern, ed., The Limits of Military Intervention. Sage Publications, 1977.

"The Overseas Role of a 'Soviet Military Presence'" and "Soviet Naval Programs" and "The Soviet Navy in the Seventies," as well as two other chapters in Michael MccGwire and John A. McDonnell, eds., Soviet Naval Influence: Domestic and Foreign Dimensions. New York: Praeger, 1977.

"The Proliferation of Maritime Weapon Systems," in R. J. O'Neill, ed., Insecurity! The Spread of Weapons in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978.

JOHN A. McDONNELL

"The Soviet Defense Industry as a Pressure Group," in Michael MccGwire, Ken Booth and John A. McDonnell, eds., Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints. New York: Praeger, 1975.

"The Organization of Soviet Defence and Military Policy Making," in Michael MccGwire and John A. McDonnell, eds., Soviet Naval Influence: Domestic and Foreign Dimensions. New York: Praeger, 1977.

"Defence Industry" and "Leadership Changes at the 25th Party Congress," in David R. Jones, ed., Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual, Vol. I. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1977.

DON MUNTON

(with Linda Brady) "American Public Opinion and Environmental Pollution." Research Report, Behavioral Sciences Laboratory, Ohio State University, 1971.

(with Stephen Salmore) "An Empirically-Based Typology of Foreign Policy Behavior," in James N. Rosenau, ed., Comparing Foreign Policy. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1974.

"The Value of Scientific Methods in the Foreign Policy Process," International Perspectives (July/August, 1974), 38-42.

DON MUNTON, cont'd

(with Philip M. Burgess) "Archived and Fugitive Data in International Relations and Comparative Foreign Policy," in Edward Azar and J. Ben-Dak, eds., International Events. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1975.

"Comparative Foreign Policy: Fads, Fantasies, Orthodoxies, Perversities," in James N. Rosenau, ed., In Search of Global Patterns. New York: Free Press, 1976.

(with Thomas A. Levy) "Federal-Provincial Dimensions of State-Provincial Relations," International Perspectives (March/April, 1976), 23-7.

(with Donald Page) "Canadian Images of the Cold War, 1946-1947," International Journal, Vol. 32 (Summer 1977), 577-604.

(with Donald Page) "Planning in the East Block: The Post-Hostilities Problems Committees in Canada, 1943-5," International Journal, Vol. 32 (Autumn 1977), 687-726.

(with Dale H. Poel) "Electoral Accountability and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of Foreign Investment," International Journal, Vol. 33 (Winter 1977-78).

"Behind All the Rhetoric the Hard Realities Remain: Delphi Exercise," International Perspectives (July/August, 1978), 23-27.

"Stimulus-Response and Continuity in Canadian Foreign Policy Behaviour During Cold War and Detente," in B. Tomlin, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy: Analysis and Trends. Toronto: Methuen, 1978.

(with Dean Swanson) "Rise and Fall of the Third Option: Forecasting Canadian-American Relations into the 1980's," in B. Tomlin, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy: Analysis and Trends. Toronto, Methuen, 1978.

"Waiting for Kepler: Event Data and Relational Model Explanations of Canadian Foreign Policy Behavior," International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies. Beverly Hills: Sage, forthcoming 1978.

"Policy Makers, Public Records, and Reality: A Content Validation Test of Public Sources of Events" and "Global and National Sources of Foreign Policy Behavior: A Criterion Validation Test," and "Alternative Measures of Foreign Policy Behavior: A Construct Validation Test," in Don Munton, ed., Measuring International Behavior: Public Sources, Events, and Validity. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, forthcoming 1979.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW

"Communication Between Southern and Free Africa," in Joseph P. B. M. Ouma, ed., Communications in East Africa: Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the East African Academy. Kampala: Makerere University Press, 1971.

"The Military Situation and the Future of Race Relations in Southern Africa," in Ali A. Mazrui and Hasu H. Patel, eds., Africa in World Affairs: The Next Thirty Years. New York: Third Press, 1973.

"The International Subsystem of Southern Africa: Introduction," in Zdenek Cervenka, ed., Land-Locked Countries of Africa. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1973.

"Uganda Under Amin: The Costs of Confronting Dependence," Africa Today, Vol. 20 (Spring 1973) 32-45.

"The Organisation of African Unity: Prospects for the Second Decade," International Perspectives (September/October, 1973), 31-34.

"African States and International Stratification: The Adaptive Foreign Policy of Tanzania," in K. Ingham, ed., The Foreign Relations of African States. London: Butterworth, 1974, Colston Paper Number 25.

"Southern Africa: Cooperation and Conflict in an International System," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 12 (December 1974), 633-655.

"Course Outline of PS 317/517A Foreign Policies of African States," in Mark W. DeLancey, ed., Teaching the International Relations of Africa: A Collection of Syllabi. Columbia: Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, 1975.

"Discontinuities and Inequalities in African International Politics," International Journal, Vol. 30 (Summer 1975), 369-390. Reprinted in Theodore W. Bauer and Harland B. Moulton, eds., International Issues and Perspectives. Washington: National Defense University, 1976.

"Regional Cooperation and Conflict in Africa," International Journal, Vol. 30 (Autumn 1975), 671-688.

"The Political Economy of African International Relations," Issue, Vol. 5 (Winter 1975), 29-38.

"Oil, Israel and the OAU: An Introduction to the Political Economy of Energy in Southern Africa," Africa Today, Vol. 23, (January/March 1976), 15-26.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW, cont'd

"The Foreign Policy of Zambia: Ideology and Interests," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 14 (March 1976), 79-105.

"The Foreign Policy System of Zambia," African Studies Review, Vol. 19 (April 1976), 31-66.

"Zambia: Dependence and Underdevelopment," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 10 (1976), 3-22.

"Review Article: Zambia and Malawi - The Politics of Dependence and Development," ASA Review of Books, Vol. 2 (1976), 180-3.

"International Organisations and the Politics of Southern Africa: Towards Regional Integration or Liberation?" Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 3 (October 1976), 1-19.

"Introduction to Southern Africa as a Regional Subsystem," and "Southern Africa: Dependence, Interdependence and Independence in a Regional Subsystem," and "The Political Economy of Technology in Southern Africa" in Timothy M. Shaw and Kenneth A. Heard, eds., Cooperation and Conflict in Southern Africa: Papers on a Regional Subsystem. Washington: University Press, 1976.

"Zambia's Foreign Policy," in Olajide Aluko, ed., The Foreign Policies of African States. London: Hodder & Stoughton, and New Jersey: Humanities, 1977.

"The International Politics of Southern Africa: Change or Continuity?" Issue, Vol. 7 (Spring 1977), 19-26. Reprinted in Journal of International Relations (Dar es Salaam), Vol. 1 (September 1977), 76-99.

"International Stratification in Africa: Sub-imperialism in Eastern and Southern Africa," Journal of Southern African Affairs, Vol. 2 (April 1977), 145-65.

(with Malcolm J. Grieve) "Dependence or Development: A Review Article on International and Internal Inequalities in Africa," Development and Change, Vol. 8 (July 1977), 377-408.

(with Susan M. Shaw) "Sport as Transnational Politics: A Preliminary Analysis of Africa," Journal of Sport and Social Issues, Vol. 1 (Summer/Fall 1977), 54-79.

"Kenya and South Africa: 'Sub-Imperialist' States," Orbis, Vol. 21 (Summer 1977), 375-94.

(with Malcolm J. Grieve) "Inequalities and the State in Africa," Review of Black Political Economy, Vol. 8 (Fall 1977), 27-42.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW, cont'd

(with Malcolm J. Grieve) "The Political Economy of Africa: Internal and International Inequalities," Munger Africana Library Notes, Vol. 45, 1978.

"Course Outline of PS 3535/5535A Towards a New World Order," in Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide. New York: Institute for World Order, 1978, 216-229.

(with Agrippah T. Mugomba) "The Political Economy of Regional Detente: Zambia and Southern Africa," Journal of African Studies, Vol. 4 (Winter 1977/78), 392-413.

"The Elusiveness of Development and Welfare: Inequalities in the Third World," in R. St. J. Macdonald, Gerald L. Morris and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., The International Law and Policy of Human Welfare. New York: Oceana and Leiden: Sijthoff, 1978.

"Inequalities and Conflicts in Contemporary Africa," International Perspectives (May/June, 1978), 44-9.

(with Malcolm J. Grieve) "Dependence as an Explanation of Inequalities in Africa," in Larry Gould and Harry Targ, eds., Global Dominance and Dependence: Readings in Theory and Research. Brunswick, Ohio: King's Court, 1978.

"The Actors in African International Politics," in Timothy M. Shaw and Kenneth A. Heard, eds., Politics of Africa: Dependence and Development. London: Longman, and New York: Africana, 1978.

"Southern Africa: From Detente to Deluge?" Year Book of World Affairs, Vol. 32, London: Stevens for Institute for World Affairs, and Boulder: Westview, 1978, 117-38.

"The Foreign Policy of Zambia: An Events Analysis of a New State," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 10 (June 1978).

(with M. Catharine Newbury) "Dependence or Interdependence: Africa in the Global Political Economy," in Mark W. DeLancey, ed., African International Relations. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1978.

(with Malcolm J. Grieve) "The Political Economy of Resources: Africa's Future in the Global Environment," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 16 (March 1978), 1-32.

(with Douglas G. Anglin) "Zambia: The Crises of Liberation," in Patrick O'Meara and Gwendolen M. Carter, eds., Southern Africa in Crisis, Second Edition. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1978.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW, cont'd

"Global, Regional and National Sources of Zambian Foreign Policy Event Data: A Content Validation Test," in Don Munton, ed., Measuring International Behavior: Public Sources, Events, and Validity. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, forthcoming 1979.

DENIS STAIRS

"The Military as an Instrument of Canadian Foreign Policy," in Hector J. Massey, ed., The Canadian Military: A Profile. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1972.

"Canada and the Korean War: The Boundaries of Diplomacy," International Perspectives (November/December, 1972), 25-32.

"Pierre Trudeau and the Politics of the Canadian Foreign Policy Review," Australian Outlook (Journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs), Vol. 26 (December 1972), 274-90.

"Canadian External Relations: Trends in Policy-Making, or, The Building of the Rabbit Warren," in The Changing Role of the Diplomatic Function in the Making of Foreign Policy (Occasional Paper). Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, June 1973.

"Present in Moderation: Lester Pearson and the Craft of Diplomacy," International Journal, Vol. XXIX (Winter 1973-4), 143-53.

"The Foreign Policy of Canada," in Rosenau, Thompson, and Boyd, eds., World Politics: An Introduction. New York: Macmillan, 1976.

"The Press and Foreign Policy in Canada," International Journal, Vol. XXXI (Spring 1976), 223-43.

"200 Years of Successfully Resisting a Successful Rebellion: The Canadian Dilemma," Wilton Park Journal, No. 54 (June 1977), 5-13.

(with Daniel Madar) "Alone on Killers' Row: The Policy Analysis Group and the Department of External Affairs," International Journal, Vol. XXXII (Autumn 1977), 727-55.

"Public Opinion and External Affairs: Reflections on the Domestication of Canadian Foreign Policy," International Journal, Vol. XXXIII (Winter 1977/8), 128-49.

"Responsible Government and Foreign Policy," International Perspectives (May/June, 1978), 26-30.

DENIS STAIRS, cont'd

"Devolution and Foreign Policy: Prospects and Possibilities," chapter in a book arising from the proceedings of Options: Conference on the Future of the Canadian Federation, University of Toronto, October 14-15, 1977. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1978.

DEAN SWANSON

(with James Rosenau, et al.) "Of Syllabi, Texts, Students, and Scholarship in International Relations: Some Data and Interpretations on the State of a Burgeoning Field," World Politics, Vol. XXIX (January 1977), 264-340.

(with Don Munton) "Rise and Fall of the Third Option: Forecasting Canadian-American Relations into the 1980's," in B. Tomlin, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy. Toronto: Methuen, 1978.

"Specificity," in Linda P. Brady and Patrick T. Callahan, eds., How Nations Act: Dimensions of Foreign Policy Behavior. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, forthcoming 1978.

"Measurement Validity Through Expert Judgement: A Method and a Preliminary Application," in Don Munton, ed., Measuring International Behavior: Public Sources, Events, and Validity. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, forthcoming 1979.

(with Joe E. Hagan) "Validity Studies in Event Data Research: An Annotated Bibliography," in Don Munton, ed., Measuring International Behavior: Public Sources, Events, and Validity. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, forthcoming 1979.

GILBERT R. WINHAM

"Complexity in International Negotiations," in Daniel Druckman, ed., Negotiations: Social-Psychological Perspective. Halsted Press, 1977.

"Negotiation as a Management Process," World Politics, Vol. 30 (October 1977), 87-114. Reprinted in McLellan, Olson and Sondermann, eds., The Theory and Practice of International Relations, Fifth Edition, forthcoming.

(with H. Eugene Bovis) "Agreement and Breakdown in Negotiation: Report on a State Department Training Simulation," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 15 (November 1978).

GILBERT R. WINHAM, cont'd

"Bureaucratic Politics and Canadian Trade Negotiation," International Journal, Vol. 34 (Winter, 1978/79).

HERBERT S. YEE

"Taiwan's Response to Canadian and Japanese China Policies," Pacific Affairs, forthcoming.

"Explanation in the Literature on Chinese Foreign Policy: The Sino-Indian and Sino-Soviet Border Disputes," Asia Quarterly, forthcoming.

4. PAPERS

Robert Boardman

Papers (6) presented at International Studies Association, Political Studies Association, Conference on Approaches to Chinese Foreign Policy, and other academic meetings.

Roger Dial

Papers (8) presented at International Studies Association, Canadian Political Science Association, International Congress of the Orientalists, Western Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, and other academic meetings.

Michael K. McGwire

Papers (about 40) presented at academic meetings, including Inter-Universities on Armed Forces and Society, Aspen Consortium on Arms Control, Harvard Joint Seminar on Soviet Military Doctrine, International Institute for Strategic Studies and the International Studies Association. Also lectured at the Canadian Forces College, National Defence College and Maritime Warfare School, and at the U.S. National War College and Naval War College.

John A. McDonnell

Papers (3) presented at Soviet Naval Developments, Ninth National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and other academic meetings.

PAPERS, cont'dDon Munton

Papers (21) presented at International Studies Association, Canadian Political Science Association, Canadian Peace Research and Education Association, Inter-University Seminar on International Relations, Peace Science Society (International), and other academic meetings.

Timothy M. Shaw

Papers (42) presented at International Studies Association, Canadian Political Science Association, African Studies Association, International Political Science Association, Canadian Association of African Studies, and other academic meetings.

Denis Stairs

Papers (25) presented at Inter-University Seminar on International Relations, Canadian Political Science Association, Wilton Park Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Midwest Political Science Association, and other academic meetings.

Dean Swanson

Papers (2) presented at International Studies Association, and the Southern Political Science Association.

Gilbert R. Winham

Papers (7) presented at International Studies Association, American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, Department of State, Washington, and other academic meetings.

Herbert S. Yee

Papers (5) presented at International Studies Association, Canadian Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Canadian Society for Asian Studies.

5. REVIEWSRobert Boardman

Reviews (8) in International Journal, Dalhousie Review, Pacific Affairs, Queens Quarterly, and other publications.

Roger Dial

Reviews (18) in Pacific Affairs, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, Dalhousie Review, and other publications.

Don Munton

Reviews (6) in Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, Dalhousie Review, American Political Science Review, and other publications.

Timothy M. Shaw

Reviews (54) in African Affairs, American Political Science Review, Africa Today, Canadian Journal of African Studies, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other publications.

Denis Stairs

Reviews (19) in International Journal, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Pacific Affairs, The Canadian Forum, Dalhousie Review, and other publications.

Gilbert R. Winham

Reviews (5) in American Political Science Review, International Journal, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other publications.

