

*St. Winke*

MARITIME AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

A PROPOSAL

October 1980

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*Lee Denis*

I. PROPOSAL

In accordance with Department of National Defence (DND) Memorandum #551-002-001 of 11 February 1980 entitled "The Military and Strategic Studies Program at Canadian Universities," it is proposed that a combined research and teaching program in Maritime and Strategic Studies be established at Dalhousie University for 1981-86. This program will be incorporated into the ongoing work of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies and will be administered by the Director of the Centre. Dalhousie University will contribute a permanent university teaching position to the program, contingent on DND funding.

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The combined program will include the following fields:

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Dennis  
Jenkins*

1. Maritime studies

- with particular reference to (a) military strategy, alliances, and the role of naval power in external affairs; (b) domestic politics related to the use of naval power, with emphasis on weapons procurement; and (c) matters arising from the current Law of the Sea negotiations. The Canadian interest in the foregoing areas will be emphasized.

2. Arms control

- with particular reference to (a) control of arms in the maritime environment; and (b) diplomatic behaviour related to arms control and security matters.

3. Economics of defence policy

- including Canada and comparative cases.

## II. DALHOUSIE PROGRAM IN MARITIME AND STRATEGIC STUDIES, 1981-86

### Background

In 1971, Dalhousie University was awarded a five-year Military and Strategic Studies (MSS) grant and subsequently established a Chair of Maritime and Strategic Studies, with Michael McGwire as the incumbent. The Chair subsequently received DND funding for the additional period from 1976 to 1981. Professor McGwire became a tenured member of the Political Science Department, and the university paid a portion of his salary. He was also a member of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, although the administration of the Chair's activities was separate from the Department and the Centre. Over the years the Chair engaged several temporary personnel, most of whom were affiliated with the Centre.

The Chair's activities encompassed several fields, foremost of which were maritime and naval studies. The Chair produced exceptional research on naval matters, with emphasis on the Soviet navy; it introduced an upper-level course on the Politics of the Sea; and it contributed administratively to building Ocean Studies as an interdisciplinary strength at Dalhousie University. The Chair also engaged in other activities at Dalhousie, including teaching a course on the Politics of the United Nations, and assisting with the development of Russian Language Studies.

Professor McGwire left the Dalhousie Chair in 1979. For the last two years of the current MSS grant (i.e., 1979-81), the Chair has employed three individuals on temporary appointments. Professor Harvey Silverstein from the University of South Carolina teaches the Politics of the Sea course, and conducts research on science and technological matters particularly as they affect the marine environment. Professor Kenneth Booth, Senior Research Fellow from the University College of Wales, teaches a course on Strategic Studies which has not been offered at Dalhousie since 1973, and is conducting research on naval strategy and the diplomacy related to the use of naval power. Professor Booth, along with Mr. Lee Dowdy, a Research Associate coming from Tulane University, is also tasked to conduct research on "Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean." The latter project is now under publisher's contract with Macmillan (London) with a deadline for the completed book-length manuscript of March 1982.

### Present Proposal: Content and Structure

The combined teaching and research program proposed here will continue the maritime focus of the previous Chair. By emphasizing the maritime focus, the proposed program will take advantage of Dalhousie University's natural strengths in this area, enhancing the

prospects that military studies at Dalhousie will be integrated with the work of other Departments and Faculties. Furthermore, there is a need for maritime defence studies in Canada which the Dalhousie program can fill, and which is not done elsewhere. The bridge between the activities of the previous Chair and the new program will be strengthened by the continuation through to publication of the results of the Regional Navies Project, as well as a related project dealing with the Canadian maritime forces in a comparative perspective.

(2) The content of the proposed program is oriented more toward Canadian concerns than that of the previous Chair. This reflects a deliberate attempt to incorporate analyses of Canadian defence policy into Dalhousie University's existing strength in Canadian foreign policy. It also reflects a desire to take advantage of the cadre of young defence analysts that the MSS program is now developing in Canada. The program proposed at Dalhousie covers two important dimensions of Canadian defence policy: the internal dimension of political and bureaucratic activity, especially as seen in weapons procurement; and the external dimension of strategy and the international use of military force.

(3) The proposed program will be integrated into the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. The Centre is part of the Political Science Department, and is described in Section IV. Existing Centre members will contribute to the program, and new staff will also be hired in the strategic studies field. In particular, the program will provide for a tenure-track teaching position in Strategic Studies to be added to the Political Science Department, with concurrent membership in the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. This position will be permanently funded by Dalhousie University (contingent on DND support for this proposal), and the incumbent will be considered for tenure following the normal Dalhousie procedures. Additionally, contractually-limited personnel supported by DND grant funds will be retained by the Centre to carry out certain teaching and research aspects of the program.

(4) The proposed structure will both institutionalize and give some permanence to defence studies at Dalhousie University. The provision of a fully-funded professorship will ensure that the Centre and Department permanently retain at least one person whose principal area is defence studies. Furthermore, incorporating the MSS program at Dalhousie into the Centre will add a valuable dimension to the work of that organization. Studies of foreign policy and defence policy are obviously complementary endeavours, and some of the work of present Centre members is already relevant to strategic and defence concerns. Finally integrating contractually-limited DND-funded personnel into the Centre will provide institutional and administrative support for the work of these persons, and will ensure the fullest development of their abilities as scholars in a supportive university environment.

The new personnel to be added to the Centre, effective 1 July 1981 and contingent on DND funding, are as follows: Dr. Dan Middlemiss, Associate Professor of Political Science; Mr. Ron Purver, Research Associate; and Mr. Lee Dowdy III, Research Associate. Resumés of these individuals are included in Section IV.

#### Present Proposal: Activities

The proposed program will include teaching, research and other professional activities. Regarding teaching, a course on Strategic Studies and Canadian Defence Policy (Middlemiss) will be taught as a major component of Maritime and Strategic Studies at Dalhousie. The Politics of the Sea course will be continued by existing personnel (Borgese) or by new staff who have competence in this area (Middlemiss, Purver). Further teaching will also be scheduled, probably in the field of arms control and strategy (Purver) and the politics of the Persian Gulf area (Dowdy). Students will additionally have at their disposal the full range of complementary courses in international relations, comparative politics and foreign policy, and Canadian foreign policy offered by the Department and Centre.

Provisions will be made in the Political Science Department for the equivalent of two Strategic Studies scholarships at the M.A. level. This initiative is consistent with the DND memorandum of 11 February 1980, which indicated that "there is a general consensus that a greater proportion of available resources should be devoted to fellowships and scholarships." Students assisted by these scholarship funds will be encouraged to integrate strategic studies with the study of foreign policy generally and, where appropriate, to lay the groundwork for further specialization in defence issues at more advanced levels. The program proposed here would thus develop a critical teaching mass, and would provide scholarship support at the M.A. level, both of which were recommended in the Dalhousie Chair's Annual Report of November 1979. The proposals contained herein will go considerably beyond what was achieved by the previous Chair in the teaching area.

Regarding research, the major projects to be conducted in the first two years of the grant period are outlined in Section III. Additional research projects will be developed in later years. As well, the continuing research of some Centre members will relate to the proposed program, particularly in the case of Professors James Eayrs and Tim Shaw, both of whom focus on problems of international security and crisis in their work.

Regarding Publications and Professional Activities, the Centre maintains an Occasional Paper series which can serve as an outlet for research on military subjects produced at Dalhousie. Other publications, such as a DND Newsletter, may be produced at the Centre as part of the proposed program. The Centre also conducts a bi-weekly Seminar at which the work of Centre personnel, and outside visitors, is regularly aired. Finally, the proposed program includes a conference on the Indian Ocean which is further described in Section III.

### III. SCHEDULED PROJECTS

#### (a) Maritime Studies

##### 1. Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean

*(Booth/Dowdy)*

This project will describe and analyse the ~~attributes of the area's principal navies, as well as consider possible future trends in their use.~~ Each ~~national profile will~~ consist of three parts: (i) the naval developments of the country concerned; (ii) its wider maritime interests and foreign policy; and (iii) an evaluation of its present naval power. An assessment will be made of the interests of external powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, but also the French, British and Chinese as well. Research on this project is well underway, and a book-length manuscript will be completed by March 1982.

##### 2. The Canadian Navy in Comparative Perspective

*(Dowdy)*

This study, which will produce a short monograph, will seek to extend the insights resulting from the DND-funded research now underway at Dalhousie on Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean. The present investigation is premised on the supposition there is an identifiable class of naval forces -- variously called "regional" or "middle-power" navies -- which play significant and distinctive roles as instruments of foreign and security policy. By comparing Canadian naval policy with that of the eight countries which are the objects of the current study, it is anticipated that new light will be shed on Canada's defence posture in general, and on its maritime posture in particular. The most promising area for comparison of the Canadian and various Indian Ocean navies lies in the distinction between high-threat and low-threat environments. While most of the Indian Ocean navies clearly operate in high-threat environments, Australia's navy -- like Canada's -- confronts relatively lower levels of threat. The resulting dilemma for Canada and Australia is to formulate a politically acceptable naval policy in low-threat circumstances which will be adequate for high-threat contingencies. In broad terms, that is one of the biggest challenges facing Canadian defence planners.



### 3. Strategic Aspects of Distant-Water Deployment

(Purver)

A striking characteristic of the contemporary maritime strategic scene is the competitive deployment of the naval forces of the two superpowers, as well as of some lesser powers, to distant regions of the globe such as the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. This project will assess the impact of such deployments on the level of tensions in the respective regions, on the global strategies and foreign policies of the maritime powers involved, and on the prospects for international security both regionally and worldwide. Possible implications for Canada will be drawn out, such as the assumption of a larger share of the military burden in traditional theatres of operation (such as the North Atlantic), as Allied naval forces are drawn off to more distant regions. This project is expected to produce a short monograph or article-length paper.

### 4. Conference on the Indian Ocean

(Dowdy)

An academic conference is planned to examine international political and security issues of paramount importance in the Indian Ocean area during the decade of the 1980's. The conference will be scheduled for the fall of 1982. This undertaking will serve as a logical and useful follow-on to two projects now in progress in the Centre: (a) the Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean; and (b) a panel presentation on "Indigenous Military Capabilities in the Arc of Crisis" being organized for the annual meeting of the International Studies Association scheduled for March 1981 in Philadelphia. Work on these ongoing projects has led to the development of a network of academic and government contacts knowledgeable on Indian Ocean affairs, which will prove valuable in arranging a conference of the type proposed at Dalhousie.

ISA

Approximately 12 to 20 scholars of international reputation or unique expertise will be invited, including area specialists, country experts, and strategy/security analysts. Each participant will be expected to prepare and present a paper to the conference and to submit his/her work for editing and inclusion in a published volume. The conference organizer will serve as editor, with production of a manuscript targeted for the first half of calendar year 1983.

5. Weapons Acquisition in Canada: The Coastal Patrol Frigate (CPF) Procurement Program

*(Middlemiss)*

This study will examine the key concepts, functions, strategies, actors, and constraints relating to weapons acquisition in general, and then will analyse in more detail past and present Canadian experiences in acquiring new weapons and equipment. The role of budgetary constraints, the Canada-United States Defence Production and Development Sharing Arrangements, NATO's "two-way street" in defence procurement, and non-defence (e.g., industrial benefits) considerations will be given special attention. A second phase of this project will involve a detailed study of DND's Coastal Patrol Frigate (CPF) procurement program which is designed to test the general hypotheses and conclusions of previous research against the findings of this specific case. A final phase of this project will involve a comparative examination of weapons acquisition policies and processes in several small-to-middle military powers (e.g., Canada, Australia, Sweden and Norway). The purpose of this study will be to identify alternative solutions to the common problems of weapons acquisition and force posture structuring under conditions of budgetary constraint and rapidly changing threat and technological environments. It is hoped that this project will evolve into a co-operative venture involving researchers from other countries (e.g., the Centre for Defence Studies in Aberdeen, Scotland, and the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre in Canberra, Australia).

6. The Australian-American Alliance and the Vietnam War

*(Russell Trood, Ph.D. Candidate)*

The research will examine the defence policies of Australia and the United States, the reasons behind their commitment to the Vietnam War, and their military relationships. Emphasis will be given to command arrangements, mission and area responsibilities, and operational integration. This case study is expected to yield insights which will be of wider utility in examining defence relations between states of disproportionate size. This research will form an important part of Mr. Trood's doctoral dissertation.

(b) Arms Control7. Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) Controls*(Purver)*

The possibility of ASW breakthroughs tends to produce increased tension and instability in the strategic maritime balance, at a time when sea-based forces are assuming a greater share of the deterrent burden, and when land-based ICBM's are becoming increasingly vulnerable to a first-strike attack. This study will survey possible types of ASW-control measures, such as

- (i) prohibition of "active trailing" or continuous tracking of SSBN's by submarines and other ASW platforms;
- (ii) creation of SSBN sanctuaries or "ASW-free zones" from which adversary ASW forces and installations would be barred (also making initial acquisition of trail more difficult);
- (iii) inventory limits on the numbers or capabilities of ASW vehicles, especially SSN's (nuclear-powered hunter-killer submarines, presently considered the most potent ASW weapons);
- (iv) prohibitions or limitations on ASW detection devices.

The study will assess the pros and cons of various specific types of proposed controls. It is expected this study will produce a short monograph.

8. The Implications of the Law of the Sea Treaty for Seabed Disarmament*(Borgese)*

This project will analyse developments flowing from the expected signing of the Caracas Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1981. One problem is the conflict between the Caracas Convention and the Seabed Disarmament Convention, particularly on the matter of verifying compliance with treaty provisions prohibiting the employment of weapons of mass destruction in the seabed beyond twelve miles from the coast. The research will analyse this conflict with an eye toward making recommendations regarding amendments that might be proposed at the next Review Conference of the Seabed Disarmament Convention, and as well examining the possible functions the International Seabed Authority might exercise regarding monitoring and conducting surveillance of disarmament provisions of the Caracas Convention.

(c) Economics of Defence Policy9. Political Economy of Canadian Defence Policy*(Middlemiss)*

*book*

This project represents a continuation of Professor Middlemiss' long-standing research in this area. It is expected this research will continue toward the publication of a major volume on this topic.

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In addition to the above listed research activities, two additional projects have been tentatively defined for the remainder of the grant period following 1983.

10. The Role of the Canadian Armed Forces in Maritime Enforcement and Sovereignty Protection*(Middlemiss)*

This project would build on the author's previous research ("Canadian Maritime Enforcement Policies") and will examine whether the main conclusions and recommendations of previous government analyses of this topic ("Capabilities and Resources for Sovereignty Control" and "Offshore Fisheries Surveillance and Enforcement Requirements") are justified in the context of: (a) current Canadian defence policy priorities, (b) the outcome of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, (c) new hydrocarbon discoveries in Canada's arctic and east coast offshore areas, (d) increased mining activity in the arctic, and (e) still unresolved fisheries boundaries disputes between Canada and the United States. The study will seek to determine how well Canada is performing its enforcement/sovereignty protection functions, and the extent to which the Canadian Armed Forces can and should contribute to these tasks.

11. The Future of Canada's Maritime Command*(Middlemiss)*

As a follow-up to the previous project, this study will identify the likely range of tasks Maritime Command will be called upon to perform over the next decade or so, as well as the manpower,

## 11. (cont'd)

equipment and training requirements necessary for these purposes. Such a review is now timely in view of the enormous capital funds and long lead-time for procurement involved in planning Canada's future maritime defence posture (e.g., a follow-on to the current six-ship CPF program, a TRACKER replacement, and a possible satellite-based land/sea surveillance system). Specific issues to be explored include: Maritime Command's role in the seaborne reinforcement of NATO, and in SACLANT anti-submarine warfare operations; possible Canadian contributions to operations in non-NATO maritime areas; and the potential role(s) of Canada's maritime forces within the type of "NATO Arctic Command" currently being proposed by Nils Orvik.

#### IV. CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies was established in 1971 within the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie University. It has consisted of seven to ten faculty members, a series of research fellows and associates, and graduate students pursuing work relevant to the Centre's interests. It has engaged in a variety of activities related to foreign policy analysis, including teaching, research, publications, consulting, and the holding of conferences and workshops. A cumulative record of its performance over the first seven years of its operations is attached.

The Centre is currently operating under a grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation to conduct a program entitled "Canada's Future in the New World Order." This program contains a number of projects that deal broadly with Canada's capacity to adjust to the changes that are occurring in contemporary world politics, which affect both the conduct of relations between nations and as well the making of foreign policy within nations. The defence-related program proposed here would complement the existing program of the Centre. The military field is today characterized by shifting priorities and technological changes, which put pressure on nations to develop policies that can adapt to and control those changes. One would expect that as the defence-oriented specialists in the Centre tackle these issues, their work will enrich the ability of all Centre members to understand the complex problems of modern international relationships.

The Centre has engaged in numerous activities, but two are worthy of special note. One is the aforementioned Centre Seminar, a bi-weekly meeting at which Centre members are expected to present their research at regular intervals. Past experience has demonstrated that this Seminar encourages interaction between members, and stimulates the production of high-quality research. A second noteworthy activity is the series of Foreign Policy Workshops organized by the Centre during the period 1977-79. These workshops, which were designed for government officers from the Federal and Provincial Governments, are indicative of the extent to which Centre staff are capable of dealing with practical issues of policy analysis as well as the more academic and theoretical aspects of international relations. It should be noted that DND-personnel attended these workshops, and reported very favourably on their experience. It is expected that in the future teaching and professional activities of the Centre, efforts will be made to attract Forces personnel in the Halifax area to take advantage of the resources the proposed program would make available at Dalhousie University.

The following is a listing of current Centre staff, together with a brief sketch emphasizing, where appropriate, work related to defence or security issues:

ROBERT BOARDMAN (Ph.D., London) specializes in British and Chinese foreign policy and international (especially environmental) organizations. He is co-editor of The Management of Britain's External Relations (1973) and Foreign Policy Making in Communist Countries (1979), and author of Britain and the People's Republic of China (1976) and International Organization and the Conservation of Nature (1981). Dr. Boardman has published several articles on strategic and maritime issues, including "China's Rise as a Nuclear Power," "Ocean Politics in Western Europe," and "Coming Up for Oil." He has also developed simulations of crisis decision-making. He is presently engaged in a study of nuclear proliferation for the Centre, which is due for completion by July 1981.

KENNETH BOOTH is a Senior Research Fellow specializing in strategic studies. He has written and lectured widely in Europe and North America on strategic history and theory, and contemporary security issues. Professor Booth has contributed to Centre collections on the Soviet navy and has written on "The Utility of Navies," "An Inventory of the Functions of Navies," "US Naval Strategy," and "Law and Strategy: Northern Waters." He is the author of monographs on the military instrument in Soviet foreign policy and SALT; author of books on Navies and Foreign Policy (1977) and Strategy and Ethnocentrism (1979) and co-author of Soviet Naval Policy (1975), Contemporary Strategy: Theories and Policies (1975), and American Thinking About Peace and War (1978).

ELISABETH MANN BORGESE is a world-renowned expert in the Law of the Sea, having been an originator of a world constitution in the mid-1960's and of the common heritage of mankind in the 1970's. Professor Borgeese organizes the annual Pacem in Maribus conferences and the Malta-Dalhousie Law of the Sea seminars. She is a founding member of the Club of Rome and is Chairman of the Planning Council of the International Ocean Institute of the University of Malta. Amongst her recent publications on maritime matters are The Ocean Regime (1968), The Drama of the Oceans (1975), Seafarm: The Story of Aquaculture (1980) and The Liquid Mine: Ocean Mining (1981). Elisabeth Mann Borgeese is co-editor of the Ocean Year Book (1979), The International Economic Order and the Law of the Sea (1976),

The Common Heritage (1975) and The Tides of Change (1975). She has recently undertaken a research project for the RIO Foundation on "Disarmament and Development: The Control of Dual-Purpose Technology."

ROGER DIAL (Ph.D., California/Berkeley) is a Sinologist with interests in comparative foreign policy and decision-making theory. He has produced a Centre monograph on China entitled "Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy" (1974). He has written articles on Chinese relations and perceptions, particularly as they affect international order and development. Professor Dial manages the graduate studies program in the Department of Political Science.

LEE DOWDY is a Research Associate with the Centre, specializing in comparative naval strategies and regional security policies. His primary field of interest is the international politics of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. His publications include "The Politics of Oil in the Wake of Yom Kippur" and "Soviet Military Aid to Third World States." Mr. Dowdy is a former naval officer and has had extensive service in the Persian Gulf/Indian Ocean area.

JAMES EAYRS (Ph.D., Columbia) is Canada's leading authority on Canadian security policy. A widely regarded scholar, author and correspondent, Professor Eayrs taught at the University of Toronto for 25 years before joining the Centre in mid-1979. Amongst his many writings on strategic issues as they relate to Canada are: Art of the Possible (1960), Canada in World Affairs, 1955-1957, and the four-volume series In Defence of Canada, which includes Appeasement and Rearmament, Peacemaking and Deterrence and Growing Up Allied. The latter constitutes a major study of Canada in NATO until the mid-1950's. Professor Eayrs is co-editor of International Journal and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow and a winner of the Governor General's award for non-fiction.

DON MUNTON (Ph.D., Ohio State) specializes in Canadian foreign policy and research methodology. He is also interested in problems of forecasting and has taught a course on "Theories of War and Peace." He has done consulting reports for the Department of External Affairs on forecasting in Canadian-US relations and international problems in the late twentieth century. Dr. Munton has co-authored "Canadian Images of the Cold War," and "Planning in the East Block: The Post-Hostilities Problems Committees in



Canada, 1943-45," and has presented papers at various conferences on Canadian foreign policy and on international conflict. He is currently working on two books, the first on the future of the global system (including a discussion of probable forms of international conflict) and the second on Canada-US environmental relations.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW (Ph.D., Princeton) is an Africanist with an interest in international (under)development. He has co-edited two collections on conflict in Southern Africa and written several essays on security issues in Africa such as "The Military Situation and the Future of Race Relations in Southern Africa," "Regional Cooperation and Conflict in Africa" and "South Africa's Security Policy in the World System." Professor Shaw has written extensively on matters involving the political economy of African and other Third World nations, and he has served as the Director of Dalhousie University's Centre for African Studies. He is a Fellow of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.

HARVEY SILVERSTEIN (Ph.D., Denver) is visiting Associate Professor of International and Marine Studies at Dalhousie, specializing in marine affairs and science and technology. His published articles include "CAESAR, SOSUS, and Submarines: Economic and Institutional Implications of ASW Technology," "Ocean Energy and the Hydrogen Economy" and "Marine Policy - The State of the Art." Dr. Silverstein is the author of Superships and Nation-States: The Transnational Politics of IMCO (1978), and is consultant for a number of national and international institutions on the implications of scientific and technological change.

DENIS STAIRS (Ph.D., Toronto), the founding Director of the Centre, is a leading student of Canadian foreign policy. He is author of The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War (1974) as well as "The Military as an Instrument of Canadian Foreign Policy." Dr. Stairs is presently working on the relationship between the media and Canadian foreign policy as well as on Canada in World Affairs, 1967-69. He is Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie, President-elect of the Canadian Political Science Association and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

GILBERT R. WINHAM (Ph.D., North Carolina) is Director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. He specializes in international diplomacy and negotiation, and is currently conducting a study of the Tokyo Round of trade negotiations. He has published papers on the negotiation process, one of which, "Negotiation as a Management Process," has been reproduced in the widely circulated anthology edited by McLellan, Olson and Sondermann entitled The Theory and Practice of International Relations, 5th Edition (1979). Dr. Winham has conducted negotiation training courses for senior and mid-career government officers in the U.S. State Department, Department of External Affairs, CIDA, and the GATT in Geneva. He recently testified before a Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence regarding Canadian policy at the Madrid Review Conference.

#### Proposed New Personnel

LEE DOWDY - See resumé above.

DANFORD MIDDLEMISS (Ph.D., Toronto) is Research Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies at the University of Alberta. He edits that Centre's monthly Defence Newsletter, and teaches a course on "Strategy and Canadian Defence Policy." Professor Middlemiss formerly served with the Institute of International Relations at U.B.C.; he participated in that Institute's project on Canada and the International Management of the Oceans; and he has published work in the maritime field, notably co-editing a bibliography on Canada and the Law of the Sea (1976), and authoring a book chapter on "Canadian Maritime Enforcement Policies" (1977). Recently Dr. Middlemiss presented a substantial paper on "The Canadian-American Defence Production and Development Sharing Arrangements," drawn from his doctoral dissertation and subsequent research.

RONALD PURVER (Ph.D. Candidate, Stanford) is Research Associate of the Centre for International Relations at Queen's University. Mr. Purver is writing a dissertation on Arms Control Theory, and has researched the Second London Naval Conference of 1935-36 in connection with this work. Mr. Purver had published articles on "Canada and the Control of Arms on the Seabed" (1975) and "Canadian Foreign Policy and the Military Uses of the Seabed" (1977), and he has recently presented a substantial paper on "Arms Control in the Arctic." Mr. Purver has attended (and occasionally served as Rapporteur for) numerous conferences in Canada and elsewhere dealing with matters of arms control and strategic studies.

## V. SUITABILITY OF DALHOUSIE AND HALIFAX

The suitability of the Centre as the location of a program in Strategic and Maritime Studies is reinforced by the presence on campus and in the city of related organizations in addition to supportive staff and research activities in the Centre itself.

- (i) Dalhousie University is the major Canadian university complex east of Quebec. With almost 10,000 students and 1,000 faculty, Dalhousie has developed a major focus on maritime affairs in a range of faculties, departments, and institutes. The University system contains almost a million volumes, and 10,000 active serials titles, with good book and journal holdings on international, strategic and maritime subjects. The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies has developed links with a range of university bodies, in addition to those in the maritime area noted below, including the Departments of Economics, History, and Russian, the Faculty of Law, and the Centres for African Studies, Development Projects and International Business Studies.
  
- (ii) Maritime Studies at Dalhousie have developed in scope and size in recent years. The Life Sciences Centre includes the Department's of Biology and Oceanography, while marine-related research is undertaken in 17 departments/institutes, including Chemistry, Geology, Public Administration, the Institute of Public Affairs, and Law (with the latter's library preparing a new annual "Marine Affairs Bibliography"). Dalhousie research units with a particular maritime emphasis include the Institute for Resource and Environmental Studies, Institute of Oceanography, and Canadian Marine Transportation Centre. The Dalhousie Ocean Studies Programme (DOSP) was established in mid-1979 with a negotiated grant from the SSHRC. To coordinate Dalhousie's multifarious activities on ocean issues a Dalhousie Ocean Studies Council has been established. Several Centre faculty are members of this Council, which also includes representatives from non-university marine institutions in the Halifax-Dartmouth area.
  
- (iii) Maritime and Military Institutions in Halifax-Dartmouth. Halifax-Dartmouth is not only the largest urban complex east of Quebec, it is also a leading communications and research centre, especially in terms of diverse maritime activities. Halifax is a leading cargo, especially container, port and centre for the regional fishing industry. Halifax Shipyards is a large ship construction and maintenance facility. Halifax serves as the supply port for offshore oil and arctic support operations, and

as the base for coastguard and fishery enforcement vessels and scientific research ships. Merchant and fishing vessels of all nations use the port.

Halifax-Dartmouth contains the largest Canadian naval establishment and it is also a centre for Department of Transport/Coastguard vessels. The Maritime Command Headquarters and Maritime Warfare School are situated in Halifax as are the Headquarters of the International Commission for the North West Atlantic Fisheries and the regional offices of the Departments of the Environment (Fisheries and Oceans) and Transport (Coastguard). Dartmouth is the site of one of the three largest marine science complexes in the world -- the Bedford Institute of Oceanography -- while other laboratories in the area include the Defence Research Establishment (DND) and Atlantic Regional Laboratory of the National Research Council. The importance of Halifax for maritime development and security is likely to grow with increased offshore activities related to oil and gas as well as fisheries.

With the expansion of maritime and military activities in Halifax-Dartmouth, the urban area has attracted a series of regional offices. These include not only government and corporate bodies such as distributive, financial, engineering and design companies, but also non-governmental institutions like the Canadian University Service Overseas and the Royal Canadian Legion. Centre faculty have been involved in the activities of such organizations, including the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Oxfam and UN Association.

VI. BUDGET

Dalhousie University is requesting DND funding for a combined research and teaching program amounting to a total grant of \$90,000 per annum. The budget for this program will cover one full-time faculty member, up to two research associates, graduate scholarships, research and administration expenses. The budget for the first year of the program (1981-82) is approximately as follows:

Dalhousie Contribution

Faculty Member	\$ 25,000
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DND Contribution

Research Associates (2), plus fringe benefits	\$ 46,000	
Graduate scholarships	10,000	
Secretarial assistance	12,000	
Research costs	20,000	
Administration	<u>2,000</u>	<u>90,000</u>
 Total Program Costs (1981-82)		 \$115,000
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 Total DND Support (1981-82)	 \$ 90,000	

NOTES ON DND MEETING ON AUGUST 26, 1980, RE DALHOUSIE DND SUBMISSION

Interviewed: Col. Don McNamara Replacing B. Thillaye as Secretary  
to DND selection committee

Lt.Col. Pete Valois Assistant to McNamara

Mr. Gerry Alarie Tasked to backstop this programme

The meeting begin in McNamara's office at 1000. At 1100 McNamara left, rejoined us at lunch from 1200-1400. Four hours in all!

I began by asking for general information about the MSS program, and on submission process, saying I had no previous involvement. They assured me they could not speak for the whole committee, which is obvious. I do not have much feel for how influential they (especially McNamara) are in the committee's decisions. My gut feeling is that on points that relate to their overall MSS program, and on points they feel strongly about, they probably would get their way. This is reinforced by the fact that McNamara seems to be a decisive person, argues well, and does seem to take positions.

The discussion turned almost immediately to MccGwire. It is simply clear that they had a very high assessment of Mike, that they regarded his leaving as a major loss (even in national terms), and that the worst thing he ever did to them was to go. They had very little negative to say, even with some oblique prodding. They did admit he took a more individual approach than they would have preferred, and that he was the only person in Canada that still used the word "chair". But the fact is Mike built up as much of a group around him as did the program at other universities. From all this I conclude it would be good to pitch our proposal (as much as possible) as a continuation of the good work started by our dear departed leader.

*McNamara's*  
Mr. ~~M~~'s comments (he held the floor) went from Mike to maritime matters. He felt the analytical capability on maritime military issues was crucial in Canada, and that with Mike gone Canada did not really have that capability, especially re Soviet maritime matters. He said the other DND centres were not interested in this side, and that if Dalhousie had not been doing it DND may have felt it necessary to somehow do it themselves. The comments about the maritime side were unprompted and spontaneous. I gather from this emphasis that the maritime focus Mike developed was not principally a reflection of his own interests (as I thought at one time), but rather it took account of some independently-held views at DND. In any case I conclude that if it is consistent with our own interests, there is no doubt in my mind that the maritime focus is what would be most attractive to DND at this time (assuming no other competitive proposals are forthcoming in the current competition).

In the context of the maritime discussion, Jacobsen's name was mentioned in regard Canada's declining capacity to analyze Soviet maritime issues. I followed this up for an assessment of Jacobsen. They know him well, and like us, seem to have ambivalent opinions. I asked if they saw him as a Soviet maritime person, and they do not, but rather see him mainly as a Soviet specialist. My guess is they saw him valuable in relation to MccGwire, and that without MccGwire he made less impact. I pressed for their opinion on our moving into a Soviet emphasis, and they were non-committal, saying they did not want to shape university priorities (or something like that). This reflected a general tendency in the conversation: if I asked them what their concerns were (or if I just listened to what they volunteered), they tended to comment freely; if I asked in what direction Dalhousie might move, they were reluctant to reply, and said they were quite flexible about what they would accept by way of proposals, and that they did not want to tell universities what to do. I concluded from the overall exchange re Jacobsen that the Soviet side was not unusually attractive to DND (but that it was not ruled out by any means); but that in comparison with an emphasis on maritime military matters, it was decidedly of second priority.

I pursued the question of whether we should be trying to replace someone in Mike's slot (i.e., tenure-track) and build a proposal around his/her interest, or to initially go with several contractually-limited appointments (which in the subsequent discussion became identified with the Zacher approach). Again I got the response initially that DND was flexible, and that they were open to alternative approaches. I really pressed Valois in the following hour on this point. On the favourable side of the "Zacher approach", he said it "could be an interesting possibility", and that it "would depend on the persons hired". On the negative side, he said the approach could present a continuity problem (i.e., lack of any permanence), and that the approach was not all that different from contracting out specific pieces of research, which when done do not leave any lasting institutional impact. My assessment is that Valois favored recruiting a permanent person at Dalhousie if possible. The reason is because Mike, to DND, represented "their man at Dalhousie"; there is no equivalent person if we go the Zacher approach.

I discussed Middlemis and Sokolsky extensively with Valois in the hours before lunch. Both are very well known to DND, and McNamara and Valois have both read various papers by both men. Both are well respected. Middlemis is regarded at DND as having a very difficult position at Alberta, due to non-support by the university of the DND program. Middlemis will definitely apply for a new DND program. Valois said it would complicate things if his name was on both submissions, but he didn't have any idea how to play that one. My own assessment is the same. There is no reason why we should not go ahead with Middlemis if we want to, but it will complicate things. As for Middlemis himself, he is well liked and well regarded. I get the feeling DND takes a proprietary interest in him, in the sense that he is one of the clearest examples in Canada of a "product" of the MSS program. DND would probably not hold it against us if we attracted Middlemis to Dalhousie (assuming a tenure-track offer is made, which would probably be the only way we could get him) because it would improve his position in the academic system in Canada. However, this might mean all DND activity at

Alberta would collapse, since at this point DND does not seem to have much going there without Middlemis.

Regarding Sokolsky, Valois was uncertain and I gathered he had his doubts. He had a very high regard for Sokolsky himself (he has read the papers Sokolsky sent to us) and felt that Sokolsky was very strong given the stage of career he was at, and that he had a promising future. But there was a presentational problem. We could expect strong competition from UNB, and it would be difficult for a committee to pass over a proposal coming from senior established people at UNB in favour of a Dalhousie proposal that had such a junior person affiliated with it. He felt success might be difficult, a real selling job, and that it might be better to be safe. He did, however, volunteer that some on the committee had a pronounced tendency to support young people and to bring them along, and he mentioned John Holmes (the oldest member!) in this regard. One point that emerged in the discussion about Sokolsky, but which is useful generally, is that with young people it would be important to build them into the Centre as much as possible, and to get the Centre involved, at least administratively, in the DND program activities. Along with this goes the issue of developing collateral interest. What Valois meant on the latter point was mainly that we should show that the activities associated with the DND program at Dalhousie would not be conducted "in a vacuum". However, it was not necessary to have collateral interests built into a DND proposal and funded as such. On these points I believe we can write a proposal that will be attractive to DND, since the Centre is obviously interested and concerned about defence matters.

McNamara rejoined us at lunch. After the preliminaries, he asked me where I felt I stood. I told him I thought I had a dilemma, that the maritime direction is the way we probably should proceed, but that the most appropriate candidate was perhaps too junior to help us. This launched him into a long discussion which proved to be the most valuable part of the day.

McNamara outlined what he felt were the principles of the whole MSS programme at DND. These were basically to create an awareness in the wider community (especially academic) of defence and DND matters. Three-martini lunches sometimes make people very direct: "nobody out there knows what we're doing, or even cares about us," is the way McNamara put it. He felt the MSS programme was intended to build, over time, a community of interest in Canada concerned with defence matters. It was, moreover, a long-run strategy, and could not be done, or judged, overnight. This concern for a community of interest is why DND pushed the concept of "institutionalization", because they wanted to build an infrastructure in the Canadian academic community that would insure a lasting concern for defence matters. It was on this point that they criticized Mike, but only because he left. His leaving made them a little "suspicious" of big-name foreigners and to an indirectly-expressed preference to keep it Canadian, not because Canadian was better in itself (although it certainly wasn't worse), but because it more likely ensured that their investment would have some permanent pay-off for the Canadian defence establishments and for the development, in Canada,



of the capacity to independently analyze defence issues of concern to this country.

It turned out McNamara was considerably more bullish on Sokolsky<sup>(~~McNamara~~)</sup> and generally on the point of hiring a junior person, than Valois had been. This was because he saw it as a return on investment (Sokolsky has already held a DND fellowship at Harvard), and moreover a return that offered some prospect of permanence. He put this in terms of a comparison with Zacher's programme. Sure, it was great to provide an opportunity for young people to develop professionally for a year or two, and Zacher indeed had some success stories (e.g., Middlemis and Harriet Critchley), but if you continued this way in the future, where are all those people going to go, given the tightness of the academic marketplace. This could be as bad as being a big name from outside Canada who eventually leaves, because it would lack permanence, or "institutionalization". This I would assess McNamara as not opposed in principle to a proposal that featured a junior person, particularly if that proposal seemed to maximize some of DND's longer-run concerns about institutionalization. However, how the outside academics on the committee would see it is another matter.



DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY  
HALIFAX, N.S.  
B3H 4H6

PRESIDENT AND VICE CHANCELLOR

October 9, 1980

Lt.-Colonel P.M.R. Valois  
Directorate Strategic Policy Planning  
National Defence Headquarters  
101 Colonel By Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0K2

Dear Colonel Valois:

In accordance with the terms of the Department of National Defence "Military and Strategic Studies Program at Canadian Universities", I enclose on behalf of Dalhousie University an application for a combined grant in support of a research centre and a teaching program in the field of Military and Strategic Studies.

The application, prepared by Dr. Gilbert Winham and his colleagues in the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies and Department of Political Science, outlines the overall objectives of the proposed program, and provides details of a series of specific projects planned for the first phase of the 1981-86 period. It also contains background information on a number of related activities and institutions at Dalhousie and other locations in the Halifax area, from which the Maritime and Strategic Studies Program could expect in the future, as in the past, to obtain supporting advice, stimulus, and expertise.

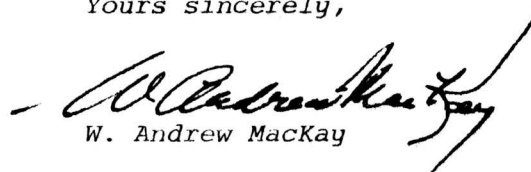
The program would also benefit very substantially from its association with the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, which now includes one of the largest concentrations of academic foreign policy analysts in Canada. Several of these staff members specialize particularly in Canadian foreign policy issues and in subjects bearing on problems of defence. We believe the Centre's cumulative record indicates an impressive level of academic activity in these and related areas.

October 9, 1980

In connection with earlier grants under the Military Strategic Studies program, Dalhousie has demonstrated interest in supporting from its own resources worthwhile programs that are also supported by external funding. Our support has been in salary, the provision of space and regular services associated with the appointment of Professor MccGwire until 1980 and with Professor Silverstein as a Visiting Professor since then. In the event this application for a grant is approved, we are committed to maintaining in the Department of Political Science a regular staff position in Strategic Studies and the incumbent would be considered in accordance with regular university processes for a tenured appointment. Salary and benefits for this position would be funded by the University. This commitment, in view of current circumstances of severe financial constraint, is not undertaken lightly. It does indicate the University's confidence in developing and maintaining a program that is worthy of external support for research that would be undertaken if our application for a grant is approved.

I very much hope that your Selection Committee will agree that Dalhousie is especially suited to be host for a major program in Strategic Studies, with a particular focus on the maritime aspects of the field. If we can provide further information in connection with our submission, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,



W. Andrew MacKay

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY  
CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

MARITIME AND STRATEGIC STUDIES PROGRAM

1982 ANNUAL REPORT

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY  
CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

MARITIME AND STRATEGIC STUDIES PROGRAM

1982 ANNUAL REPORT

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DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

MARITIME AND STRATEGIC STUDIES PROGRAM

1982 ANNUAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

ORGANIZATION

The Dalhousie Maritime and Strategic Studies Program, as defined in a proposal to DND of October 1980, is administered by the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at that university. The Centre itself is affiliated with the Department of Political Science; it is concerned with teaching, research and other professional activities in various aspects of foreign policy, international relations, and strategic studies.

✓ The Centre now consists of nine members of faculty, including one professor of strategic studies and Canadian defence policy (D. W. Middlemiss); two Research Associates (R. Purver, W. L. Dowdy) who are supported by MSS funds; and various graduate students or temporary personnel interested in foreign and defence policy. The normal activities of the Centre include a bi-weekly seminar, a publication program, and from time to time various conferences and workshops on foreign policy and defence issues. In matters of research, professional activity and budget, the Centre operates autonomously at Dalhousie University. With regard to teaching, Centre members participate as ordinary faculty in the teaching program of the Department of Political Science.

The internal structure of the Centre is simple. The Centre has three administrative personnel: a Director (G. R. Winham), an Administrative Secretary (D. M. Boyle) and a Secretary (E. L. LeVine). Decisions in the Centre are taken either in plenary business meetings, or by one of two standing committees: viz, a Budget Committee (G. R. Winham, R. Boardman, D. Middlemiss) or a Publications Committee (G. R. Winham, R. Dial, D. Stairs). The grant monies associated with the MSS program are administered mainly by the Centre Director and the Budget Committee, on the understanding that the principal priority is to carry out the MSS Program proposed in October 1980.

✓ The Centre has recently completed a five-year program entitled "Canada's Future in the New World Order," funded by the Donner Canadian Foundation. The MSS Program now represents the main collective activity of

the Centre, although of course the Centre will continue to conduct research and professional activities in non-military areas of foreign policy. Regarding financial resources, the Centre has since its inception in 1971 received a total of roughly \$1.65 million external funding from all sources, including \$680,000 received or committed from the Department of National Defence. The Centre further receives administrative support from Dalhousie University in the provision of office space and secretarial salary, and in particular the MSS Program has benefitted from the University's willingness to continue a professorship in strategic studies in the Department of Political Science now held by D. W. Middlemiss.

STAFF RESOURCES

The personnel of the Centre for the report period are as follows:

Administrative

Gilbert R. Winham, Director  
Mrs. Doris Boyle, Administrative Secretary  
Mrs. Eileen LeVine, Secretary

Academic (full-time, resident members)

Robert Boardman  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Roger L. Dial  
James Eayrs  
Steven Holloway  
Danford Middlemiss  
Don Munton (on leave)  
Timothy M. Shaw  
Denis Stairs  
Gilbert R. Winham

Adjunct Professor (unsalaried)

Harvey Silverstein

Research Associates (full-time, resident)

W. Lee Dowdy  
Ronald Purver

Visiting Scholars (part-time, resident)

Jeffrey Hart  
Charles Odidi-Okidi

Graduate Students (full-time, resident)

Russell B. Trood  
Baljinder Dhillon



AREAS OF PRIME INTEREST

I. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF AREAS OF PRIME INTEREST

As outlined in the proposal of October 1980, the MSS Program at Dalhousie includes the following fields:

1. Maritime studies

- with particular reference to (a) military strategy, alliances, and the role of naval power in external affairs; (b) domestic politics related to the use of naval power, with emphasis on weapons procurement; and (c) matters arising from the current Law of the Sea negotiations. The Canadian interest in the foregoing areas will be emphasized.

2. Arms control

- with particular reference to (a) control of arms in the maritime environment; and (b) diplomatic behaviour related to arms control and security matters.

3. Economics of defence policy

- including Canada and comparative cases.

II. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES IN AREAS OF PRIME INTEREST:

1 May 1981-30 April 1982

Highlights of activities completed during the reporting period are summarized below. Further elaboration can be found elsewhere in this report. Activities are listed in a general category (i.e., relating generally to defence and strategic studies); or in the above-listed categories of the MSS program, namely maritime studies, arms control, or economics of defence policy.

GENERAL. Professor Middlemiss, with assistance from Baljinder Dhillon, initiated and published three issues of the Defence Newsletter (see Appendix I). Professor Middlemiss taught a course entitled: "Strategy and Canadian Defence Policy." Professor Eayrs published a feature article on Canadian defence policy in Legion. Professor Stairs presented an address at the U.S. Naval War College on Canadian Security roles. Mr. Dowdy

AREAS OF PRIME INTEREST, cont'd

completed a Ph.D. dissertation on the international politics of the Persian Gulf region, and he co-authored an article with Professor Shaw on South Africa's security policies. Mr. Purver was an invited participant in the IISS conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations, in Bellagio, Italy.

MARITIME STUDIES. Mr. Dowdy published an article on regional navies in United States Naval Institute Proceedings. Professor Borgese taught a course entitled: "Politics of the Sea." Professor Winham designed a simulation of a seabed mining joint venture. Professor Borgese designed and managed a 10-week training course for government officers from developing countries on EEZ management.

ARMS CONTROL. Mr. Purver published two substantial monographs on arms control in the National Security Series of Queen's University. Mr. Purver also presented papers at York University on UNSSOD I and at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association on ASW Controls. Messrs. Purver and Middlemiss, with David Jones of Dalhousie University, conducted a major symposium entitled "Nuclear War and the Future." Professor Middlemiss presented testimony on arms control and Canadian security before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence.

ECONOMICS OF DEFENCE POLICY. Professor Middlemiss served as consultant for ATV/CTV's "Paper Warriors," a one-hour documentary on Canadian defence readiness.

RELATED UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

Professor Winham and Mr. Trood are respectively Chairman and Secretary of the Halifax Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The branch includes amongst its activities a luncheon speaker series at which issues of current importance in international and strategic affairs are discussed. In the period covered by this report, the branch has held meetings as follows:

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| October 6, 1981   | Dr. Don Munton, Director of Research, C.I.I.A., Toronto. Topic: "The Contemporary Crisis in Canadian-American Relations."      |
| October 22, 1981  | Mr. Philip Joseph, Economics Directorate, NATO, Brussels. Topic: "Soviet Bloc Economic Problems."                              |
| December 10, 1981 | Dr. James Guy, Cape Breton College, Sydney, N.S. Topic: "El Salvador: Revolution without Change."                              |
| March 23, 1982    | Mr. David Jones, Director, Russian Micro Research Project, Dalhousie University. Topic: "The Use of Force: The Soviet View." ✓ |
| April 6, 1982     | Mr. Jerzy Gruca, Strategic Analyst, Maritime Command, Halifax, N.S. Topic: "The Role of Navies: The Soviet View." ✓            |

PROJECTS COMPLETED (July 1, 1981 - April 30, 1982)WORKS PUBLISHED

- Lee Dowdy "South Africa," with Timothy M. Shaw, in Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert E. Harkavy, eds., Security Policies of Developing Countries (Lexington, Mass.: Heath-Lexington Books, 1982), pp. 305-327.
- "Middle Eastern, North African, and South Asian Navies," United States Naval Institute PROCEEDINGS, International Navies Issue 108 (March 1982), pp. 48-55.
- James Eayrs "Defence in the '80s: Canada's Crunch is Coming," Legion (October 1981), pp. 16, 18, 40.
- Danford Middlemiss Book Review: James M. Roberty (ed.), Defense Policy Formation: Towards Comparative Analysis, in The Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3 (September 1981).
- Ronald Purver Arms Control: The Regional Approach (Kingston, Ont.: Queen's University Centre for International Relations, National Security Series No. 1, 1981), pp. 147.
- Arms Control in the North (Kingston, Ont.: Queen's University Centre for International Relations, National Security Series No. 5, 1981), pp. 156.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS

Baljinder Dhillon

"The Third World and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." Address to the Graduate Students Seminar, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 21 January 1982.

"Some Aspects of India's Nuclear Policy." Presentation at the Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, 20 February 1982.

Lee Dowdy

Served as commentator for York University Strategic Studies Conference on "Superpower Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf," commenting on "Political Dimensions," Toronto, 19 November 1981.

Chaired panel on "Technical Non-Proliferation Efforts," in a workshop series on "Nuclear War and the Future," co-sponsored by the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 20 February 1982.

Danford Middlemiss

"Why the Threat is Growing." Paper and address to The Threat is Growing: A Public Symposium on Nuclear War, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 11 November 1981.

"Limited Nuclear War: Strategies, Doctrines, Dogma." Address to Can Nuclear War Be Limited? Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 30 January 1982.

"Arms Control and Canadian Security." Testimony before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence (Respecting Security and Disarmament Issues), 10 February 1982 (Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 54).

Ronald Purver

"Limited Nuclear War: The European Debate and Third World Dangers." Address to Can Nuclear War Be Limited? Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 30 January 1982.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS, cont'd

Ronald Purver

Presented paper, "UNSSOD I: Outcome of the Session and Implementation of its Final Document," to the York University Research Programme in Strategic Studies Conference on "UNSSOD II: A Canadian Perspective," Toronto, February 10-11, 1982.

"Non-Proliferation Efforts: Political." Address to Must the Bomb Spread? Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 20 February 1982.

"The Arms Control Record." Address to Is Arms Control a Hoax? Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 6 March 1982.

Presented paper, "The Desirability and Feasibility of Negotiated Controls on Strategic Anti-Submarine Warfare," at the 23rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 24-27, 1982.

Denis Stairs

Presented a talk to the Fleet School, Stadacona, Canadian Forces Base, Halifax, "Canadian Nationalism and Public Policy," 6 November 1981.

Presented a talk, "Canada: Security Roles and Relationships" to the U.S. National War College, Washington, D.C., 6 January 1982.

Russell Trood

Lectures, Department of Politics, University of Western Australia, "The Art of Crisis Management" and "The Sovereignty of States in the International System," July 1981.

"The International Nuclear Safeguards Regime," address to Must the Bomb Spread? Workshop on Nuclear War and the Future, Dalhousie University, Halifax, February 1982.

"Australian Nuclear Export Policy," presentation to Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, March 1982.

MEETINGS SPONSORED

Ronald Purver

Helped organize a symposium, "The Threat is Growing: A Public Symposium on Nuclear War" at Dalhousie University, 11 November 1981.

Danford Middlemiss  
Ronald Purver  
David Jones

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies co-sponsored, and provided two of the three principal organizers for, a series of six public workshops on "Nuclear War and the Future," held at Dalhousie University between 23 January and 13 March 1982. Danford Middlemiss and Ronald Purver were chief organizers, along with David Jones of Dalhousie's Russian Micro-Project; both Middlemiss and Purver, as well as three other CFPS members, Denis Stairs, Baljinder Dhillon and Russell Trood, were among the 32 speakers who made formal presentations to the workshops. Various CFPS members, including Lee Dowdy, chaired individual panels during the series.

The greatest amount of financial support for the workshops came from the Office of the President and the Department of Part-Time Studies at Dalhousie; the Centre for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick also contributed. Attendance at the workshops varied from about 30 to 100 persons. See Appendix II.

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Organized a 10-week training program on the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), conducted at the CFPS during the summer of 1981. The program was available to civil servants from Third World nations responsible for EEZ management in their respective nations. The program made use of the extensive resources of Dalhousie and the Halifax area in the scientific, political, legal and economic aspects of marine management. Operating costs and scholarships were provided by grants from the UNDP, EEC, and the Governments of Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands.

The EEZ course will be conducted again in the summer of 1982.

LECTURE SERIES

The CFPS maintains a Centre Seminar, which meets regularly to hear presentations from faculty, associates, graduate students and visitors. Over the reporting period the following presentations have been received:

September 29	Steven Holloway "The Transnational Politics of the Aluminum Multinationals"
October 29	Ibrahim Msabaha "The Role of Tanzania's Mission in the Law of the Sea Negotiations"
November 3	Ian McAllister (Centre for Development Projects) "Development Training Programmes: Lessons and Issues"
November 10	Timothy Shaw "Contemporary Crises and Confrontations in Africa"
December 8	Ronald Purver "Anti-Submarine Warfare Controls"
January 26	Elisabeth Mann Borgese "The Law of the Sea: Its Potential for Generating International Revenue."
February 2	Col. (Ret.) Frank Hofflin (former Canadian Defence Attaché in Bonn) "The Role of the Military Attaché in the Diplomatic Mission"
March 2	Robert Boardman and Russell Trood Colloquium, "Nuclear Export Policy in Britain and Australia"



UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Lee Dowdy

"International Politics of the Persian Gulf States from a Subsystemic Core Perspective," Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1982, circa 600 pp.

Gilbert Winham

"Seabed Mining Joint Venture Simulation," October 1981. Conducted simulation (with Elisabeth Borgese) with national delegates to the Eleventh Session of the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, New York, March 1982.

PROJECTS IN PROGRESS

(after 1 May 1982)

PUBLICATIONS PLANNED

Robert Boardman

Nuclear Exports and World Politics: Technology, Policy and Regime (with James Keeley), eds. (London: Macmillan, in press).

Lee Dowdy

"Soviet Security Interests in the Indian Ocean," with Ken Booth, in David R. Jones, ed., Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual, Vol. 6 (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, forthcoming 1982), circa pp. 70.

Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean, with Ken Booth and Jane Davis (London: Macmillan, forthcoming 1983), circa pp. 300.

1983 annual review of Middle Eastern, North African, and South Asian Navies for U.S. Naval Institute PROCEEDINGS (forthcoming March 1983).

Danford Middlemiss

"Economic Defence Co-operation with the United States, 1940-1963," in Kim Nossal, et al., eds., An Acceptance of Paradox: Essays in Honour of John W. Holmes (Toronto: C.I.I.A., forthcoming Spring/Summer 1982).

"DND's Equipment Requirements for the 1990s." A paper to be presented at a Conference on "The Future of the Canadian Military," York University, 18-19 November 1982.

"The Folly of Formula Funding." A study of Ottawa's funding arrangements for the Department of National Defence.

Ronald Purver

"UNSSOD I: Outcome of the Session and Implementation of its Final Document," forthcoming in a monograph by the York University Research Programme in Strategic Studies, 1982.

PUBLICATIONS PLANNED, cont'd

Ronald Purver

Continuing research on "Strategic Anti-Submarine Warfare Controls," under the terms of a Department of National Defence Fellowship for 1981-1982; to eventuate in a monograph on the subject (circa pp. 100), to be published.

Completing work on Ph.D. dissertation, "In Search of Arms Control Theory: A Case-Study Approach" (on the naval limitations of the inter-war period), under the supervision of Professor Alexander L. George of Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Preparation of an article on "Soviet Arms Control Policy," to appear in David R. Jones (ed.) Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual, Vol. 7: 1983 (Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1983).

Russell Trood

"Australian Uranium Exports: Nuclear Issues and the Policy Process," chapter in Robert Boardman and James F. Keeley, (eds.), Nuclear Exports and World Politics: Policy and Regime.

Continuing work on research for contribution to the volume Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean, by Lee Dowdy and Ken Booth (to be published by Macmillan in Winter of 1982-83).

ORAL PRESENTATIONS

Ronald Purver

Speech at the First Atlantic Student Pugwash Conference to be held at Dalhousie University, Halifax, 29-30 May 1982.

MEETINGS SPONSORED

Lee Dowdy  
Russell Trood

On October 14-16, 1982, the CFPS is planning to sponsor a conference on security and defence issues in the Indian Ocean region. The conference, to be entitled "The Indian Ocean: Perspectives on a Strategic Arena," will bring together between 40 and 50 academics and government officials from North America, Europe, Australia and several Indian Ocean countries. It will be the first such gathering to be held in Canada and the first on the subject to be held anywhere in the world in recent years. From the Centre's point of view, the conference continues the research which has been taking place on the Indian Ocean region over the past several years. Lee Dowdy and Russell Trood are the joint organizers of the conference on behalf of the Centre.

The proposal for the conference has attracted a great deal of interest and there is widespread support for its objectives. The process of recruiting participants and commissioning papers is well advanced and administrative arrangements, generally, are well in hand.

The Centre has applied to SSHRCC for additional funding to support the proposed Conference. Excerpts from this proposal are included as Appendix III to this Report.

Danford Middlemiss

Consideration has been given (with David Jones of Dalhousie University) to having a broad-based conference at Dalhousie in 1983-84 on "International Defence Expenditures." A tentative agenda and list of participants has been drawn up and some persons contacted. Funding would likely be sought from the SSHRCC.

Ronald Purver

Continuing work as a member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs Working Group on recommendations for action by Canada at the Second Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament (UNSSOD II).

TEACHING RESPONSIBILITIESCOURSES OFFERED

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

"The Politics of the Sea," evening seminar, 3 hrs. Students in 1981/82: 24.

The major issues involved in the Law of the Sea, the differing interests of different countries, the developing legal framework, and the political process of the on-going negotiations are covered. There is a great deal of ground to be covered so preference is given to graduates although mature students from other relevant disciplines are welcome.

Danford Middlemiss

"Strategy and Canadian Defence Policy," seminar, 2 hrs. Students in 1981/82: 9.

This class examines the broad subject of military strategy from the narrower perspective of Canadian defence policy. The class is organized into five parts and is designed to acquaint students with the determinants, substance, processes, and recurring themes of Canada's post-World War II defence policies.

Danford Middlemiss

"Canadian Foreign Policy," seminar, 2 hrs. Students in 1981/82: 18.

This seminar focuses on the recent history and contemporary problems of Canadian foreign policy in three parts: 1. An analysis of major developments and situations in Canada's post war relations. 2. A more analytical approach to the factors that underlie Canadian policy using the historical cases as illustration, considering the influence of external factors and domestic factors, and 3. Some policy prescriptive questions will be considered.

Danford Middlemiss

Graduate directed reading course on Strategic Studies. Students in 1981-82: 2.

COURSES OFFERED, cont'd

Ronald Purver

"Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in World Politics," seminar, 2 hrs. New course to be offered in 1982/83.

An introduction to issues of arms control and disarmament, focussing on nuclear weapons and strategic arms limitations in particular. The class will examine such questions as: What are the effects of nuclear weapons? Who's ahead in the strategic arms race? Can nuclear war be limited? Is there a defence against it? Has arms control been effective in limiting the arms race? Why or why not? Does it tend to favour the Soviet Union at the expense of the West? Have the Soviets been cheating, and how do we know if they have? What is Canada's role in the process?

MISCELLANEOUSLIAISON ACTIVITIES

Lee Dowdy

Interviewed on ATC/CTV regarding use of naval power in North Atlantic area.

Danford Middlemiss

Commenced publication of a monthly Defence Newsletter under Centre auspices in January 1982. Has a wide, varied, and growing readership at home and abroad.

Provided research assistance for, and appeared on, ATC/CTV's Paper Warriors, a one-hour documentary on Canada's defences. (Aired on ATC 31 December 1981 and on CTV 3 January 1982. Will be re-run on CTV network's "W5" program on 25 April 1982).

Interviewed approximately 12 times regarding Canadian defence and broader security matters on local media: CBC Radio (Halifax and Sydney); ATV.

Ronald Purver

Attended International Institute for Strategic Studies/Arms Control Association "New Faces" Conference on "U.S.-Soviet Relations in the 1980s," Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, June 29-July 3, 1981.

Two interviews on CBC Radio (Fredericton and Sydney) dealing with the initiation of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on limiting intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

Russell Trood

Secretary, Halifax Branch, Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Gilbert Winham

Chairman, Halifax Branch, Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROGRAM

In 1981, the Maritime and Strategic Studies (MSS) Program, which had been held at Dalhousie University since 1971, underwent substantial organizational and personnel changes. First, the Program was incorporated into the formal structure of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. Second, new personnel were recruited, specifically a faculty member (Danford Middlemiss) to replace Professor Michael McGwire, and a research associate (Ronald Purver) to join Lee Dowdy who was already serving in that same capacity with the Centre. These three people form the nucleus of the MSS Program in the Centre, and to their work is added the defence- and maritime-related activities of other members of the Centre.

The Dalhousie MSS Program has enjoyed an exceptionally successful first year of the 1981-86 grant period. The Program has enhanced the attention given in the Centre to the military and strategic side of foreign policy, and as well to problems of Canadian defence. This has rounded the intellectual development of the Centre, which as an organization now describes itself as focusing on three main areas of activity: Canadian foreign policy; maritime and strategic studies; and international political economy and development. A further benefit of the MSS Program is that it has served as a catalyst for the range of scholarly and professional activities cited in this report. The MSS Program has brought energetic people to the Centre, and it has stimulated defence-related work of those staff already here, with the result that it has helped to achieve the overall objectives of the MSS Program in Canada, namely, "to develop a domestic competence and national interest in military and strategic issues of current or future relevance to our national security. . . . "



Gilbert R. Winham  
Director  
Centre for Foreign Policy Studies



REVENUE AND EXPENSES

	Actual 1971 July 1/81 - Feb. 28/82	Estimated
<u>SALARIES AND BENEFITS</u>		
Chair	\$	\$
Associate(s)	\$ 23,441.94	\$ 54,000
Assistant(s)	\$ 2,152.69	\$ 4,000
Other (specify)	\$	\$
TOTAL	\$ 25,594.63	\$ 58,000
<u>LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS</u>		
Books	\$	\$
Periodicals	\$ 78.00	\$ 100
Teaching Aids	\$	\$ 100
Other (specify)	\$	\$
TOTAL	\$ 78.00	\$ 200
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT</u>		
Secretarial & Clerical	\$ 1,075.66	\$ 2,500
Supplies & Equipment	\$	\$ 200
Communications	\$ 149.17	\$ 400
Printing & Stationery	\$ 365.84	\$ 600
Other (specify) Postage	\$ 8.20	\$ 300
TOTAL	\$ 1,598.87	\$ 4,000
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>		
Guest Lecturer(s)	\$ 178.88	\$ 300
Conference(s)	\$	\$ 1,500
Travel(s)	\$ 1,872.70	\$ 3,000
Membership fee(s)	\$	\$
Other (specify) Parking permit	\$ 29.43	\$ 200
TOTAL	\$ 2,081.01	\$ 5,000
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	\$ 29,352.51	\$ 67,200
<u>REVENUES</u>		
Brought Forward	\$	\$
Annual Grant	\$ 60,000	\$ 60,000
Other (specify)	\$	\$
TOTAL	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 60,000
<u>BALANCE</u> Credit / Debit	Cr. \$ 30,647.49	Dr. \$ 7,200

(at Feb. 28/82)

APPENDIX I

THE CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia

D E F E N C E   N E W S L E T T E R

Vol. 1      No. 3

This newsletter is published at the end of the month and covers matters relating to Canadian defence and security policy during the period 16 January to 15 February, 1982. Material contained within is prepared mainly from the following sources: daily issues of the CHRONICLE HERALD (Halifax) (CH), and GLOBE AND MAIL (G&M), the MAIL-STAR (Halifax) (MS), the HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES (HCD); weekly issues of the FINANCIAL POST (FP); and the Jan./Feb. issues of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE (SCEAND), the PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENCE (SSC), AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY (AWST), CANADIAN AVIATION (CA), and NAVY INTERNATIONAL (NI). All references to these sources are given in the short forms noted in brackets. Any other sources are noted by their complete title.

## EDITORIAL

The "Peace Movement" Reconsidered: What Is To Be Done?

The recent upsurge of the European "peace movement" has brought new life to its Canadian counterpart. As a result, on last 11 November I found myself attending a "peace seminar" devoted to publicizing the dangers of atomic war. As a one-time "peacenik" and activist in CND, I have always felt the so-called "movement" should have had an important role to play in discussions of national policy. But while listening to the various speakers last November, I was first saddened, then irritated. For it seemed to me that in spite of the increased importance of their cause, they would be condemned to remain in the political wilderness.

Is such a pessimistic conclusion warranted? It certainly is not meant to denigrate either the speakers' belief in their cause or the justice of the cause itself. Indeed, most sane people join them in preferring peace to war and in recognizing the dangers of a nuclear doomsday. But this being the case, how is it that peace groups have remained with so little influence? This is a complaint aired frequently by members of the peace groups themselves. And it is a deeply felt one. Some of the activists conclude that the influence of capitalism's mass media, buttressed by more deadly conspiracies on the part of the "military-industrial complex," explains their continued impotence. However a second group among them recognizes that such excuses are generally as absurd as their opponents' charges that most "peaceniks" are tools of the Kremlin or conscious saboteurs of Western democracy. But if some of this second group still seek a magic organizational and agitational formula that will open the public's eyes, others are beginning to wonder if part of their problem may not lie in the nature and tactics of their "movement" itself.

For my part, I think the latter may well be right. The "peace movement" itself, of course, is no monolith. Rather it has been a loose and ever-changing coalition of diverse subgroups that at present range from the radical Marxists at one extreme to prosperous, "bourgeois" physicians at the other. Even so, its core is the tireless band of deeply sincere Christians and humanists who have sustained the struggle against war over the years. But their selfless dedication to their often hopeless cause frequently has led them to turn inward for moral sustenance and support. It is precisely this, it seems to me, that limits their ability to assess the impact their actions and rhetoric may make on other potential allies. Indeed, many sympathetic outsiders find even the title "peace movement" is itself off-putting. For the uninitiated often feel that by this term the "movement's" members are displaying a kind of sectarianism that denies those outside their ranks the right to seriously claim that they too desire peace and a better future for humanity. Of late this seeming sectarian exclusion of non-believers has been given a new and even more unfortunate twist by the growing influx of radical feminist rhetoric in the "movement's" statements. This results in claims that "women have a special interest in

peace that males do not, indeed cannot, understand." And this despite the fact that while they may have lost sons and lovers, women still make up a distinct minority of those pushing up poppies in Flanders' Fields. The impression made by other similar assertions is undoubtedly unfair to the movement as a whole, but unfortunately such impressions often are the most lasting.

Other oft-voiced attitudes are equally damaging to any attempt to build a broader-based coalition. For example, many of the "movement's" adherents all too often demonstrate an unrestrained and regrettable tendency to anti-Americanism. True, both the cowboy administration of President Reagan and the "Time and Tide" culture of American television often are obnoxious. However the United States also deserves credit as the homeland of Jefferson, Emerson and Thoreau, and it has made a not insignificant contribution to the ideals of liberal democracy. Equally one-sided, or simply naive, are many of the views expressed about the USSR and the Third World. Again, the Soviets probably do not intend to launch an adventuristic blitzkrieg across Western Europe. Nonetheless, given their ideological preconceptions, the Kremlin's readers will not disarm seriously as long as capitalism, and thus (in their view) the threat of war, remains to trouble the globe. For this reason any expectations that they would follow a unilateral Western initiative in large-scale arms reductions are bound to be disappointed. Equally absurd are arguments that Third World nations buy arms because developed countries force them to do so, rather than because of their own internal and regional fears and ambitions. For however much one may deplore it, the "real world" is complex and frequently dangerous. A refusal to recognize this fact can do little to build credibility for the "peace movement" and so allow it to influence policy in the desired directions.

Of course, the criticisms just made refer to the "movement's" extravagances. But regrettably, rhetorical flourishes prompted by such attitudes all too often obscure the fact that its members do have a real contribution to make to the present discussions. To do so, however, they will have to reexamine both the image they present to potential allies, and the priority they give to certain goals. The first task obviously entails some attempt to curb the excesses mentioned, so reducing the limitations that result from such behaviour. As for my second proposal, this presents greater difficulties. For inherent in the "movement's" coalition or composite nature is the existence of a multitude of objectives--the struggles against poverty, racism, militarism, sexism, and so on--all of which vie for top spot and so diffuse the movement's energies. In the past this problem sometimes has been solved by adopting broad, frequently millennialist programs. Yet these are both impossible of realization and politically disastrous since, by forcing potential allies to support a range of causes, such programs prevent these outsiders from supporting those aspects specifically concerned with peace.

To avoid this snare, the "movement" would do better to put aside complete pacifism and social radicalism so as to throw its weight behind an all-out effort to limit the chances of a nuclear holocaust. To be sure, other inter-related issues will intrude. But if a single goal is set, all can work for it. As for the nature of such efforts themselves, I would suggest that even such general solutions as making Canada a model "nuclear-free zone" be abandoned as politically impossible. Instead, energy should go into a careful study of detailed defense problems --a study based on the premise that just demands for national security do exist. This accomplished, the "peace movement" could then make really telling criticisms of particular policies and weapons systems. Beyond this, it might even put forward alternative defense policies based on the practical needs of the moment. In this way it will win credibility and, in incremental stages, make real progress towards averting disaster. For while such an approach may not be exciting, it can be effective and win allies. Here those involved can take hope from the growing influence of the Center of Defense Information among American legislators, analysts and military men. If the Canadian "movement" becomes known for the same expertise and care of analysis, it too may find itself fulfilling its proper place in the debate of the 1980s.

David R. Jones  
ed., Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual,  
Dalhousie University

## ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS

European Security Conference: The 35-nation European Security Conference resumed on February 9 in Madrid after a two-month recess. The session got off to an unpromising start as the Western delegates were expected to take a strong stand on the issue of martial law in Poland (G&M: February 9/82, p. 10).

Meeting prior to the Madrid talks, NATO countries could not agree among themselves about a joint strategy to be followed or even about the continuation of the session, while Canada, the United States, and some other NATO countries favored adjournment of the session due to the tense atmosphere surrounding current talks, France and West Germany argued that it would be useful to keep the dialogue going with the Soviet Union and its allies (MS: February 6/82, p. 3).

The meeting has continued despite procedural wrangling by the Soviet Bloc countries to hamper speeches by NATO foreign ministers. Mark MacGuigan, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, was the first speaker and delivered a strong denunciation of the Polish government (G&M: February 13/82, p. 12).

## LAW OF THE SEA

The United States has decided to return to the Law of the Sea Conference when it meets in March, presumably, for the last bargaining session before the signing of the Treaty later this year. Last year, the Reagan administration had expressed reservations about some of the provisions and undertook a comprehensive review of the whole draft before deciding its future course of action. Announcing the U.S. decision to return to the talks, President Reagan indicated that while the United States would accept most of the already-negotiated treaty draft, it would seek changes in the deep sea mining provisions. Mr. Reagan, however, did not elaborate upon the U.S. demands (MS: February 6/82, p. 31).

A spokesman for the developing countries has expressed doubts about the likelihood that any radical changes would be incorporated in the already-agreed draft treaty on the Law of the Sea. However, he did not rule out minor changes and added that, despite U.S. objections, the treaty would be finalized in the coming session (G&M: February 13/82, p. 2).

## NATO

Criticism of Canada's comparatively small contribution to the Western defence has been voiced, this time by the U.S. ambassador to Canada. Mr. Paul H. Robinson Jr. told an audience in Ottawa that while the

United Kingdom and the United States spend 5.2 and 5.6 per cent respectively of their gross national product on defence, Canada spends less than 2 per cent. However, he hoped that the Canadian contribution would increase in the years ahead. Observers say that the U.S. ambassador was only saying out loud what other NATO countries had been saying privately for some time. Critics of Canada's contribution point to the outdated equipment and the shortage of manpower (See Defence Newsletter, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2). The Canadian government has countered such criticism by pointing to its latest defence budget increases, its purchase of F-18 HORNET aircraft, and the proposed acquisition of six frigates. Government spokesmen also point to Canada's continuing participation in the United Nations peacekeeping missions and its agreements with the United Kingdom and West Germany for the training of pilots and ground troops as part of its contribution to NATO (MS: February 2/82, p. 2).

Canadian to command NATO unit: Commodore Hugh MacNeil will take over as commander of NATO's standing Naval Force, Atlantic, on April 1, for a period of twelve months. He is the fourth Canadian officer to head it (since 1968, when this command was established). The command has a minimum of five destroyer-type warships, and support ships from various NATO countries. The Command's area of activity stretches from eastern United States to the North Sea and up to the Strait of Gibraltar (MS: January 19/82, p. 53).

#### CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY

Update on warships: A spokesman for the Maritime Command has said that the major repair work on all the eight disabled destroyers--HMCS FRASER, SKEENA, MARGAREE, SAGUENAY, ASSINIBOINE, OTTAWA, KOOTENAY and GATINEAU--will be completed in the next few months and the squadron should be at full strength by mid-June. A series of problems, mainly the cracks in the boilers of the steam-driven destroyers, had paralyzed the naval fleet since November, 1981 (See Defence Newsletter, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2) (MS: January 28/82, p. 25).

HMCS HURON, while on fishery patrol on the Grand Banks, evacuated a seriously ill fisherman from a Soviet fishing vessel to Saint John's; bad weather had made a transfer by helicopter impossible (MS: January 25/82, p. 2).

During the winter exercises in the Caribbean, HMCS ATHABASCAN developed a problem with its sonar detection gear. The vessel made a brief visit to Halifax to correct the problem before rejoining the exercises (Daily News: January 27/82, p. 2).

End of an era: Twenty-four ARGUS aircraft that patrolled Canada's coastal waters for almost a quarter century have been sold to a metal

scrap dealer for the sum of \$71,936. The ARGUS had been phased out by August 1980 in favour of the new CP-140 AURORA. Of the 32 Argus aircraft which Canada had acquired, one squadron was based on the West Coast and the rest were stationed in the Atlantic provinces. One ARGUS will go on permanent display at the National Aeronautical Collection at Rockcliffe Airport in Ottawa and one each will be displayed at air force bases in Greenwood, Summerside, and Comox. One ARGUS will go to CFB Trenton where it will be used to test and train ground crews (G&M: February 1/82, p. 5; MS: January 30/82, p. 1).

Polish situation: Pressure from the United States and the Vatican has led to the reassessment of Canada's earlier stand on the Polish martial law situation. External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan said that the government has "an open mind" on the question of economic sanctions against Poland. Observers note that the hardening of Canada's position has followed a similar stance adopted by the West European countries; it also stemmed from indications that martial law in Poland might be retained for a longer period than earlier expected. It was also reported that Prime Minister Trudeau had agreed to take part along with other Western leaders in the Solidarity Day television show to be broadcast on January 31 (MS: January 21/82, p. 49).

Later, Mr. MacGuigan hinted that some kind of sanctions would be applied against Poland "probably in the not distant future" even though only the United States and the United Kingdom had taken such action (MS: February 13/82, p. 5).

At the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Canadian and other Western representatives raised the issue of "repression" in Poland under the martial rule. Amid interruptions from the Soviet Bloc countries, the Canadian representative strongly criticized Poland for "suppression of fundamental freedoms which runs counter to the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (G&M: February 3/82, p. 1).

Better relations with Cuba urged: Mr. Maurice Dupras, chairman of the House sub-committee on Latin America and the Caribbean, has urged the government to take steps to help ease political isolation of Cuba. The sub-committee members--who visited six Latin American countries recently--also had a meeting with President Castro of Cuba. Mr. Dupras said that Canada should encourage other countries, especially the United States, to respect Cuba's right to have its own political system. He also urged the government to take advantage of the economic joint venture opportunities available in Cuba (G&M: February 1/82, p. 3).

#### CAF MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION

Recruitment: Economic recession and high unemployment in the country are said to be the most likely reasons for increase in recruitment for



the Forces. Recruitment officials say that the prospects of a secure job and training opportunities also contributed in this regard. About 13,000 new recruits, including 2,000 women, have been selected so far this year out of 35,000 applicants. This is an increase of 10 per cent over the 1981 figure. The recruiting officials say that the Department of National Defence must recruit 8,000 people each year to maintain the required level of personnel. This is the first time in many years that the required quota has been met and even surpassed (G&M: February 6/82, p. 1).

The Senate Sub-committee on National Defence has presented its first report entitled Manpower in Canada's Armed Forces after a year-long study. Some of the recommendations of the report are:

- A new White Paper on National Defence be undertaken immediately to assess manpower and other military requirements against Canada's commitments to collective defence in light of the rapidly changing international scene;
- An increase in Canadian troop levels in Europe to 10,000 by 1987;
- Mobile Command should recruit 6,400 additional Regulars to carry out its assigned tasks more efficiently;
- A complete overhaul and major reequipment of militia and Supplementary Reserve so as to guarantee as many as 16,000 personnel in case of emergency;
- The government should initiate at an early date a review of the Canadian Air-Sea Transportable force committed for use in northern Norway;
- There should be no increase in Maritime Command's or Air Command's manpower until new ships, aircraft, and equipment are available;
- Canadian Forces should carry out an exercise to determine readiness and defence capabilities in Northern and Coastal frontier regions. Similarly, a NATO exercise, including an augmentation operation, should also be undertaken at an early date;
- "Combat readiness" should be re-emphasized as the fundamental criterion for the armed forces;
- The Canadian Forces Training System should be expanded to meet fluctuations in enrollment, high attrition rates, and to recruit additional personnel.

#### CANADIAN DEFENCE INDUSTRIES

A high technology systems and software engineering company, Pacerlabs Ltd., is trying to expand its operations in the Maritimes. At present,

the company is involved in supporting the Canadian Patrol Frigate Program and the CP-140 AURORA aircraft program. It is also working in combat systems areas and anticipates business in support of the Sea King Replacement and CF-18 HORNET aircraft programs (MS: January 19/82, p. 5 - 1).

The United States has decided to reverse its earlier decision to postpone the purchase of Lockheed ORION (Canada's AURORA) long range patrol aircraft. According to Lockheed Corporation spokesman, this would mean the continuation of about 2,000 jobs and an estimated \$250 - million in subcontract work for Canada's aerospace industry (G&M: January 26/82, p. 9).

Canada and seven European countries are to provide funds for European Space Agency's L-Sat communication satellite program. A contract for the first satellite which is expected to be launched in 1986, has already been awarded. The Canadian aerospace industry is expected to receive some contracts since the work on the satellites is to be distributed among the eight funding countries (AWST: January 4/82 p. 23).

NATO has acquired a flight simulator, designed and produced by the CAE Electronics Ltd. of Montreal, for the training of crews of the E-3A SENTRY Airborne Early Warning System (AEWS) aircraft (Canadian Defence Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 61).

The Van Dusen Development Corporation of Ottawa has produced a prototype of a novel airship designed on the "Magnus Effect" principle (in the simplest terms, the spin provides the lift). The company officials say that it can carry a payload of up to 45 tons at a speed of 90 km./hr., which compares quite favourably with other means of transportation under similar conditions. Observers note that the airship could be of great use to the military to transport heavy loads and personnel in difficult terrain such as Canadian North (CDQ: Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 61).

Canada and France are involved in competition for a contract to provide the first satellite to Brazil for its domestic communication system. The contract is expected to be worth \$170 - \$180 million. The Brazilian decision was expected to be announced during the month of February (G&M: February 2/82, p. 132).

Telesat Canada has been awarded a \$100,000 contract by Aussat Proprietary Ltd. of Australia to provide consulting services. Officials say that the services will be used to help Australia launch its first three satellites scheduled in mid-1985. They also expressed the hope that this contract would serve as a first step to gain further deals--expected to be worth several million dollars--in the same area. Spar Aerospace Ltd. of Toronto is a subcontractor to the Hughes Aircraft Co. of Los Angeles, the prime contractor for the three satellites (G&M: January 29/82, p. B3).

Officials of Canadair Ltd. of Montreal say that the company is expected to maintain its current level of employment of 7,000 "well into the

future". This optimistic assessment is based on confirmed and potential orders worth \$2 - billion. This includes orders and options for 198 CHALLENGER aircraft, scheduled delivery of which begins in mid-1983. The company is also producing major components for the Lockheed CP-140 AURORA and is gearing up for fuselage nose barrel assemblies for McDonnell Douglas F-18 fighters (G&M: February 6/82, p. B4).

The planned lay-off of about 4,000 employees at the Boeing Co. of Seattle is not expected to have an immediate adverse effect on the work force at the Canadian subsidiary in Winnipeg. The 1982-1983 forecast by the company, however, predicted a disappointing year for its Canadian operations and the work levels are expected to be well below plant capacity (MS: February 12/82, p. 5F).

Canadian Marconi Co. of Montreal has been awarded a \$6.5 - million federal grant under the Defence Industry Productivity Program (DIPP) to develop instrumentation and digital avionics for a civil and military aircraft and to modernize a production plant for printed circuit boards and panels. This instrument is expected to bring in orders worth many millions, according to the Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion who made the announcement of the grant (G&M: February 11/82, p. B2).

De Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd. has sold a 10th DASH-7 to Air Wisconsin, a U.S. commuter airline. The \$4.8 - million (U.S.) deal was financed by the Export Development Corporation and also includes spares and support equipment (CA: Vol. 55, No. 2, p. 8).

The Canadian Shipbuilding and Ship Repairing Association (CSSRA) has asked the federal government to step in to protect the shipping industry from increasing imports. The CSSRA says that the present regulations provide unfair advantage to foreign-built vessels, because vessels under 100 feet in length are admitted into Canada duty free. The same is true in case of offshore supply vessels and of ships built in the United Kingdom. The major cause of increasing imports, according to the CSSRA, is the high interest rates in Canada which makes foreign imports much more attractive than Canadian vessels (MS: February 9/82, p. 30).

#### RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The Canadian-built Remote Manipulator System (Canadarm) will undergo crucial tests during the third flight of the space shuttle in March. The Canadarm will be used to lift a payload out of the cargo bay of the shuttle. During the second flight of the space shuttle in November 1981, the Canadarm had developed a malfunction (G&M: January 18/82, p. 11).

On February 10, Allan B. McKinnon, P.C. defence critic in the House of Commons, presented a petition, signed by 4,518 Canadians, opposing the radiation experiments on dogs being planned by DND (HCD: February 10/82, p. 14862-14863).

## NUCLEAR SALES AND AGREEMENTS

Mexico: Canada is one of the five countries which have submitted bids for Mexico's ambitious nuclear power production program. It will be several months before any winner is announced by Mexico. Although Canadian Candu technology is attractive and allows greater flexibility for Mexico to become self-reliant, it is generally believed by observers that the crucial deciding factor could prove to be the concessional financing terms offered by the bidding countries. Even Prime Minister Trudeau, who visited Mexico recently, said that Canada faces a stiff challenge from France on this vital issue. The nuclear industry in Canada is basing its hopes on the close relations between the two countries as well as between Prime Minister Trudeau and President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico. Both leaders, it was pointed out, share common views on many issues, particularly North-South problems. They had jointly chaired the 22-nation conference on North-South issues held in October 1981 at Cancun, Mexico. Prime Minister Trudeau has also visited Mexico three times during the past year.

Industry and government officials have also been visiting Mexico to explore possible joint ventures. In addition, Atomic Energy of Canada, Limited (AECL) has announced that the new 950-megawatt Candu design would be offered to Mexico, along with the alternative of the basic 600-mw. Candu unit. It was also reported that the federal cabinet has prepared a plan to lend Mexico the money at a preferred rate of interest to match the expected French offer. The money would, of course, be spent in Canada to buy goods and services providing the hoped for boost to the nuclear industry (G&M: January 16/82, p. 11; January 25/82, pp. 1,2; February 2/82, p. B9; FP: January 23/82, p. 4).

Jamaica: AECL has decided to make available a Slowpoke 2 nuclear reactor to the University of West Indies in Jamaica at a cost of \$625,000. Although such reactors are in use at several Canadian universities, it is the first such sale outside Canada (New York Times: January 18/82, p. 11).

Egypt: Canada and Egypt have signed an agreement for peaceful nuclear energy cooperation. This is expected to pave the way for sale of nuclear power reactors to Egypt in the near future. This decision is in sharp contrast to Canada's earlier policy of refusing to enter into nuclear agreements with middle Eastern countries due to political tensions in the region. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and the acceptance of the NPT by the former has led to the change in Canadian policy, according to some observers (G&M: February 11/82, p. 23).

Kuwait: On a recent visit to Kuwait and some other Arab countries, Energy Minister Marc Lalonde explored the possibilities of nuclear sales to these countries. The minister was quoted as saying the Canada was ready to supply Kuwait with four reactors to be used for peaceful purposes. An early decision by Kuwait in this regard was expected. It was also reported that Saudi Arabia had also shown interest in developing peaceful nuclear technology (G&M: January 26/82, p. 10; FP: January 30/82 p. 6).

The Economic Development Committee of the federal cabinet has decided that the government should continue its efforts to preserve a nuclear industry in Canada. The decision of the committee is based on a secret cabinet memorandum, which has since been obtained by The Globe and Mail. Among the steps recommended are building nuclear reactors in Canada to export electric power to the United States, and increased efforts to market Candu reactors abroad. These actions were taken in spite of environmental, technical, and potential regulatory risks (G&M: February 2/82, pp. B1, B9).

Nuclear sales opposed: The Chairman of the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility has criticized the possibility of nuclear reactor sales to Egypt calling it a "terribly irresponsible" act on the part of Canadian government. He said political uncertainties in the Middle East do not warrant such sales. He urged the government to stop sale of all nuclear reactors within, as well as outside, Canada (G&M: January 19/82, p. 9).

The Atomic Energy Control Board (AECB) admits that the nuclear industry has lost credibility mainly because of the highly "secretive manner" in which the industry has operated in the past. An AECB official referred to the current controversy surrounding the proposed mining of uranium in Nova Scotia as an example. He said the mining company did not make the public aware enough about this and other aspects of the industry, and this failure had resulted in general misconceptions and fears. He hoped that the commission appointed by the Nova Scotia government would be helpful in projecting the correct image of the industry (MS: February 9/82, p. 22).

A C.B.C. radio program ("Sunday Morning") survey of 73 Canadians who were exposed to atomic radiation during the 1950s has shown that the cancer rate among them was six times the average. The report says that some of the victims were among some 2500 military personnel who took part in nuclear weapons tests in Nevada. Others were involved in the 1958 clean-up of an accident at the Chalk River nuclear complex, and still others worked at a Civil Defence training school in Arnprior, Ontario (MS: February 8/82, p. 5).

#### CANADIAN DEFENCE PROCUREMENT

The Department of National Defence has purchased two Canadair CL 600 CHALLENGER aircraft for use by 412 VIP Squadron based at CFB Ottawa. The cost of the aircraft and spares package is said to be \$27 million (Canadian Aviation: Vol. 55, No. 2, p. 8).

The United States is considering to reprice the nonrecurring recoupment costs for the McDonnell Douglas F-18 fighter for its future buyers. This has been revealed in a letter written by the U.S. Navy Secretary to the U.S. Defense Department. The new price is said to be \$1.5 million per unit. Canada, Australia, and the U.S. Navy were charged \$877,690 for these costs. It was also reported that negotiations with Spain were proceeding with respect to a possible sale of F-18s (AWST: January 18/82, p. 15).

The proposed U.S. defense budget allows an increase in the numbers of F-18s for the U.S. Navy from 66 aircraft at present to 84 during 1983, and to 96 during 1984 (AWST, January 11/82, p. 19).

It has been reported that the Sundstrand turbine-driven fuel boost pump will replace a Parker jet pump now used in the F-18 HORNET fighter, to correct an afterburner cutout problem discovered during flight tests (AWST: January 11/82, p. 69).

The Canadian Forces have ordered a second batch of BLOWPIPE surface-to-air, man-portable guided missiles from the manufacturer, Short Bros., Belfast (Canadian Defence Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 61).

#### FURTHER REFERENCES

Erik Solem, "Energy And Changing Strategic Aspects of Canada's Arctic Regions," Canadian Defence Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 18, 20-22, 24-25.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Questioning the F-18...", Aviation Week & Space Technology, January 18, 1982, pp. 10-11.

Jeffrey Record, "Ground the F-18 Program," New York Times, November 2, November 9, 1981, p. 21.

Editorial, "The Value of Candu," The Globe And Mail, January 26, 1982, p. 7.

#### QUOTE OF THE MONTH

During Prime Minister's News Conference of 3 December 1981, a Soviet reporter for "Tass News" asked Mr. Trudeau to comment on a report that the U.S. Ambassador to Canada, having spent four days aboard Canadian ships participating in training exercises in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, stated that he personally thought that this was a part of the world where the next war would be fought. Prime Minister's succinct comment was: "Gee".

APPENDIX II

Nuclear War and the Future

Workshop Schedule, 1982

1. 23 January: The Strategic Balance: Who's Ahead?

Session 1 - U.S. Perceptions of the Strategic Balance

- Dr. Patricia Waring, Department of History, Acadia University
- Dr. Harvey Silverstein, Oceans and Technology Consultant

Session 2 - Soviet Perceptions of the Strategic Balance

- David Jones, Editor, Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual

Session 3 - The European Theater Balance

- Col. Frank Hofflin, former Canadian Military Attache in Bonn
- Marion Kerans, Project Ploughshares, Nova Scotia

2. 30 January: Can Nuclear War Be Limited?

Session 1 - Development of Limited Nuclear War Theories

- Dr. Dan Middlemiss, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie

Session 2 - Can World War III Be Limited?

- Dr. David Charters, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick
- Mr. C.G. Gifford, School of Social Work, Dalhousie

Session 3 - The European Debate and Third World Dangers

- Marion Kerans, Project Ploughshares, Nova Scotia
- Ron Purver, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie

For workshops 3-6, see <sup>attached</sup> ~~enclosed~~ posters.

Note: For Session 2 of the 5th workshop, on 6 March, Ernie Regehr was replaced by Anne Gertler of Montreal, a member of the National Board of Project Ploughshares and the Voice of Women.

# NUCLEAR WAR and the FUTURE



## A Series of Workshops

NOTE: All workshops comprise three sessions:  
9:30 - 10:45 a.m.; 11:00 - 12:15 p.m.; 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. Bibliographies, suggestions for readings, and other aids are available on request.

### 13 FEBRUARY: DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM?

MacMechan Auditorium • Killam Library • Dalhousie University

#### SESSION 1 9:30 - 10:45 am

ACTIVE AEROSPACE DEFENSE: ABM, ASW, etc.  
Dr. Harvey Silverstein, Oceans and Technology Consultant  
David Jones, Editor, *Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual*  
Terry Dyer, Department of Physics, Dalhousie University.

#### SESSION 2 11:00 - 12:15 pm

PASSIVE DEFENSE: CIVIL DEFENSE AND DAMAGE - LIMITING  
Dr. Joe Clarke, Department of Paediatrics, Dalhousie University  
Major Gary DeVellano, Canadian Forces

#### SESSION 3 1:30 - 3:00 pm

LONG TERM IMPLICATIONS  
Dr. Robert O. Jones, Department of Psychiatry, Dalhousie University  
Dr. James G. Ogden, Department of Biology, Dalhousie University

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Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick • Centre for Foreign Policy Studies



# NUCLEAR WAR and the FUTURE



A Series of  
Workshops

NOTE: All workshops comprise three sessions:  
9:30 - 10:45 a.m.; 11:00 - 12:15 p.m.; 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. Bibliographies, suggestions for readings, and other aids are available on request.

## 20 FEBRUARY: MUST THE BOMB SPREAD?

MacMechan Auditorium • Killam Library  
Dalhousie University

### SESSION 1 9:30 - 10:45 am

#### PROLIFERATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND INCENTIVES TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Susan Holz, Ecology Action Centre, Dalhousie University  
Dr. Gerhard Stroink, Department of Physics, Dalhousie University  
Celestine Basse, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University

### SESSION 2 11:00 - 12:15 pm

#### NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS: POLITICAL

Ron Purver, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University  
Baljinder Dhillon, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University

### SESSION 3 1:30 - 3:00 pm

#### NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS: TECHNICAL

Russell Trood, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University  
Gillian Thomas, Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility  
Sue Whitney, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University

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# NUCLEAR WAR and the FUTURE



A Series of  
Workshops

NOTE: All workshops comprise three sessions:  
9:30 - 10:45 a.m.; 11:00 - 12:15 p.m.; 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. Bibliographies, suggestions for readings, and other aids are available on request.

## 6 March: **Is Arms Control a Hoax?**

Life Sciences Building • Room 2805 •  
Dalhousie University

### SESSION 1

9:30 - 10:45 am

#### **THE ARMS CONTROL RECORD.**

Professor Michael Tucker, Department of Political Science,  
Mount Allison University.

Ronald Purver, Research Associate, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies  
Dalhousie University

### SESSION 2

11:00 - 12:15 pm

#### **THE ARMS CONTROL AGENDA.**

Mr. Doug Hamlin, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Division,  
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

Mr. Ernie Regehr, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad  
Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario; and Research Director, Project  
Ploughshares.

### SESSION 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

#### **HAS ARMS CONTROL A FUTURE?**

Mr. Robert Sherman, Legislative Director for Congressman Thomas J.  
Downey (D-NY), United States House of Representatives.

Panel discussion.

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Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick • Centre for Foreign Policy Studies

# NUCLEAR WAR and the FUTURE



## A Series of Workshops

NOTE: All workshops comprise three sessions:  
9:30 - 10:45 a.m.; 11:00 - 12:15 p.m.; 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. Bibliographies, suggestions for readings, and other aids are available on request.

**13 March**

### **Alternative Strategies, Disarmament, The Peace Movement, and Canada**

Canadian Book Information Centre • Killam Library  
Dalhousie University

**SESSION 1**  
9:30 - 10:45 am

#### **THE STATE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT**

Dorothy Rosenberg, National Film Board, Montreal  
Maurice Tugwell, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick

**SESSION 2**  
11:00 - 12:15 pm

#### **CANADA'S AMBIVALENT ROLE**

Pauline Jewett, NDP Foreign Affairs Spokesman  
Denis Stairs, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University  
George Cooper, former PC Member of Parliament for Halifax  
Senator Henry Hicks

**SESSION 3**  
1:30 - 3:00 pm

#### **ALTERNATIVES FOR THE FUTURE**

Gene Keyes, Peace Studies Consultant  
David Charters, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick  
Panel Discussion (including speakers from earlier sessions)

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Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick • Centre for Foreign Policy Studies

**OFFICE SERVICES**

**GRANT APPLICATION  
FOR A JOINT INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR**

13

## DESCRIPTION OF SEMINAR

Short title of seminar: "The Indian Ocean Region: Strategic Arena of the Eighties"

Please provide supporting information under the following headings, as appropriate, in sufficient detail to permit an informed judgement by qualified assessors:

1. Background activities and interests leading to the seminar
2. Scope and objectives, nature of collaborative work envisaged, theoretical significance and practical importance of such work
3. Relationship to current research and to other scholarly exchanges
4. Schedule of meeting and, if possible, abstracts and titles of major papers
5. Curriculum vitae of each participant and a description of the role of each in the seminar

Please use space below and/or attach sheets as necessary.

1. Background activities and interests leading to the seminar:

The Indian Ocean defines an area which has become increasingly recognized as an important and distinctive geostrategic arena in international politics. During the past decade a range of factors contributed to renewed and expanded attention to Indian Ocean affairs by policy makers and analysts alike: withdrawal of the British from "east of Suez"; numerous indigenous conflicts within and between littoral states having global implications; increasing superpower presence and competition in the region; the proliferation of military equipment in the area; and, perhaps of foremost importance, the momentous changes in the world energy situation. The Indian Ocean area promises to be an even more critical arena in the decade of the eighties as portended by the revolution in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iraq-Iran war, and continuing instability in the Horn of Africa and southern Africa.

Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies has long been concerned with academic inquiry into strategic issues of global dimensions. Recognizing the growing salience of the Indian Ocean region to the Western world in terms of Persian Gulf oil, alliance politics, and superpower rivalry, the Centre has for several years devoted a portion of its resources and attention to Indian Ocean affairs. In the mid-seventies it hosted a series of conferences on Soviet naval developments, including Soviet interests and operations in the Indian Ocean; the Centre sponsored in April 1978 a workshop on "Conflict and Change in the Horn of Africa"; and in 1980-81 Centre personnel organized and presented a panel on "Indigenous Military Capabilities in the Arc of Crisis" for the annual convention of the International Studies Association.

Keeping abreast of politico-strategic trends and prospects in the third largest of the world's great oceans is a natural extension of Dalhousie's general emphasis on maritime studies. The University has 17 departments/institutes in which marine-related research is undertaken. Moreover, the Halifax area contains the largest naval establishment in Canada, including the Maritime Command Headquarters and the Maritime Warfare School with which the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies maintains a continuing liaison.

(continued on attached sheet)

2. Scope and objectives: nature of collaborative work envisaged; theoretical significance and practical importance of such work:

The proposal is to organize and host a joint international seminar in collaboration with the Western Australian Institute of Technology's Strategic and Defence Studies Unit. The seminar will be scheduled in October 1982 (tentatively 7-10 October) in Halifax. It is anticipated that two to three dozen leading scholars and high-ranking officials from Australia and the Indian Ocean region, North America, and Europe will attend. Approximately 24 academic papers will be commissioned for the seminar, from which a suitable number will be selected to include in a published volume of seminar proceedings. While concentrating upon politico-defence-strategic issues in the Indian Ocean area, the participants will be urged to be forward-looking -- to identify trends and to speculate on sources of future tension and conflict in the region, particularly to the end of this decade.

By casting light on newly-salient issues, grappling with trends and prospects in the area, and reporting findings to a larger audience of policy makers and academics through a published volume, the proposed seminar will be a timely initiative on matters of vital and increasing concern. The seminar is also intended to further develop Canadian expertise on strategic issues generally and on Indian Ocean issues in particular and to promote ongoing scholarly exchanges between the Canadian and Australian academic communities.

3. Relationship to current research and to other scholarly exchanges:

The proposed seminar is a natural concomitant to a book-length study by Centre affiliates of Regional Navies of the Indian Ocean (including the Australian navy) currently in progress under publisher's contract. It is anticipated that research findings of the Regional Navies project will be communicated to seminar participants and critically evaluated by them.

4. Tentative schedule of meeting and working titles of major papers:

- I. Friday Morning (8 October) (2 hours): AREA-WIDE ISSUES
- i) "The Impact of Ideologies in the Indian Ocean Region"  
(Dieter Braun)
  - ii) "Militarization of the Indian Ocean Region"  
(Danford Middlemiss)
  - iii) "Navies and Navalism in the Indian Ocean: Trends and Prospects"  
(Ken Booth)
  - iv) "Indian Ocean Arms Control: Issues and Prospects"  
(R. B. Byers)
- II. Friday Afternoon (8 October) (1.75 hours): AUSTRALIA AND THE EASTERN APPROACHES
- i) "Australian Alliance Relationships and the Indian Ocean"  
(Robert O'Neill)
  - ii) "ASEAN Perspectives on the Indian Ocean"  
(Sheldon Simon)
  - iii) "Australian Interests in the Indian Ocean"  
(Gottfrey Williams)
- III. Friday Afternoon (8 October) (1.75 hours): SOUTH ASIA
- i) "Implications of the Soviet Advance into Afghanistan"  
(Ashok Kapur)
  - ii) "Indian Interests and Policies in the Indian Ocean Region"  
(Raju Thomas)
  - iii) "Pakistani Interests and Policies in the Indian Ocean Region"  
(Mohammed Ayoob)

- IV. Saturday Morning (9 October) (2 hours): THE PERSIAN GULF
- i) "Implications of the Iranian Revolution for Security in the Persian Gulf"  
(R.M. Burrell)
  - ii) "Implications of the Iraq-Iran War for Gulf Security Relations"  
(Tareq Ismael)
  - iii) "Internal Developments in Iran and Their Implications for Gulf Security"  
(Marvin Zonis)
  - iv) "Saudi Arabia's Role in Persian Gulf Security"  
(Rouhollah Ramazani)
- V. Saturday Morning (9 October) (1.75 hours): THE HORN OF AFRICA/RED SEA
- i) "Implications of the Somali-Ethiopian Conflict for Stability in the Indian Ocean Region"  
(Hussein Adam)
  - ii) "Conflict Between the Yemens: Implications for Indian Ocean Security"  
(Robert Stookey)
  - iii) "Instability in the Red Sea Area: Regional Dynamics"  
(Mordechai Abir)
- VI. Saturday Afternoon (9 October) (1.75 hours): SOUTHERN AFRICA
- i) "The Frontline States and the Future of Southern Africa"  
(Douglas Anglin)
  - ii) "South African Perspectives on the Indian Ocean"  
(Kenneth Grundy)
  - iii) "Regional Dynamics in Southern Africa: Trends and Prospects"  
(Robert Jaster)

VII. Saturday Afternoon (9 October)(2 hours): THE INTERESTS OF EXTERNAL POWERS

- i) "The Military and Legal Implications of Diego Garcia as America's Pivotal Base in the Indian Ocean"  
(Joel Larus)
- ii) "The Southern Oceans: American Military and Strategic Perspectives"  
(Larry Bowman)
- iii) "Soviet Interests in the Persian Gulf"  
(Oles Smolansky)
- iv) "French Interests and Presence in the Indian Ocean"  
(Ferenc Vali)

VIII. Sunday Morning (10 October)(2 hours): OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

Panel: (Ian Clark), (Alvin Cottrell), and (Michael McGwire)