

Canada's Future In the New World Order

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CANADA'S FUTURE IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

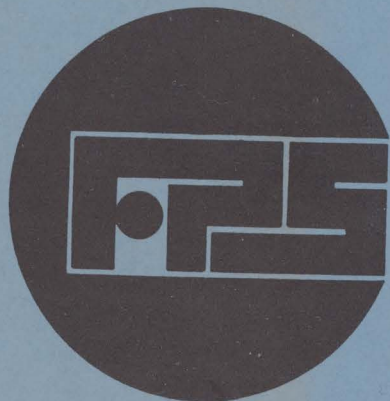
OBJECTIVES

BACKGROUND

 A PROPOSAL

 (1) Origins of the Problem - The Transformation
 of the International Environment

 (2) Origins of the Problem - The Transformation
 of the Domestic Environment



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studies

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CFPS PROGRAMME

Canada's Future in the New World Order

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Director, CFPS
April, 1976

Administrative
Submitted to the
United Nations
by the
Centre for Foreign
Department of
Palmerston

Dr. Albert S. Wilson
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April, 1958

CFPS PROGRAMME

I - OBJECTIVES

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I - OBJECTIVES

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies is currently developing a programme to study Canada's future in the new world order. The programme will form the teaching and research of the Centre over the next several years. The purpose of the programme will be to examine the transformations that are currently occurring in international and domestic politics, and to assess the effects of these changes on Canadian foreign policy. The programme will include, among others, the full-time faculty members associated with the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University.

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

If brought to fruition, the proposed programme will run for three years, commencing July 1, 1976, and will involve, in addition to the principal re-

searchers, several research associates and assistants who will be assigned to work in specific problem areas. Taken as a whole, the programme will incorporate a series of interrelated research tasks and other activities focussing primarily on Canada's relationship to the changing world order (see Appendix A). It will emphasize practical problems of foreign policy-making, and its output will take the following forms: written research papers and monographs; an expansion and enrichment of the graduate programme of the Centre; and a series of three workshops designed to acquaint junior governmental officers with various perspectives in the making and substance of foreign policy.

We would expect the programme ultimately to generate a body of research findings that will be valuable to academics and practitioners alike. Additionally, through the involvement of graduate students and research associates, the programme will develop a cadre of young scholars who are oriented to the analysis of practical political problems. Another accomplishment of the programme would be the interaction between researchers and policy-makers in the aforementioned workshops. Workshops are planned as three-day instructional sessions for officers in different agencies of the federal and provincial governments, and would be held at the end of each year during the grant period. Taken together, these activities would amount to a sustained effort on the part of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies to explore the changing environment of Canadian foreign policy.

II - BACKGROUND(i) Origins of the Problem - The Transformation of the International Environment

The tasks confronting foreign policy analysts today are more nettlesome than at any time in history. The rate of change in the contemporary international system has accelerated at so fast a pace that many of the bench-marks which have guided policy in the past have become obsolete. Governments are increasingly faced with new demands from their constituents, and are projecting these demands into the international arena. There is every reason to expect that the future preoccupations of societies and governments, certainly in the industrial world, will bear little relationship to the preoccupations of the past two decades. What makes this period of change so difficult to comprehend, moreover, is that it has not been produced by a single great event, such as a war, a revolution, or the development of a particular new technology. It has come instead from an accretion of many different kinds of phenomena--both domestic and international--which together have had the effect of multiplying the number and variety of items on the agenda of international politics and of increasing the range and intensity of pressures placed on the foreign policy decision-makers of national governments, Canada's included.

From the standpoint in particular of international politics, we have emerged from a post-war system in which a fundamental ideological conflict created, paradoxically, an underlying stability in international relationships. The existence of this conflict influenced the international transactions of almost every nation and impeded the establishment of a truly multilateral system of interaction. In this context, Canadian governments could pursue traditional diplomatic relationships to the exclusion of others, and could rely in return on the comfortably

supportive responses of major allies. Today, however, the situation is changing. Conflict in the international system is less rigidly polarized, but is at the same time more pervasive. Diplomacy for all countries is more diverse, and in many respects more difficult. The certainties created by the bipolar conflict system are giving way to diplomatic relationships that are judged on the complexities of their individual merits and not on the simplicities of ideology, or even on the perceived requirements of military security. Canada, like many other countries, thus faces a future in which initiative and insight will be needed both to reassess existing alliances and to establish new relationships.

Other political changes have come from the emergence of the countries of the so-called "Third World". Partly because of the sheer weight of their numbers, and partly because of the nature of their demands, these new nations have profoundly altered the character of the international system. The concerns of the Third World have taken a prominent position on the agendas of almost all the global international organizations of which Canada is a member, and they have been major issues in the work of regional organizations as well. Multilateral conferences are convened with increasing frequency, often to discuss subjects raised by Third World nations.

The articulation of "Third World" demands creates, of course, major imponderables for Canadian policy-makers. The issue of the "New World Economic Order," stemming from the recent Special Session of the UN General Assembly, has compelled the government, for example, to think much more broadly about the future development and security of the world as a whole. As this process continues, it is probable that Canadians will discover that they share some vital interests (arising, for example, from the export of natural resources) with nations which were previously of little concern to Canadian foreign policy. Diplomatic realignments based on such assessments would themselves create pres-

asures for further policy changes.

The development of the international economy is, of course, a related source of change in the international system. Since 1945, statesmen have sought to construct mechanisms that would control the excesses of international economic instabilities. To this end multilateral agreements, and even some formal institutions, were created to regulate commerce and the international movements of "foreign exchange". These efforts have largely succeeded, but it is symptomatic of the age that the more successfully nations manage changes of one variety, the more surely they create pressures for additional changes elsewhere. Hence, the effort to control international economic life has given rise to such new institutions as the EEC, and Canada has been faced in consequence with the challenge of establishing relations with new political and economic units. Post-war trading and monetary agreements have successfully created a more integrated and largely buoyant international economy, but this has had the side-effect of reducing the capacity of national governments to employ traditional Keynesian policies for regulating the vicissitudes of their respective national economies. International agreements thus create interlocking structures, and these in turn produce new uncertainties--a problem which is particularly acute for Canada in the context of relations with the United States.

Of further concern are the economic scarcities now being faced in the international system. These in themselves create difficulties which have serious foreign policy implications, and the problems involved are often aggravated by political tension. The most obvious example is provided by the case of energy, an issue which will be on the agenda of the Canadian government for the foreseeable future, and which will be profoundly affected by changing political conditions at home and abroad. Similar problems are evident in the case of the international distribution of food, and there can be little doubt that Canada's role as an

agricultural exporting nation will be vitally affected by international discussions of this question over the coming decade.

Still another source of change in the international environment is technology. Technology creates new products and processes, as well as new organizations and forms of action. It thus produces transformations over which it is difficult for governments to maintain political control. In an effort to comprehend the implications of such changes, moreover, political authorities have turned increasingly to technical experts for advice, and in the process they have subjected themselves even further to the influence of forces which encourage technological development. Because technology is ultimately related to economic growth, this is not a phenomenon that governments in the near future will be seriously tempted to inhibit, and the pace of technological change can therefore be expected to continue at an accelerating rate. In addition, of course, most technologies--and especially the technologies of communication--generate increases in human interactions, and this in turn gives further impetus to demands for technological progress, and for a more equal international distribution of technology "pay-offs." Thoughtful observers of these trends have commented that we are on the verge of a runaway system, and some have argued that the most promising avenue for maintaining human direction and control over social policies generally lies in a continued effort to understand the implications of technological development for the management of the process by which policies are made as well as for the substance of the policies themselves.

(ii) Origins of the Problem - The Transformation of the Domestic Environment

The factors underlying these various changes at the international level have also served to transform the character of the domestic environment within

which the foreign policy community must operate. This is essentially because they have had the effect of broadening the range of problems that are included on the foreign policy agenda--a development which has increased very substantially the agenda's relevance for the day-to-day lives of individual citizens. The traditional affairs of state--bearing on security policy, on the resolution of international conflict, on peacekeeping, alliance construction, and the like--have always had a fascination for historians, journalists, political scientists, and other specialist members of the so-called "attentive public." But from the vantage point of the general population, these have been distant, even mysterious, issues, far removed (except in times of crisis) from the concerns of normal life, and well enough left in the hands of the government officials whose job it is to manage them. But the control of fisheries, the movement of ships, the transportation of oil, the cleaning of waters, the securing of aircraft, the sharing of satellites, the marketing of natural resources--all these and dozens of other issues like them daily affect the welfare of specific individuals and organizations in tangible, immediate, and highly visible ways. Not surprisingly, individuals and organizations have a habit in such cases of pressing their interests. It was possible in the 1950's for the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to negotiate in the councils of NATO without much thought for the attitudes of the majority of his domestic constituents. It is not, however, possible for him in the 1970's to deliberate at international conferences on the Law of the Sea without paying attention to the demands of Canadian fishermen, or to comment on the problems of the world's supply of food without reference to the wants--or, for that matter, the capabilities--of Canadian wheat-growers. For even fishermen and wheat-growers can mobilize powerful allies--provincial governments, for example--and they will be joined (and opposed) by others--environmentalists, conservationists, humanitarian interest groups, and the like.

These need not always be satisfied, but they cannot be ignored. Such, indeed, is their importance that their representatives are now often included--as in Stockholm and Rome--among the members of official Canadian delegations to international conferences. Even where they are not thus so explicitly recruited into diplomatic practice, they are often very much in evidence in their capacity as "pressure groups," seeking even during the actual course of diplomatic debate to exercise their influence through the more conventional mechanisms of the political process.

These same developments have had the effect also of encouraging a wide variety of domestically-oriented government departments to intervene directly for the first time in the conduct of external affairs--a process which has not been entirely welcomed by the professional foreign service. The phenomenon is not peculiar to Canada, and it has produced major government inquiries in Britain, West Germany, France, the United States, and elsewhere into the role of the diplomat in the modern world. But Canadian evidence is easy to find. In 1969, for example, a count of overseas postings of Canadian civil servants of "officer" rank showed that they represented not only the four traditional foreign service departments (External Affairs, National Defence, Manpower and Immigration, and Industry, Trade and Commerce), but also some 15 other federal departments and agencies. Again, among the various official Canadian delegates and advisers attending the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 were the representatives of some 12 federal agencies, all ten provinces, and five non-governmental organizations. Of the total contingent of 46, only seven were drawn from the Department of External Affairs. Still again, when External Affairs undertook in 1968-69 to review Canada's relations with Europe, its Special Task Force on the subject was composed of personnel drawn from a total of 17 federal departments. And yet again, in 1968 nearly 13,000 Canadian officials of

"officer" rank or higher visited the United States on government business. The bulk of these were from the Department of National Defence, but among the remaining 4,600 were representatives of 22 departments and 10 other federal agencies. After the Department of National Defence, the busiest traveller among the 32 organizations involved was the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources (793 visits). The Department of External Affairs, with only 82 visits, ranked in 14th place. Doubtless the missions of most of these officials were routine, but the distribution is nonetheless an indisputable indicator of the range of Canadian government involvements abroad.

By any measure, therefore, it is clear that one of the most obvious effects of the new agenda of international politics has been to complicate enormously the processes by which Canadian 'foreign policy' decisions are both made and implemented.

It should be clear as well that these various transformations have created very serious problems of government and administration. In particular, the political leadership is now confronted with grave obstacles in the way of ensuring reasonable measures of coordination and control at the highest levels. With so many substantively inter-related, but administratively isolated, activities going on at once, it is next to impossible for the Cabinet as a whole, much less any individual minister, to be fully informed of the policy developments for which ministers are held constitutionally responsible. This in turn has implications for the practices of parliamentary government, as well as for the effective management of external relations. The problem, moreover, is complicated further by virtue of the fact that many of the items on the current agenda have a very high technology ingredient, so that ministers more than ever before are confronting the difficulty of maintaining the dominance of the 'amateur' political leader over the 'expert' bureaucrat and technician. It is, of course, a reflec-

tion of the technological content of many of the new foreign policy issues that a number of the departments which have been brought for the first time into the conduct of external relations (the Department of Environment Canada, for example) are relatively new--products of a post-industrial age.

In the light of these and related conditions, it is hardly surprising that the Trudeau government, more than any of its predecessors, should have become so preoccupied with problems of government organization and management in the foreign policy (as well as the domestic policy) field. Its dilemma, however, goes far beyond the remedial capabilities of PPBS, country-programming and the like. The entire process, together with the political and other factors from which it springs, is thus in need of intensive examination.

(iii) The Need for Action

The transformations discussed above, and others like them, have given rise in many countries to efforts to analyse and understand the nature and processes of 'change' in general. Concern about the future of the world order is a common theme in the work of many forward-looking research institutions around the world. The Institute for Social Research in Moscow, for example, has recorded its interest in global forecasting for the purpose of developing models of world trade, international exploration of the oceans, and a global anti-pollution programme. Similarly, the International Institute for Peace in Vienna has announced that it intends to inquire into the over-arching problems of the development of modern civilization, with particular reference to the revolution in science and technology, to the problem of supplies of energy and raw material resources, and the question of relations with developing nations. A major project under the title, World Order Models Programme (WOMPS) is underway in the United States with a view to bringing out a series of publications designed to project

alternative visions of a better future world. These projects, and others like them, have been catalogued in a recent monograph (World Order Studies: Princeton University, 1974) by Professor James P. Sewell of Brock University. Significantly, Sewell's study makes no reference to any Canadian endeavours in this field.

Similar tasks have occasionally been undertaken, of course, by investigators more closely connected with national governments. Government departments and affiliated research institutions in many parts of the world are gradually turning their attention to "future world order" problems. To some extent this preoccupation is reflected in the current interest of the Policy Analysis Group of the Department of External Affairs in techniques of projection and forecasting. In the United States, a similar concern in the Ford and Brookings institutions has led to the recent publication of a volume of essays on the future structure of the international economy (Fred Bergsten, ed., The Future of the International Economic Order: An Agenda for Research. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1973). This book focussed on more immediate and tangible problems than is characteristic of other world order studies, but here again the conclusion seems to be the same. The world we are entering, and the problems we will confront, call for major investments in research by academics and practitioners alike.

There is, then, a clear need to establish research programmes in Canada which systematically explore the changing environment of Canadian foreign policy.* To a substantial degree, this is already the focus of much of the work of members of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. The programme described in this submission would concentrate their research even further on the problems of Canada's

* Indeed this point has been made with some force in the recently released Symons Report. T.H.B. Symons To Know Ourselves, Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1975). See especially "International Relations," Volume I, 85-88.

role in the modern world, and in our view, there are sound reasons for placing such a programme under the Centre's auspices. One of them derives from the fact that the basic thrust of much of the literature on the new world order is that the changes which it involves are creating enormous problems for the decision-making process. While these problems may be explored in part by way of the development of abstract, theoretical models, ultimately they must be addressed in terms of practical policy, and this suggests the need for a dialogue between academics and practitioners. It is our conviction that thinking about the substance and processes of Canadian external relations in the present and future is best done in an environment which keeps theory and practice in close juxtaposition. The Centre is well suited to this purpose because its members share a common research interest in the policy-making process, and a collective commitment to scholarship which bridges the theoretical analyses of academic social science with the descriptive analyses of practitioners. The geographical diversity of the substantive interests of the Centre's staff, moreover, means that, by working closely together (as they have been doing now for some years) they are able to bring a balanced perspective to bear on the study of Canada's role in the international context.

The Centre's original commitment to policy-oriented studies has been enriched throughout its development, and is reflected in the teaching, research, and consulting activities of its members. In addition, the Centre is developing a reputation as an institution where practitioners and academics can usefully exchange ideas. Recently, for example, a seminar on Canadian foreign policy was held at the Centre on the initiative of the Department of External Affairs. At the time of writing, plans were in preparation for another such conference, organized this time at the request of the United Nations Association, with a view to examining Canada's position at the forthcoming meetings of UNCTAD. It

is in this general context of close working relations with government officials, as well as with interested private associations, that so many of the activities of the programme proposed here (and especially the training workshops) have been designed to bring Centre members into direct and continuing contact with members of the policy community. The Centre has, in short, special capabilities in the foreign policy field over and above the academic credentials of its staff, and taken together these provide, in our view, a solid foundation upon which to base an examination of Canadian foreign policy in the changing international environment.

Mr. Glyn K. Berry

Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Faculty

III - ORGANIZATION AND IMPACT OF THE PROGRAMME

(i) General Description

The programme proposed in this submission flows from the problems discussed above. The focus will be on changes in the international and domestic environments, the impact of these changes on the foreign policy-making process in Canada, and their consequent implications for the policies that emerge. In conceptual terms, the programme is organized around four themes, together with a series of "academic-practitioner workshops."

Theme I The New Global Environment

Theme II The Analytical Challenge

Theme III The Decision-Making Challenge

Theme IV The Policy Challenge

The specific projects included in each theme are summarized in Appendix A and described more fully in Section IV of this proposal.

The programme will comprise an integrated set of activities encompassing research projects, reports and publications, seminars and workshops, and certain additions to the Centre's teaching curriculum. It is intended to run for three years commencing 1 July 1976, and will involve major commitments from the seven full-time faculty members of the Centre as well as important contributions from four other researchers. The Programme Director will be Professor Gilbert R. Winham, current Director of the Centre. The other members of the group will be:

Professor Peter Aucoin

Mr. Glyn R. Berry

* Professor Robert Boardman

* Professor Roger L. Dial

Professor John N. McDougall

* Professor Michael K. McGwire

* Professor Donald J. Munton

Professor S. Kwasi Nyamekye

* Professor Timothy M. Shaw

* Professor Denis Stairs

Theme I - The New Global Environment

The first theme focuses directly on the transformations that are currently taking place within the international environment, and on the challenge they create. All 22 of the projects which make up the programme as a whole will take these changes as their starting point, concentrating for the most part on their implications for the decision-making process, or for the resolution of substantive policy issues.

One of the focal points of Theme I (and in subsequent years of Themes III and IV) will be the Centre seminar, which meets bi-weekly to discuss research papers produced by members of the Centre's staff and others. It is intended in the coming year to orient the seminar to an examination of the new international environment. It will comprise a forum for the exchange of ideas, comments, and criticisms aimed at achieving a more sophisticated formulation of the character and dimensions of the transformations which are at work. In addition, the Centre will seek prominent outside scholars, particularly in this first year of the programme, to make presentations, and where appropriate to

* Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Faculty

spend substantial additional time in meetings and consultations with those who are engaged in related research projects. These short visits may be augmented by the presence in some years of a major scholar attracted to the Centre under the auspices of Dalousie's Killam Senior Fellowship Programme. In general, the purpose of securing participation by outside personnel will be to increase the familiarity of entre members with the more important theories and discoveries of scholars elsewhere, and to broaden their background in preparation both for their own researche and for the various academic-practitioner workshops.

A second aspect of Theme I will be the development of new course offerings by members of he Centre's staff, together with the enrichment of classes which are already i place. In particular, Professor Shaw will introduce a new course in 1976-77 etitled "The New World Order." It will review developments in the Third World nd the pressures brought by Third World countries in their pursuit of a new patern of international political and economic relationships. A course on "Futuroogy and Politics" has been offered in the current year for the first time by Pofessor Munton, and deals with the substance and methodology of both Canadian an global "futures" studies--a focus which relates it very closely to the thрут of the present proposal. In their joint seminar on Canadian Foreign Poicy, Professors Munton and Stairs will be devoting special attention to the prsent and future implications of, and alternatives to, Canada's relationship with te United States. A course on the "Politics of the Sea" has been offered for thee years now by Professors MccGwire and Boardman, and during the past yea they have also initiated a course on the United Nations, giving special emphsis to its changing role. Other additions and changes in course content willbe introduced as the programme gets underway, and will naturally reflect te progress of research. The simulations which will be developed for the academc-practitioner workshops will also be used as paedagogical

tools, and of course the Centre's research seminar will continue, as it does now, to augment the graduate programme of the Centre and the Department of Political Science.

Theme II - The Analytical Challenge

Earlier in this submission it was observed that the fundamental transformations which have taken place in the character and patterns of international politics at large have profoundly affected not only the substance of Canadian foreign policy issues, but also the political and bureaucratic environments within which the government's decisions have to be made. This in turn has enormously complicated the conceptual and methodological problems involved in foreign policy analysis, and to some extent it has challenged the utility of traditional approaches to the subject. While this has produced a substantial measure of analytical experimentation in the general academic literature, thus far little attempt has been made to consider the problem in the Canadian context. While the principal focus of the proposed programme as a whole is on issues related to the policy-making process, and to the substance of policy itself, it is clear that at least some attention ought to be paid to these conceptual and methodological problems.

Theme II is related to precisely this question, and consists of a small project which is designed to produce an anthology of alternative approaches to the analysis of Canadian foreign policy. The anthology will include contributions by scholars from other Canadian universities as well as from the Centre, and it will require the convening of an editorial workshop. Some of the material has already been written in draft form, and a preliminary "market survey" suggests that the anthology would be warmly welcomed by university instructors in the field.

Theme III - The Decision-Making Challenge

Theme III will contain several inter-related research projects exploring the decision-making environment of Canadian foreign policy and the impact of environmental and other changes on the policy-making process. Taken together, these projects are intended to advance several lines of inquiry that are vital to an understanding of the foreign processes of the future. For example, we need more information on the effects of technology on foreign policy, and Professor Aucoin proposes a general study of this area. We also need studies which examine the effects of the new diversity of actors which are now in the policy process. Professor Stairs and Professor Winham both explore this area, the former focussing on the effects of diversity on the internal aspects of foreign policy-making, and the latter examining the same problems in the content of the processes of external negotiation. Professor MccGwire, meanwhile, proposes a case study of the Law of the Sea negotiations which will provide ample scope for an analysis of the influence of bureaucratic factors on foreign policy-making. Finally, we need research into the new range of societal forces that are making themselves felt on foreign policy today. The group project headed by Professor Stairs, to which he and Professor Munton will contribute research on the press and public opinion respectively, is designed to meet this requirement.

Theme IV - The Policy Challenge

Theme IV examines the new issues that are being raised in today's changing environment. The activity will consist of a series of issue-oriented research projects which have been chosen to illustrate the problems Canada faces in the context of the changing conditions of world politics. The environment

is one such issue, and the programme will include a general study by Professor Nyamekye of Canadian decision-making on international environmental problems, as well as a case study by Professor Munton of environmental problems in Canadian-American diplomacy. Energy is another important area of change, and it will be addressed by Professor Boardman's broad study of international energy policy and by Professor McDougall's narrow-range study of Canadian export policies. Theories of military defence are being transformed as well, and Professor McGwire's study will explore ways to rationalize defence planning and expenditures within an environment that no longer calls for major defence outlays.

Economic problems loom today as a major international issue, and the programme includes several important projects in this area. The projects by Professors Munton and Boardman address economic relations with the United States and the EEC respectively, and represent research in the area of the Canadian government's "Third Option" policy. Professor Dial proposes an analysis of Canadian economic relations in the much less widely studied area of wheat trade with China. Finally, the problem of international development will be the focus of two projects, a narrow-gauge study by Mr. Berry on Canadian aid and trade policy, and a more general study by Professor Shaw on Canadian relations with Third World countries. Taken together, these projects are intended to further our information about Canada's increasingly important relations with Third World nations.

Workshops

The final component of the overall programme is the academic/practitioner workshop. The purpose of the workshops will be to provide background information and training in foreign policy analysis for junior officials involved in the making and conduct of Canadian foreign policy. The workshops will consist of a

three-day session for Government officials drawn from the federal and provincial governments, and will include seminars and briefing sessions, simulation training, and other forms of practical training sessions. Workshops will be held at the end of each year of the grant period under the principal direction of one Centre member. However, the workshops will draw on the work and research of the entire staff. The workshops are more fully described in Section IV of this proposal, and the significance of this aspect of the overall programme is discussed below.

(ii) Principal Outputs

The principal outputs of the programme will consist of academic research publications, an enrichment of the teaching programme of the Centre, and the academic/practitioners workshops. The programme will include several major team projects, which can be expected to result in book-length manuscripts. One of these is the collection of methodological articles (Theme II) by Professors Munton and Stairs, on which work is already underway with a completion date of 1977-78. Another major publication will be the planned edited volume by Professor Stairs with the working title: "Domestic Sources of Canadian Foreign Policy" (Theme III: 5), which is scheduled for completion in 1978/79. Taken together with a major work currently nearing completion (Munton and Stairs, eds., Canada in World Perspectives), these projects should promise a series of major Centre publication in the area of Canadian foreign policy over the next several years.

Other major works will be prepared by individual scholars under the proposed programme. Professor McGwire will initiate a two-year study on Canadian defence planning (Theme IV: 5) that will culminate in a substantial monograph. Professor Dial projects his study of the future of Canadian wheat trade with China (Theme IV: 9) will become a lengthy manuscript. Professor Munton is

planning to develop a major data set in connection with his project on Great Lakes management (Theme IV: 1), and expects his work will produce a book-length manuscript. The common publication format for the remaining projects is journal-length manuscripts, which will be placed in the ordinary academic outlets or, alternatively, published in the Centre publications series.

Enrichment of the graduate teaching programme of the Centre is a second output of the proposed programme. The current graduate enrolment is three Ph.D. students and eight M.A. students, which suggests that the Centre personnel constitute an under-utilized facility in Political Science in Canada. This is not surprising, since the Centre is young and it takes time and patient, conservative planning to establish academic institutions of high calibre. However, some growth in the graduate programme is desirable, particularly at the M.A. level where students might find the Centre's policy orientation a help in finding employment in government, journalism, law, international business and other professions. Certainly the proposed programme will increase the attractiveness of the Centre to prospective students and the monies allowed for research assistantships will enable Dalhousie to augment what is now a below-average graduate stipend. Furthermore, the programme will enhance the prospects for attracting foreign students, first by increasing the visibility of the Centre generally, and second by creating a research focus that is timely and oriented to the work going on in other centres of international studies abroad.

Yet another output of the programme is the three academic/practitioner workshops. The workshops have been motivated by the belief that scholarly activity may not necessarily make its widest impact through the publication of research in traditional academic outlets. As scholars of foreign policy, Centre members naturally wish to have their research made available to the policy community, who are often the subjects of this research and to whom, among others,

the findings are implicitly directed. Workshops are thus an innovative manner of making scholarship available to the community that constitutes an obvious audience for the Centre. Moreover many Centre members pursue academic work that is policy-relevant, and this work frequently takes the concerns of the policy maker into account. In this context workshops are not only an opportunity but also a challenge, because they test the practical significance of the Centre's work. The workshops would also, not incidentally, help to bridge the gap between academics and practitioners that members of the scholarly community often complain about.

The concept of a training workshop is innovative to the academic community, but of course this is a familiar concept to members of the policy community. Training courses in aspects of foreign policy are occasionally conducted in Ottawa, and some Centre members have participated as instructors in these courses. The proposal to have academics run such sessions, however, is somewhat unusual. We feel that academics, who have invested the time to learn techniques of training as opposed to academic lecturing, would have the potential to deliver a broader and perhaps more challenging course than is usually available to policy makers. It is important moreover from the standpoint of academic independence that the workshops be originated in the academic community rather than occurring as a result of a contractual relationship between individual academics and government agencies. It is for this reason that funds are being solicited for these undertakings from an independent research agency rather than attempting to secure funds through government contracts.

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Centre Seminar

Principal Investigator: Director, Centre for
Foreign Policy Studies

Summary

The Centre Seminar is intellectually and organizationally the nexus of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. In the programme proposed here the Centre Seminar will become the forum for members to widen their understanding of the changes in the international system which are affecting Canadian foreign policy as well as for presenting the results of the research projects undertaken in connection with the programme as a whole.

The funding requested for the Centre Seminar will be used in particular to bring prominent outside scholars to participate in the Seminar's proceedings. Such scholars will be recruited either for single presentations or where circumstances warrant for a more extended visit at the Centre. The purpose of this activity is to acquaint Centre members with leading scholars in other countries, and to seek assessments from such scholars regarding the problems Canada faces in the new world order.

The Centre Seminar will be administered by the Director, with the assistance of a Post-Doctoral Fellow for each year of the programme. Fellows will have responsibility for programme definition, recruitment of visiting scholars, and general administration of the programme. Fellows will also assist the Director in other administrative matters, such as the publication programme and the recruitment of graduate students.

II

Timetable and Budget

The Centre Seminar will run for all three years of the programme, with the major costs occurring in the first year and declining thereafter.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel	
Post-Doctoral Fellows (Dalhousie contribution)	\$30,000
2) Travel	Nil
3) Other	
Outside speakers	\$ 6,000

Summary Budget

Personnel (three years)	\$30,000
Travel	Nil
Other (three years)	6,000
Total	\$36,000
Less Dalhousie contribution	- 30,000
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$6,000

Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy

Principal Investigators: Don Munton and Denis Stairs

Summary

Shifting patterns in the international and domestic environments have brought about changes in the process and substance of Canadian foreign policies. These changes have, in turn, prompted questions about the adequacy of existing approaches and frameworks for the study of those policies and underscored the need for new approaches and new frameworks. The purpose of this project is to produce an anthology for researchers and students on alternative conceptual and methodological approaches to the analysis of Canadian foreign policy.

Background

The proposal for such a textbook was stimulated by a conference held under the Centre's auspices in May-June 1974. The conference itself reflected the Centre's original and continuing interest in the study of foreign policy-making processes, but this interest has been sustained in addition by three inter-related circumstances:

- (a) the knowledge that, with a very few exceptions, the study of Canadian foreign policy has not been subjected to the formal techniques of analysis which in recent decades have been developed and applied with considerable effectiveness abroad;
- (b) the fact that changes in the character of Canada's external relations in recent years have affected the nature of the

- (c) policy-making process (for example, by increasing the number of government agencies involved in international affairs) in ways which make these other techniques of analysis potentially even more fruitful than they might otherwise have been; and
- (c) the awareness that a growing number of university instructors in the Canadian foreign policy field have experienced an increasing need for such a collection as a teaching instrument at the advanced level.

The basic difficulty at this stage is that most of the papers presented at the 1974 conference are not suited to a publication of this particular kind, and are therefore in need of substantial revision. In addition, a comprehensive textbook of this sort requires material on a number of topics which were not included in the original conference agenda. It was therefore decided that further papers would have to be written, and a number of additional authors recruited to the task. When their work is completed, and when the existing manuscripts have been appropriately revised, it will be necessary to convene an editorial workshop of contributors geared specifically to the production of a book-length manuscript. The purpose of this workshop would be to bring together at one time all the contributions and subject them to an intensive scrutiny and criticism, both to provide the authors with particular comments and to render a general complementarity to the collection as a whole.

Significance

The project will (a) contribute to the application of systematic theory and research methods to the study of Canadian foreign policy, (b) enrich the analysis of foreign policy generally by providing studies of the Canadian exper-

ience which are comparable to studies carried out in other countries, and (c) facilitate the process of academic instruction in the Canadian foreign policy field.

With respect to the latter, it should be emphasized that an attempt was made to determine whether there was a genuine interest in the proposal among university instructors. A canvass of a sample of 10 academic specialists working in the field produced a uniformly favourable response.

Approach

Potential authors have already been contacted and have agreed in principle to contribute. While subject to modification as the project proceeds, the outline of the book is now fairly clear, and the proposed contents are as follows:

Editors' Introduction

- (1) Old Questions and New Approaches in Foreign Policy Analysis (Munton and Stairs)

Concepts, Hypotheses, and Models

- (2) Analytical Perspectives and Explanatory Variables (Stairs)
- (3) Hypotheses and the Scientific Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy Analysis (Munton and Burdett)

Conceptual Frameworks

- (4) Operational Codes of Decision-Makers (Lawrence)
- (5) Decision-Making Theory (Black)
- (6) Integration Theory (Pentland)
- (7) Transnational Relations (Stairs and Tomlin)

Methods of Observation and Data Collection

- (8) Interviewing Foreign Policy Actors (Stairs)
- (9) Surveying Elite Images (Byers, Hockin, Leyton-Brown, and Lyon)
- (10) Questionnaires and Government Officials (Stevenson)
- (11) Using Historical and Archival Records (Page)
- (12) Applications of Content Analysis (Munton)
- (13) Collecting Foreign Policy Event Data (Munton)
- (14) Collecting Aggregate Data (Tomlin)
- (15) Applying Simulation Techniques (Winham)

Modes of Analysis

- (16) Advantages and Limitations of Case Studies (Stairs)
- (17) Quantitative Measurement of Policy Output Patterns (Tomlin)
- (18) Goals, Roles, and Actions as "Foreign Policy" (Munton)
- (19) Forecasting Future Trends and Cycles (Munton, von Riekhoff)

Timetable and Budget

Funding is required for an editorial workshop of contributing authors. This would take place after all the manuscripts had been submitted in semi-final draft form, which is expected to occur during the 1977-78 academic year.

The underlying problem has a significance, however, which goes far beyond the technicalities of organization management, for it creates serious obstacles to the maintenance of effective policy control at the ministerial level. This in turn poses a fundamental challenge to the practice of "responsible government," which lies at the heart of the parliamentary system. The difficulty is that as the issues become more numerous, more varied, more intrinsically complex, and

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel	Nil
2) Travel	Nil
3) Other	
Workshop expenses (includes travel, accommodation and incidentals for workshop participants, as well as administrative costs pertaining to workshop)	\$6,500

Summary Budget

Personnel	Nil
Travel	Nil
Other	\$6,500
	<hr/>
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$6,500

- (4) Operational Theory (Lawrence)
- (5) Decision-Making Theory (Black)
- (6) Integration Theory (Fentland)
- (7) Transnational Relations (Scars and Tomlin)

Changes in the Policy Process: Exploding
Bureaucracies and other Variables

Principal Investigator: Denis Stairs

Summary

The principal purpose of this project is to examine the problem of securing and maintaining the effective control of foreign policy by the political leadership under conditions of rapidly expanding bureaucracy.

Background

Among the many effects of the recent changes in the agendas of international politics and foreign policy has been an increase in the number and variety of government departments involved in the conduct of external affairs. This process of expanding bureaucratic participation in the foreign policy-making process has been accelerated by the growth of government regulatory activity generally, as well as by the increasing technical complexity of the questions at issue. These circumstances in turn have produced alarming problems of policy coordination, and have led to a number of (largely unsuccessful) attempts to deal with the situation by means of sophisticated managerial techniques (country programming, PPBS, personnel integration, and so forth).

The underlying problem has a significance, however, which goes far beyond the technicalities of organization management, for it creates serious obstacles to the maintenance of effective policy control at the ministerial level. This in turn poses a fundamental challenge to the practices of "responsible government," which lie at the heart of the parliamentary system. The difficulty is that as the issues become more numerous, more varied, more intrinsically complex, and

more diffuse in their consequences, the power of political leaders to deal with them in a meaningful way is rapidly diminished. The policy process thus threatens to become a system "out of control," propelled by an undirected momentum of its own.

That the government has been seriously concerned about the problem was clearly evident in the conduct of its foreign policy review from 1968 to 1970, and it is no coincidence that the exercise produced for a time a major bureaucratic conflict between the principal operating departments on the one hand, and the Prime Minister's Office on the other. Mr. Trudeau's attempts at meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to secure an agenda providing for an exchange of views on the problem of controlling bureaucracy are thus reflections of far more than an idle curiosity.

The problem, moreover, has implications not merely for the way in which ministers of the Crown conduct themselves in office, but also for the course of public debate on foreign policy issues. As a case in point, it is now a commonplace in the literature of Canadian foreign policy to observe that the management of Canadian-American relations is for the most part a highly decentralized, intra-bureaucratic process, over which no single agency or ministry of government exercises effective control or supervision. Presumably this finding could have, among other things, profound implications for the various protagonists in the debate over Canadian "nationalism." Should they discover on close examination that the foreign policy process vis-a-vis the United States is so administratively complex as to be impervious to the influence of "general ideas," they might be expected at the very least to revise some of the terms of their discussion.

The foregoing examples may to some extent serve to exaggerate the difficulty. Nevertheless, it is clear that the problem cannot be lightly dismissed until it has been more closely examined.

Significance

The project would be aimed at drawing attention to certain features of the foreign policy-making process which have not thus far been widely investigated in Canada, with a view to illuminating a development which may be having the effect of eroding the practical influence of the political leadership. The results would be of interest to anyone concerned with the conduct of parliamentary government, as well as to those who participate in many of the more important Canadian foreign policy debates.

Approach

American political scientists have been interested for some time in the application of models of "bureaucratic politics" and "organization behaviour" to the analysis of foreign policy, and it is expected that some of the observations contained in the American literature will be useful in examining the Canadian case. But American researchers, especially in recent years, have tended to regard these models essentially as alternative analytical perspectives, useful for the purpose of "explaining" foreign policy behaviour. With some exceptions they have not been primarily concerned with bureaucratic phenomena as the source of substantive political and constitutional problems. The emphasis in the present context, however, will be on precisely these substantive implications, and the project will require wide-ranging interviews with members of the policy community and others. The results will be embodied in a series of articles to be published in academic journals.

Timetable and Budget

The articles will be produced over a three-year period, beginning in the 1976-77 academic session. The necessary funding includes only the cost of

travel and maintenance in Ottawa for purposes of conducting interviews. The funding is requested for the first year of the grant, but the actual travelling will be phased over the three-year period as required.

Budget Breakdown

1)	Personnel	Nil
2)	Travel	
	Place:	Air Fare: Subsistence:
	Ottawa (4 trips), 4 weeks	\$608 \$900
	Total	\$1,508

3) Other Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	Nil	
Travel	\$1,508	
Other	Nil	
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED		\$1,508

The Impact of Science and Technology on Canadian Foreign Policy

Principal Investigator: Peter Aucoin

Summary

Developments in science and technology, as illustrated by the emergence of a Canadian nuclear technology or the scientific capacity to exploit ocean resources, have had a major impact on the agenda of the Canadian foreign policy establishment. This impact has had significant implications for the structure of this establishment in terms of the formulation of policy and the conduct of external relations. Different kinds of expertise have been required in order to develop foreign policies which involve scientific and technological considerations and to engage in international negotiations which deal with such considerations. The approach of this project is twofold. First, those major areas of foreign policy and external relations where this impact is significant will be identified. Second, the structural consequences of this impact will be examined and analysed. The purpose of this exercise is to evaluate the patterns of organizational development, communications and coordination which have emerged in response to the demands and exigencies of this impact.

Background

Developments in science and technology during the past three decades, as is noted in practically every general commentary on post-World War II international relations, have had a profound impact on the kinds of issues which confront foreign policy-makers as they attempt to promote their national interests, in terms of both their policy initiatives and responses in international relations.

Although science and technology are not new factors in such relations, the scientific and technological revolutions of the past three decades have ushered in an era of international cooperation, competition, and conflict which has not only complicated the practice of the "art of the possible," but has also brought new practitioners into the field. The complications are the result of activities arising out of international, at times non-national, systems of scientific and technological communications that have produced a sphere of "public knowledge" and a capacity for technological development over which national governments, for a number of important reasons, must attempt to exercise control or provide direction. In their efforts to control and direct these communications systems in their national interests, however, national governments have had to recruit and mobilize, to a degree hitherto not experienced, personnel whose professional training and, in many instances, backgrounds are devoid of exposure to the principles or realities of foreign policy.

In addition to changes in military alliances, economic trading arrangements and political relationships, foreign policy establishments have thus had to contend with developments in science and technology both at home and elsewhere which have had an independent impact on the formulation of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations. As a nation whose socio-economic development is predicated, in large measure, upon its scientific and technological capacities, Canada is especially affected by this type of impact. Its industrial and resource-based economy is dependent upon its technological capacity as are its chief social services, for example health care and education. Insofar as its foreign policy emanates from national interests and domestic concerns, its policies in this field are affected by science and technology to a very significant degree.

The study will describe the kinds of foreign policy issues which have

been created by developments in science and technology, in Canada and elsewhere, insofar as the latter affect Canadian interests and/or policies, in an attempt to analyse the effects of these developments on the foreign policy machinery of the Government of Canada. The central question of this study, accordingly, will focus, on the one hand, on the significance of scientific and technological developments as independent factors--that is, independent of political, economic, military or geographical factors--in the generation of Canada's foreign policy agenda. On the other hand, the study will examine the extent to which the machinery of government has been structured to orchestrate the necessary scientific and technological inputs required to deal with such policy issues.

Significance

The impact of science and technology on foreign policy in Canada (or elsewhere for that matter) has not been the subject of much writing in any systematic fashion. Numerous studies have examined a range of specific issues, for example, defence science and technology, nuclear science and technology, environmental control and regulation, etc., but with the important exception of Robert Gilpin's Science, Technology and American Foreign Policy, there are few general analyses. In Canada, there is hardly a "literature" at all as far as foreign policy qua policy is concerned, although in several issue areas there is a growing number of analyses of issues which have international dimensions. Some of these, of course, concern the very basic question of the "dependence" of the Canadian research and development effort upon foreign, especially American, interests and powers. At the same time, however, there is a considerable literature on science and technology policy in Canada, parts of which relate to questions of Canada in the international order.

The theoretical significance of this proposed project is that it will

attempt to shed some light upon the interaction of science and technology and public policy in the political areas of international relations. As a case study of Canadian foreign policy, its analysis will not be capable, of course, of generating anything more than hypotheses which, at least, relate to the Canadian experience. At the same time, the patterns of interaction to be found in Canada are important, nevertheless, because of Canada's considerable capacities in science and technology and her elaborate policy structures in these fields.

The practical significance of the proposed project will depend largely upon the extent to which the investigation is able to isolate scientific and technological developments as independent factors in Canadian foreign policy and thus be able to evaluate the structures (and processes) which have been developed to formulate foreign policies which relate to the above kinds of developments. The importance of this project lies in the effort that will be made to assess the organizational capacity of the existing machinery of government to formulate policies that employ science and technology in the national interest.

Approach

A survey of the major Canadian foreign policies will be undertaken in an attempt to isolate those fields of foreign policy (and foreign relations) in which science and technology are important elements. In conjunction with this survey, the foreign policy establishment will be examined to ascertain the roles and positions of scientists and technologists and science and technology agencies in matters which affect foreign policy formulation and external relations. This survey will include the collection of data on activities, programmes, agreements, personnel, expenditures, organization and procedures of the Government of Canada over the past three decades. Although case studies of specific policy issues will not be undertaken as such, considerable attention will be paid to the

major areas of science and technology in the foreign policies of recent Canadian governments; nuclear power, satellite communications, ocean and Arctic resources and environmental regulations are examples of such major areas.

Following this survey and data collection, which will include the analysis of published reports, accounts, and studies, interviews with a select number of foreign policy officials and experts will be conducted in Ottawa, both to obtain information and to ascertain opinions and interpretations of the science and technology/foreign policy interface in Canada.

Timetable and Budget

The project will begin in the academic year 1976-77, with the above mentioned survey and data collection. The interviews will be conducted in the spring and summer of 1977. The project will be completed during the academic year 1977-78, with the writing of a monograph on the subject.

The necessary funding includes the cost of travel and maintenance for the conduct of interviews, primarily in Ottawa it is expected, and for the time of one research assistant.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (1/2 year)	\$3,500
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2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
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Ottawa (4 tris), 4 weeks total	\$608	\$900
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Total	\$1,508
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3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$3,500
Travel	1,508
Other	Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED

\$5,008

Domestic Pluralism in Canadian Negotiation

Principal Investigator: Gilbert R. Winham

Summary

The creation and operation of a national delegation to an international conference is an important foreign policy phenomenon. National delegations are often set up on an ad hoc basis to attend specific conferences, and they increasingly include as members actors who are not part of the traditional foreign policy process. The purpose of this project is to explore how a sample of Canadian delegations were chosen, and how they operated in setting agenda issues before the international conference.

Background

This project will be an extension of the author's more general research into international trade negotiations, which has consisted of documentary analysis and interviews pursuant to the Kennedy Round, and the subsequent construction of a simulation of trade negotiation processes. Past research has pointed out the importance of the relations between the negotiating team and domestic political forces, and there are examples of this phenomenon in current negotiations involving the Canadian government. For example, the Province of Manitoba has submitted a brief to the Federal government in connection with the current multilateral trade negotiation (MTN) requesting representation "when negotiations reach the final stage in the Geneva talks." Since the positions of Manitoba and Ottawa are not consistent on trade matters, it is clear that the domestic resolution of this issue will have ramifications for the Canadian position at the multilateral negotiation.

In general terms the research will deal with several questions. First, what is the relationship between the traditional foreign policy actors (e.g., Department of External Affairs) and conference delegations which often include unorthodox actors (e.g., industrial representatives); do international conference processes represent a diminution of the authority of traditional forces in Canadian foreign policy? A second question deals with the impact of international conference processes on Canadian federal politics; do conference delegations which include members from provinces or provincial governments make it more difficult to maintain a unified Canadian posture abroad? A third question examines the agenda issues that are raised by Canadian delegations to international conferences; what issues do Canadian delegations pursue in international conferences, how consistent are such issues with traditional Canadian policy, and to what extent are unorthodox actors in Canadian delegations able to raise unorthodox issues?

Significance

This proposal raises issues about the control and direction of Canadian foreign policy; as well, it raises issues about the prenegotiation phase of international diplomacy that is of considerable interest to general theorists. On the latter point, theorists usually assume that agenda development is a crucial phase of negotiation because it defines the situation within which an agreement will be struck. An example of this occurred in the Kennedy Round when Canadian negotiators were successfully able to define Canada as a special case in trade relations, and hence were able to win exception from certain categories of tariff cuts applied by other nations. The process of agenda development and its effects is admittedly not well understood by theorists of international negotiations (see Druckman Human Factors in International Negotiations). Analysis

of the Canadian case may generate interesting theory about agenda development in international negotiation, and it may provide information about the linkages between domestic political processes and international conference diplomacy.

From the standpoint of the control and direction of Canadian foreign policy, the issues raised here are nothing less than who is in charge of the Canadian foreign policy process. International problems, such as arms control, over-population, under-nourishment, or international pollution are not problems the Canadian government has a long history of dealing with, and yet the government is called upon to respond to these issues with policies that can affect all Canadians. Moreover, the process of responding involves the creation of new bureaucratic units, which themselves can affect the kinds of policies the Canadian government chooses. These implications for the direction of Canadian foreign policy will be considered.

Approach

The method pursued here will be to choose three subjects on which international conferences have recently been held, and to analyze through documentary evidence and interviews the creation and early operation of the Canadian delegation to that conference. The three subject areas are, tentatively, trade, international environment, and food. The research procedure will be to gather as much information as possible about the structure of the delegation and its legal relationship with federal governmental agencies from documentary sources and other published accounts. Questions about the operations of delegations will be put in unstructured interviews to past members of those delegations. The results of the research will be utilized in the policy maker's workshops (Workshop I), and will subsequently be prepared for publication in article form in academic journals.

Budget and Timetable

Research on this project will commence in September 1976 and will continue throughout 1976-77. The project will be concluded during the summer of 1977.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (1/2 year) \$3,500

2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
Ottawa (4 trips), 4 weeks total	\$608	\$900
Total		\$1,508

3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$3,500
Travel	1,508
Other	Nil
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$5,008

The Law of the Sea Negotiations and the Canadian Policy Process

Principal Investigator: Michael McCWire

Summary

Canada has played an influential role in the eight years' negotiations on the Law of the Sea, an extended process which may be the prototype of a new means for effecting peaceful change within the existing international order. This project therefore has a twofold purpose. First, it will identify the sources of Canadian influence in these negotiations, and determine which are peculiar to this particular issue and which are permanently operating factors. And second, it will analyse and evaluate the underlying political processes (both domestic and external), in order to draw lessons for the formulation and conduct of Canadian policy in future negotiations of this type.

Background

Discussions and negotiations on the Law of the Sea have been under way continuously since 1952, but there was a significant shift in the style and scope of the proceedings between 1968 and '70. In this period, the 'traditional maritime powers' lost control of the orderly process of legal adaptation and codification, the issue was expanded to include all aspects of ocean exploitation and use, and the validity of the principles underlying existing maritime law was challenged by all except the Soviet Bloc and the majority of OECD members.

These developments must be set against the background of growing world concern for non-security issues such as economic development, food, population, energy, mineral resources and environmental protection. These problems must all be tackled on an international and global basis, and the United Nations is an

obvious forum for such a process. During the first twenty years of its existence, the UN was mainly concerned with problems of peace and security and with hastening decolonialisation, but since the early sixties the emphasis has shifted increasingly to questions of economic development, social justice and international equity, reflecting to a large extent the changing composition of UN membership. And while the individual nations of the developing world lack economic and military power, as a group they wield an influence which goes well beyond that of a "paper majority." A large measure of this influence is achieved through the process of 'conference diplomacy', the opportunities for which have been greatly increased by the proliferation of special conferences on global problems such as food, population and the environment, by the institution of standing conferences such as UNCTAD which meet on a regular basis and have their own secretariats, and by the establishment of new agencies and programmes such as IDO and UNEP.

The negotiations underlying the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea are part of this general process. What makes them of particular interest to Canada is the extent to which her policy goals are being successfully achieved as the result of this conference, and the fact that they have involved Canada in new political alignments. Since the early sixties Canadian interest in the use of the sea diverged increasingly from those of the maritime powers, who continued to place primary emphasis on the inclusive use of the ocean's resources, on unrestricted access and on the freedom of the High Seas. Within Canada, however, there was a growing demand for the exclusive enjoyment of Canadian coastal waters and concern over the costs of unrestricted international access to these seas. There was thus a convergence of interests between Canada and "The Group of 77," and she was able to provide important technical assistance and diplomatic support to those developing countries who were trying to formulate

their national position on Law of the Sea matters. The diversity of Canada's maritime geography also meant that she found herself in natural alliance with a very wide range of countries. This did not, however, extend to the maritime powers, who included Canada's NATO allies, and her 'defection' on what they saw as an issue of vital interest to the Western alliance evoked an emotional, but none the less adverse response.

Whether or not a comprehensive treaty on the Law of the Sea is finally achieved, it is generally assumed that Canada's more immediate interests have been well served by the last five years' negotiations. These have resulted in a reversal of international attitudes towards the rights of coastal states and towards extensive national jurisdiction which, for example, has allowed Canada to negotiate a series of highly advantageous bilateral agreements with distant-water fishing states.

If conference diplomacy is indeed to become increasingly significant in the years ahead, the reasons for Canada's apparent success in the Law of the Sea negotiations are worth analysing so that lessons may be drawn for future use. For example, to what extent will the outcome of these negotiations be the result of historic tendencies and how much will it have been affected by the Canadian input? Allowing a measure of Canadian influence, how much of this derives from a fortuitous coincidence of interests with the majority group, from national attributes, from conscious policy choices and from negotiating techniques? To what extent are these attributes and techniques relevant to other international issue areas? What have been the costs and benefits of adopting new international alignments in these negotiations? Are there ways in which the costs could have been reduced and the benefits increased? What were the sources of Canada's policy objectives, and to what extent did these derive from a conscious balancing of interests, from domestic political pressures, from the predispositions

of political leaders or from the personal inclinations of key bureaucrats?
Did the publicising and politicisation of Law of the Sea issues in Canada affect
the negotiating process and did it help or hinder Canada's negotiators?

Significance

The practical significance of this project lies in the contribution it will make to our understanding of what leads to success and failure in multi-lateral negotiations of this type. Success is always dangerous to objective evaluation, and the favourable results of the Law of the Sea conference encourage the assumption that the formulation of Canadian policy and the actual conduct of the negotiations were optimal. This may indeed have been so, in which case it is useful to identify the main principles which led to this achievement. It is however more likely that these processes were sub-optimal and that the successful outcome depended largely on external factors. It will therefore be useful to analyse these processes so as to highlight the successful elements and to identify those aspects which were counter-productive in terms of Canada's long-term interests.

The theoretical significance of this project lies in its value as a case study of an emerging political process, whose dynamics are still poorly understood. Multilateral negotiations and conference diplomacy are becoming increasingly important in international relations, and it is necessary to understand the processes involved.

Approach

Research on this project has its origins in the principal investigator's course "Politics of the Sea," which focuses on the political aspects of the Law of the Sea negotiations. The research divides between the domestic and external

components of the political process. On the domestic side, background research for the period 1952-75 is already underway on secondary material, on various papers and statements emanating from the Federal Departments and on relevant Parliamentary debates and hearings. Work still needs to be done on contemporary perceptions of the negotiations within the Federal bureaucracy, and on the viewpoint of the non-Federal members of the Canadian delegation at the various negotiating sessions. The former will be done through interviews; a mailed questionnaire will be used for the latter, except in the case of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland where interviews will be possible.

On the external side it is necessary to establish a detailed picture of the Canadian input to the formal negotiating process, which involves researching the UN Summary Record of all committees and conference sessions since 1968. This will be followed up by personal questions during the interviews with the Federal Government members of the Canadian delegation. It will also be necessary to assess the impact on other countries of Canada's negotiating position and methods, and their perception of Canada's role at this conference. Some evidence on this score will be derived from the Summary Records, and this will be amplified by discussions with certain of the more perspicacious "conference watchers," and with a number of representatives from foreign countries with whom personal contacts already exist. This range of evidence will allow an intuitive assessment which will be sufficient for the purposes of this project.

The immediate end-product of this research will be a monograph focussing on the questions raised in this proposal. In the longer term it will contribute to a more substantial study of the evolution of Canadian policy on Law of the Sea.

Timetable and Budget

This project will run for nine months from 1 September 1976 to 30 June 1977. Some interviews will be conducted at no cost to this project in the United Kingdom and Newfoundland during this coming summer.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (9 months) \$5,250

2) Travel

Place: Air Fare: Subsistence:

Ottawa, 1 week \$152 \$210

New York, 1 week 171 210

Sub-total \$323 \$420

Total \$ 743

3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel \$5,250

Travel 743

Other Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$5,993

Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy:

Pundits, Publics, and Pressure Groups

Principal Investigator: Denis Stairs

Summary

The purpose of this project is to generate a series of studies of the influence of societal pressures on Canadian foreign policy and on the processes by which foreign policy decisions are made. The studies will be conducted partly by members of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies and partly by specialists from other institutions. The results will be subjected to examination by an editorial workshop conducted jointly with members of the policy community, and the final product will be a book with the working title, "Domestic Sources of Canadian Foreign Policy."

Background

Changes in the agendas of international politics and foreign policy in recent years have affected not only the range of government bureaucracies concerned with the conduct of external affairs, but also the degree to which domestic publics have become involved in foreign policy issues. Interested academics and others have always been attentive in at least some measure to the intricacies of government activities abroad, but in periods in which foreign affairs have been dominated by politico-security problems, the more general pattern of public attitudes could be summarized in the injunction, "Let the mandarins do it."

More recently, however, the government's foreign policy concerns have become more diverse, and are now focussed to a much greater extent on problems such as international economic relations, cultural affairs, the management of

the environment, the problems of international exploitation of the sea and seabed, and the supply of energy and raw materials. These questions touch the lives of individual Canadians in very direct and highly visible ways. The effect of this in turn has been to generate new constituent pressures on the foreign policy community, and it is reasonable to hypothesize that this is having a substantial impact on the processes by which foreign policy decisions are made, and on the political factors that decision-makers are having to take into account. It is no doubt partly as a consequence of this development that the Trudeau government has given so much emphasis to the importance of the "national interest" in its foreign policy rhetoric.

There is, therefore, a growing need for a close examination of the influence of public opinion, pressure groups, the so-called "attentive publics," and the like, on the conduct of Canadian foreign policy, and elsewhere in this application there are proposals which reflect this general preoccupation (for example, the projects entitled "Public Opinion in the Canadian Foreign Policy Process: The Case of the IJC" (Theme III: 7); "The Impact of Science and Technology on Canadian Foreign Policy" (Theme III: 2); and "Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of the Press" (Theme III: 6).

If the problem is to be thoroughly examined, however, a much wider range of studies will be required.

Significance

The principal significance of the project is that it will provide new empirical knowledge in an area of foreign policy studies which in Canada has thus far received no more than sporadic attention. The results will certainly be useful for university instructors working in the field, and may well suggest possibilities for reforms of the various mechanisms by which constituency needs

and desires are brought to the attention of the policy community.

Approach

The ultimate objective is the publication of a book-length manuscript composed of a series of individual studies. The project is being scheduled some years in advance, and a clear definition of research designs is therefore not possible. Nevertheless, a number of the "in-house" contributions are already in the development stage. For example, one of the principal vehicles for bringing informed constituent opinion to bear on parliamentary discussion of foreign affairs in Canada is the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade--an institution for which there is no exact equivalent in any other parliamentary system--and research has been completed by Professor Stairs for an article-length analysis of its operations.

Further research by Stairs is being developed for a systematic study of Question Period in the House of Commons, with a view in particular to determining the "life-span" of various categories of foreign policy issue. There is prima facie evidence to suggest that many of the issues which are raised in this way have for a variety of identifiable reasons a natural life-cycle of from three to four days, and the influence of Question Period on the policy community appears to be a function in part of the degree to which a given issue is debated beyond this normal life expectancy.

The intention, of course, is to solicit contributions from appropriate specialists in order to cover other relevant areas--for example, pressure groups, "public opinion" at large, the rank-and-file of political parties, academics and other members of the attentive public, and so on.

When a complete collection of manuscripts has been obtained, the intention at that stage is to hold an editorial workshop consisting of the various

contributors, and appropriate representatives of the policy community, including interested parliamentarians as well as officials. The workshop will be aimed specifically at securing the reactions of the practitioners to the findings of the academics, and will be designed to improve the calibre of the final result. It should be emphasized that such an encounter in the Canadian context is very easily arranged, but would be almost impossible in comparable communities abroad (for example, Britain or Australia). To that extent the proposal adds a new dimension to the traditional methods for undertaking this kind of political study.

A Research Associate will be required for some of the basic empirical investigation involved in the internal phases of the project, as well as for organizing and administering the editorial workshop. In connection, for example, with the attempt to analyze the role of Parliament as a vehicle for the development and transmission of societal pressures on the foreign policy community, it will be necessary to undertake a thorough analysis of pressure group representation in the proceedings of the relevant Standing Committees of both the Commons and the Senate, as well as references to societal "actors" in the general course of Hansard debates. Among other things, this will make it possible to determine whether the volume and pattern of representational initiatives of this sort have changed over time, and if so, how. The work requires, however, long hours of tedious research, and much of this will have to be delegated. Similar data will be required in other areas of the project as a whole.

Timetable and Budget

The investigative research, both within the Centre and elsewhere, will be begun in 1977-78. The Research Associate will be retained in 1978-79, and the final workshop and editing will be scheduled for spring 1979.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Associate

\$15,000

2) Travel

Nil

3) Other

Workshop expenses (includes travel, accommodation and incidentals for workshop participants, as well as administrative costs pertaining to workshop)

8,000

Summary Budget

Personnel

\$15,000

Travel

Nil

Other

8,000

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED

\$23,000

received very little attention. A close inspection of the available literature shows that a few Canadian scholars have examined the sources of Canada's news-coverage of foreign and international news, and they have established very clearly that most of it originates with foreign-operated wire-services and news agencies. But these investigations have not extended to an analysis of the impact of the press on the policy community itself, and vice-versa. Which news-papers do Canadian foreign policy-makers actually read, and why? Do their reading habits in this regard affect their behaviour, and if so, how? To what extent do they regard the press in Canada as a "problem"? To what extent as a...

Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy:

The Case of the Press

Principal Investigator: Denis Stairs

Summary

The purpose of this project is to examine the role of the press in the formulation of Canadian foreign policy. The analysis will focus on Canadian newspapers in three of their capacities: firstly, as sources of information for policy-makers; secondly, as purveyors of constituency demands; and thirdly, as instruments for the conduct of policy itself. The results are expected to have implications for the existing practices of Canadian newspaper editors and publishers.

Background

A variety of studies have been conducted in the United States and elsewhere into the question of the relationship between the press on the one hand and the foreign policy community on the other. In Canada, however, this problem has received very little attention. A close inspection of the available literature shows that a few Canadian scholars have examined the sources of Canada's newspaper coverage of foreign and international news, and they have established very clearly that most of it originates with foreign-operated wire-services and news agencies. But these investigations have not extended to an analysis of the impact of the press on the policy community itself, and vice-versa. Which newspapers do Canadian foreign policy-makers actually read, and why? Do their reading habits in this regard affect their behaviour, and if so, how? To what extent do they regard the press in Canada as a "problem"? To what extent as a

source of useful information and advice? How do they conduct their relations with Canadian journalists, and with what ends in view? How, in turn, do Canadian reporters go about the task of covering Canada's "foreign policy"? What kinds of problems do they encounter? What priorities do they have? Are there tensions between the policy-makers on the one hand, and the journalists on the other? If so, why? And with what effect? In particular, what are the implications of the answers to these and related questions for the parliamentary process, and more generally for the involvement of attentive publics in the making of foreign policy?

Preliminary investigations of these issues have already been completed, and some of the findings are in stark contrast to the results of similar research abroad. For example, American scholars have shown that reporters assigned to the State Department are regarded by their professional colleagues as members of a distinct journalistic elite. In Canada, however, the Department of External Affairs is not regarded at all as an appropriate "beat" for the development of specialist expertise, and the journalists even of the largest metropolitan dailies, are at some pains consciously to avoid acquiring a reputation for specializing in foreign affairs.

Again, it is clear that in Britain, France, and elsewhere, the better reporters and columnists are often read by policy-makers in the expectation that they will provide useful information and a new perspective on particular policy problems. In Canada, however, foreign service officers appear to view the press as a mindless nuisance rather than as a potential source of intelligent reporting and comment, and this in turn has profound implications for the way in which they respond to their domestic constituency.

In addition, there are other problems which are peculiar to the Canadian context. For example, public servants in the foreign policy field are very

rarely exposed to newspapers published outside the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and five Canadian provinces are ignored even by the clipping service of the External Affairs Department Library. The implications of this circumstance for the representation of Canadian regional interests abroad may be far more substantial than is commonly recognized. In any event, it is clear that a systematic investigation of these and related issues is long overdue.

Significance

On the basis of the preliminary investigations, it would appear that the project will generate results of a considerable significance in terms of the priorities of Canadian journalists, editors and publishers. It may have implications as well for the way in which federal government bureaucracies concerned with external affairs conduct their press relations. If the contrast between the Canadian experience and that of the Americans, British and French is sustained by further investigation, it will suggest observations of a more academic character in the area of comparative foreign policy analysis. The results will also be relevant for the construction of a simulation of the Canadian foreign policy-making process, as described elsewhere in this submission.

Approach

The principal vehicle of investigation will be open-ended interviews with members of the foreign policy community (in its various parts), and with newspaper editors and working reporters. It will be necessary as well to embark upon a "content analysis" of Canadian foreign policy coverage and comment in selected Canadian newspapers, and this will require the help of a research associate who is generally familiar with such procedures. The Associate will also be involved in a study of the influence of the press on the substance of the daily Question

Period in the House of Commons, which is the source of much of the public debate in the media on foreign policy issues. The lines of inquiry pursued in the interviews will be similar to, although not identical with, those raised by Bernard Cohen (The Press and Foreign Policy, 1963), William O. Chittick (State Department, Press, and Pressure Groups: A Role Analysis, 1970), and others in the United States and elsewhere.

Timetable and Budget

Preliminary "pilot" work on the project has already been completed, and the results will be published in a forthcoming issue of the International Journal. The research outlined here will be carried out in 1977-78, and the results of the research will be written up during the following year. Travel is requested for the purpose of conducting interviews.

Personnel	\$14,000
Travel	1,536
Other	111
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$15,647

The role of public opinion in the actual making of foreign policy is often obscure, despite a mounting literature on the subject. One of the main reasons for this is that the overall impact of public opinion does not seem large, in part because that impact is usually not direct. The average Canadian rarely speaks directly to a policy-maker, and officials seldom directly confront the public. Instead, public demands and supports are interpreted, channelled, reflected and mediated by political parties, opposition critics, newspaper editorialists and columnists, special interest groups, and radio-TV commentators.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Associate		\$14,000
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2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
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Ottawa, 2 weeks	\$152	\$ 450
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Montreal, 10 days	152	300
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Toronto, 10 days	182	300
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Sub-total	\$486	\$1,050
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Total		\$ 1,536
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3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$14,000
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Travel	1,536
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Other	Nil
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$15,536
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Public Opinion in the Canadian Foreign Policy Process:

The Case of the IJC

Principal Investigator: Don Munton

Summary

What is the role of public opinion in the making of Canadian foreign policy? How has this role changed with the new foreign policy agenda? Despite a few general studies of mass public attitudes and despite the practical and normative importance of these questions, analysts have not yet arrived at very satisfactory answers. The present project is intended to explore this question through the in-depth study of the public hearings held by the International Joint Commission (IJC) in connection with its various studies of Canada-U.S. boundary problems. The interaction of the public and the policy community at these hearings provides what is perhaps a unique forum for the study of the way in which public attitudes affect policy-makers on the one hand, and the way in which policy-makers deal with the expression of public attitudes on the other.

Background

The role of public opinion in the actual making of foreign policy remains obscure, despite a mounting literature on the subject. One of the few points of agreement is that the overall impact of public opinion does not seem large, in part because that impact is usually not direct. The average Canadian rarely speaks directly to a policy-maker, and officials seldom directly confront the public. Instead, public demands and supports are interpreted, channelled, reflected and mediated by political parties, opposition critics, newspaper editorialists and columnists, special interest groups, and radio-TV commentators.

These actors generally have more direct access, and are thus more familiar to foreign policy officials. It is not clear, however, that they are much more influential. There are a variety of reasons for this situation, including the officials' use of what one analyst has called "strategies of environmental simplification," the rise of new interest groups concerned with the new functional issues on the foreign policy agenda, the need sometimes felt both by established interest groups and individuals to protect their channels of access to the policy community, and the difficulty of mobilizing effective domestic concern on sometimes esoteric foreign policy issues.

There are clearly some strong normative questions raised by such observations, since they go to the heart of modern democratic theory. There are also some serious analytical problems raised, since our effort to understand the linkage between public opinion and foreign policy is thus rendered even more difficult and problematic. While it may be possible to draw some normative conclusions from this particular project, attention will be focused mainly on the analytical puzzle.

Given the difficulty of tracing the influence of public opinion through a series of groups and processes before it reaches policy-makers, it is useful to study situations where public opinion is transmitted more directly. One of the few such situations is the type of "public hearing" held by the International Joint Commission as part of its many investigations of Canada-United States questions. These hearings bring together simultaneously the members of the IJC; official representatives of both countries; representatives of other governments, private corporations, and interest groups; and "members" of that large unseen mass, the public. In this sense, IJC hearings provide a potentially interesting focus for research on the general problem of public opinion and foreign policy.

More specifically, research into these hearings ought to provide at

least tentative answers to a number of questions. For example, what is the extent of the public's knowledge about both general and technical foreign policy matters? What are the apparent sources of their attitudes? What is the nature of their participation, and how is this participation perceived by policy-makers? Does participation have any effect on the policy process, or is it simply used as an instrument by policy officials? And finally: To what extent, and for what reasons, have these patterns been changing in recent years?

Significance

In theoretical terms, the orientation of this study stems directly from observations in, and problems with, the existing literature on the role of public opinion in foreign policy. Many existing studies provide a snapshot of public attitudes on given issues at some point in time. Others provide a glimpse of how party officials in general regard perceived domestic pressures. Few studies, however, have attempted to investigate the process that lies between. By focusing here upon one nexus where public and officials are directly interacting, some knowledge may be gained regarding the actual process of public influence, if indeed that influence exists. This study should also provide one basis for refining the simulation of Canadian foreign policy-making that is described elsewhere in this proposal.

In practical terms, the study may well provide substantive information on an aspect of Canadian foreign policy that is perhaps not well understood either by the domestic public or by the policy community. To the extent that it succeeds in this endeavour, it may contribute to changes and improvements in the relationship between the two.

Approach

The data for this study will be obtained from both documentary sources and personal interviews. The public hearings of the IJC are, of course, open to all interested parties. The verbatim records of these hearings are publicly available, as are the submissions that were made to each particular meeting. A semi-structured content analysis will be carried out on selected portions of these sources in order to answer, for example, the questions concerning the nature and extent of public attitudes and participation. Personal interviews will be conducted with selected officials involved in these hearings, both those serving on the IJC itself and in the federal bureaucracies. Information from these interviews will be used to answer questions concerning the perceptions and reactions of the policy community. In addition, if possible, personal interviews will be conducted with a limited number of public participants in these hearings. Where this is not possible, correspondence will be carried out by mail. A modest and relatively open-ended questionnaire may be utilized for this purpose.

The direct consequence of this study will be an article or monograph. An indirect output will be information and hypotheses of potential utility in refining the foreign policy-making simulation described elsewhere in this proposal.

Timetable and Budget

This study would be carried out during the third year of the project, in order that its results will be tied into the workshop on "Societal Influences" (Theme III: 5) Since it will be related to the study into Canadian-American relations on the issue of Great Lakes water quality management, its budget will not need to be large.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (1/4 year) \$2,000

2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
Ottawa-Toronto, 10 days	\$182	\$300
Total		\$ 482

3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$2,000
Travel	482
Other	Nil
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$2,482

Background

to be muted, as in the case of Canadian concerns with American actions during the "special relationship". What policy differences there were faded the arguments for "outer diplomacy," but also underscored the notions of "partner-relationship." The perceived necessities of alliance cohesion not only prompted Cold War rivalries but a particularly strong mark on the Canadian-American relationship. The perceived necessities of alliance cohesion not only prompted

Environmental Politics in Canada-U.S. Relations:

The Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement

Principal Investigator: Don Munton

Summary

One of the main characteristics of the emerging international order is the increased importance of economic and scientific issues. This change has brought new actors into international politics, created new coalitions, prompted new styles of multilateral diplomacy, and begun to alter the nature of international conflicts and cooperation alike. Canada's bilateral relationship with the United States has been affected by these changes, but it is not entirely clear what the effect has been. Do the politics of environmental issues represent a new direction or style in bilateral relations? The aim of this project is to investigate the various internal and external aspects of this question through an in-depth multi-method case study of the 1972 Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement. The project will combine historical and documentary research into the formulation and negotiation of the Agreement with a quantitative analysis in order to test the continued relevance of a number of seemingly competing explanations about Canadian-American relations.

Background

Cold War rigidities put a particularly strong mark on the Canadian-American relationship. The perceived necessities of alliance cohesion not only prompted the arguments for "quiet diplomacy," but also underscored the notions of "partnership" and the "special relationship." What policy differences there were tended to be muted, as in the case of Canadian concerns with American actions during the

wars in Korea and Vietnam. Yet the differences were, on the whole, relatively few. The international and multilateral security issues which dominated the diplomats tended to be ones on which Canadian and American interests were convergent, if not identical.

The new foreign policy agenda of the 1970's has in part prompted far-reaching changes in this relationship. The most apparent shift in international politics in recent years has undoubtedly been the relative decline in importance of military-security issues and the concomitant relative rise of economic and scientific problems. The evidence for this shift is everywhere--in the concerns of domestic publics, in the speeches of statesmen, in the negotiations of diplomats, and in the meetings of international organizations. The shift is of course clearly evident in Canada's participation in recent multilateral conferences, on law of the sea, food, population, and environmental problems, and in Canada's adjustment to the demands of the new international economic order. The shift is no less evident, however, in the evolving patterns of Canada's most important international relationship--that with the United States.

These changes have been manifested both in the patterns of policy making within the Canadian government and in the patterns of policy outputs between the two countries. And yet, while the shift in the agenda can be rather easily documented, the effects of this shift on either the policy process or policy outputs is less clear. Although the trends are no longer new, we still do not have much more than a few rudimentary hunches about the effects they are having.

How have the new foreign policy issues affected policy making in Canada? How have these new issues affected Canada's relations with the United States? These are two general questions which this study seeks to begin to answer.

The aim here is to investigate these two questions in the context of trans-boundary environmental problems between Canada and the U.S., specifically

the case of the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement signed by the two countries in 1972. An extended, in-depth, and multi-method analysis of this case will provide a basis for some conclusions about changing patterns of both the internal policy processes and bilateral goals and behaviours.

In contrast to the 1950's when the Department of External Affairs was pre-eminent, the Great Lakes issue found an interesting array of actors participating in the policy process. Due to the environmental nature of the issues, the interests of other federal departments were engaged. Due to the technical nature of the issues, scientific expertise was at least as important as the diplomatic. Given the constitutional division of responsibilities in the BNA Act, many aspects were at least partly under the jurisdiction of the province of Ontario. And given the considerable domestic implications of the problems, an assortment of interest groups also became involved. While the fact of the participation of these actors is clear, the nature and impact of their participation is not.

Similarly, while it is fairly likely that the pattern of relations between the two countries here was different from earlier bilateral issues, it is not obvious exactly what the differences were, nor how great they might have been. Do technical issues emphasize the disparity in power between the U.S. and Canada? Do they emphasize Canada's "dependent" status? Did the nature of the issue and the involvement of other federal departments, the technical experts, the provinces, and the interest groups, affect the style or the substance of Canadian policy? Did the traditional patterns of "quiet diplomacy" prevail? Were they in part responsible for the result? What about the common Canadian-American "diplomatic culture," as one analyst termed it? Did it survive the intrusion of the non-diplomats? Or was it in fact strengthened? The Great Lakes agreement ought to shed light on these and other questions.

Significance

While it is always risky to generalize on the basis of a single "case study," this analysis should provide evidence for or against the various common notions or "theories" about Canadian-American relations and about the ways in which these relations are evolving. In a broader context, it should also provide insights into the effects of the new international agenda on the relations between great and lesser powers. The practical significance is perhaps less certain. One possibility though is that the study may be useful to those in North America and elsewhere in the world who are seeking answers to transboundary environmental problems. Since it appears that the Great Lakes Agreement may be reopened in the future, the study may also be of some interest to the policy community.

Approach

As noted above, this study will attempt to utilize and bring together a number of contemporary approaches to political inquiry. It will be based in part on extensive document research, both of public materials (newspapers, reports, published studies, etc.) and of the classified files of the federal and provincial departments concerned. Permission has already been received to examine the relevant files of two of the key federal departments, and is presently being sought in the other cases. Information from the documents will be supplemented with personal interviews of officials--both political and bureaucratic, Canadian and American--who were directly concerned with formulating and negotiating the Agreement.

In addition, this more "qualitative" research will be supplemented by a "quantitative" analysis of the patterns of interaction between the two countries. The methodology here will be that of "event data analysis" and will represent

further development of the approach carried out in earlier studies by the principal investigator. Event data provide a quantitative measure of patterns in foreign interactions. They have usually been collected from public sources, since these are generally all that the event data researcher has available. The access to official files on the Great Lakes Agreement, however, will allow a much more accurate and comprehensive set of events to be compiled. These data should therefore provide an optimal quantitative basis for testing various propositions and theories about Canadian-American relations. While students of international politics have traditionally viewed the "classical" and "behavioural" approaches as alternatives, the intention here is to emphasize their complementarity.

A research associate will be employed to assist in setting up analytical procedures in connection with the event data analysis. A research assistant will be used for documentary research and for coding of data. It is expected the study will provide material for a major book-length manuscript as well as for several shorter articles.

Timetable and Budget

This study is scheduled for a two-year period commencing in July, 1976. Document research, interviews and quantitative data collection are expected to occupy a full year. Travel will be for the purpose of interviewing relevant officials and for documentary research. Analysis and drafting of the manuscript would be done in the second and third year of the programme.

THEME IV: 2

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Associate		\$13,000
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Research Assistant (1 year)		7,000
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Total		<u>\$20,000</u>
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2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
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Ottawa (1 week)	\$150	\$225
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Toronto (2 weeks)	182	450
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Washington (1 week)	250	225
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Sub-total	<u>\$584</u>	<u>\$900</u>
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Total		\$ 1,484
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3) Other

Computer (for keypunching, programming and computer time)		\$ 1,000
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Summary Budget

Personnel	\$20,000
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Travel	1,484
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Other	1,000
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	<u><u>\$22,484</u></u>
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Canadian Participation in International Policy-Making on the Environment

Principal Investigator: S. Kwasi Nyamekye

Summary

Canada has been an important and active participant in the area of international environmental problems. While its own environmental legislation has attracted much attention, Canadian diplomats and scientists have also played a major multilateral role, both at the 1972 Stockholm conference and elsewhere. This study will trace the early beginnings of the Canadian government's concern over international environmental matters, examine the positions it took at the Stockholm meeting, and assess the impact Canada has made on multilateral policy-making in this area, especially regarding Third World countries. Based both on documentary and interview research, the study will thus essentially focus upon the Canadian response to the newly perceived challenge of preserving the international environment.

Background

The issue of the environment has emerged as one of the most complex and, potentially, most destructive of the present international order. Both over-development and under-development are now widely believed to generate problems of environmental decay and degradation. The entire world, therefore, is faced with the environmental challenge. The obvious effects of population explosion and urban congestion, the transboundary movement of air pollution and the fouling of inland and ocean waters threaten all countries to a greater or lesser degree. While the environmental consciousness gained public recognition first in the

developed countries, it soon became clear that the complexities and inter-relatedness of the problem defied unilateral solutions. Thus the global environment presents a new challenge to world order and creates new and complex demands on foreign-policy decision-making.

The need to face up to the varied challenges of the environment inspired an international conference on the human environment, in Stockholm in 1972 under the auspices of the United Nations. The Conference approved an Action Plan, established a United Nations Environment Secretariat to give leadership and institutional support, and adopted a Declaration on the Human Environment, a set of principles reflecting the concerns and policy commitments of governments.

Canada's participation in this Conference, as well as its environmental protection policies in other UN agencies and organizations has not been well-studied.

Nor have the connections between these activities and those on other environmental issues, for example, at the Third Law of the Sea Conference (LOS), in the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) and at the Third UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

The following are some of the questions which will be explored in this study: How do Canadian multilateral initiatives reflect its various national interests with respect to the environment? Have its initiatives helped to launch an international ideology of environmental protection? Has there been an increasing degree of cooperation or conflict between Canada and other countries, especially in the Third World, as a result of the new challenge and of Canada's initiatives? Do Canadian initiatives reinforce a traditional attachment to multilateral approaches to world problems? Does the new challenge offer Canada an opportunity to retain its role as an influential "middle" power?

Research into these questions should also throw light on the complexities of policy-making regarding environmental issues. In particular, the study should

help to challenge one assumption implicit in much existing literature about the ease with which governments ought to be able to devise policies to meet the new challenge. It is simply the case that the impact of international political and diplomatic realities are often ignored in the scientific literature on the environment. The proposed study ought in part to provide ample evidence for changing this assumption.

Significance

The significance of this project is twofold. In the first place the project will assess how closely Canadian policies on the international environment have followed basic Canadian national interests as opposed to broader "international" interests. Experience with environmental issues in domestic politics would suggest that interest groups which support environmental measures often stand to gain from such measures on economic or other grounds. This argument can be applied by analogy to international politics, where, for example, it would appear Canadian environmental legislation has supported Canadian territorial claims in the Arctic. One theoretically significant question, therefore, is to what extent multilateral environmental politics represent a new international consciousness by Canada and to what extent they represent the traditional pursuit of domestic concerns.

Second this study will afford an assessment of the effectiveness and impact of Canadian policies in one emerging international arena. To date Canada appears to have been partly successful in developing an international consensus around certain environment-related issues, both at Stockholm and, for example, at the Third Law of the Sea Conference. However, Canada is an industrialized nation and there are sharp differences between these nations and the Group of 77 which may limit Canada's role in the future. In practical terms, the analysis

here will attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of past Canadian diplomacy on the international environment and the limitations on future effectiveness.

Approach

This study grows out of the author's doctoral research on the multi-lateral diplomacy of the 1972 Stockholm conference, as well as his experience as a research fellow at the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. The author, now teaching at the University of Papua, New Guinea, will return to North America for research purposes during the winter of 1976-77. Research on this project will consist of documentary analysis, and interviews with Canadian officials, diplomats from foreign countries, and international civil servants.

The author will be principally located in Halifax during the "Canadian" research phase of the project. Visits will be made to Toronto and Ottawa to research documents at the Canadian Institute for International Affairs and to interview government officials. Another trip will be made to New York to interview diplomats, to up-date information obtained during the author's earlier research, and to make preliminary arrangements for interviews in Nairobi. A later trip will be made to the United Nations Environmental Programme in Nairobi, Kenya, to interview diplomats and officials in the secretariat.

Timetable and Budget

This research will be conducted in the first year of the programme. It is expected the research will produce one or two lengthy articles to be published in academic journals.

Background

The project would contribute to the general Centre programme in two

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel Nil

2) Travel

Place: Air Fare: Subsistence:

Halifax (and elsewhere),
2 months \$1,800

Toronto, Ottawa, 2 weeks \$ 220

New York, 1 week 171

Nairobi, Kenya, 1 week 1,480

Sub-total \$1,871 \$1,800

Total \$3,671

3) Other Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel Nil

Travel \$3,671

Other Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$3,671

Canadian Trade in Fuels: The Impact of External Factors

Principal Investigator: John N. McDougall

Summary

The purpose of the study is to delineate the basic structure of Canada's recent imports and exports of coal, oil and natural gas, with emphasis on the influence of the international and continental market in shaping that structure. In the case of each fuel resource, the Canadian market will be described in terms of the allocation of productive capacity between domestic and foreign markets and the allocation of Canadian markets between domestic and foreign supplies. Continuities and discontinuities in this structure, over time and across the different fuel sources, will be related to conditions in the international and continental market in each case. Among other factors to be examined for their impact on this structure will be the following: 1) the Canadian government's relations with foreign governments on the question of access to their fuel supplies and/or markets; 2) the interests of foreign investors in Canadian fuel production and transportation industries (railways, shipping and pipelines); and 3) the interests of the provinces in international trade. The central question pursued in the investigation will be the influence external governments and other interests can bring to bear on the federal government, provincial governments and Canadian industry, and hence the resultant impact these external forces can have on the fuel policies adopted by the Canadian federal government.

Background

The project would contribute to the general Centre programme in two

ways: First, it would examine the impact of changes in external conditions and foreign government policies upon Canadian fuel policies and developments in the past. Second, it would provide a description, in terms of traditionally significant factors, of Canada's present fuel situation with respect to that of the rest of the world.

The project has developed out of work on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, which examined the influence of foreign controlled corporations on the natural gas export policies of the Canadian government and out of which arose the author's interest in all factors which have consistently influenced Canada's policies toward fuels generally. It also relates to a project currently under way on the domestic aspects of the federal fuel policy. This latter study is funded by the Canada Council for the period April 1976-April 1977, and it will serve as a valuable link with the study of external factors being proposed here.

Significance

The theoretical significance of the project lies in the identification of persistent foreign influences upon Canadian trade and transportation policies in the fuel sector, if any. The author's approach and thinking has been influenced by the staples theory of Canadian economic history (especially the work of Harold Innis and H. J. G. Aitkin), but the study is not intended to test the validity of that theory. It may, however, permit conclusions to be drawn concerning the potency of certain factors emphasized by that theory, for example, the impact of a foreign (imperial) market for staple commodities upon the development of Canadian resources and the transportation systems designed for their export. The practical significance of the project could also lie in the identification of external factors which have consistently influenced the trade of Canadian fuel resources. For example, the relative extent to which foreign

interests have been brought to bear on federal decisions through foreign governments, foreign-owned enterprises, or the governments of the producing provinces, might be a finding of some significance to practitioners and critics of federal policies and their formulation. Likewise, it could be of practical significance to know the extent to which Canadian policies have been determined by economic conditions in the international and continental markets. These findings could complement the work of Robert Boardman for the Centre programme on the future of Canada and the International Energy Politics of the 1980's. It is clear that Canadian energy policies in the near future will be substantially shaped by formal bilateral and multilateral relations, some of which will be in the form of participation in international institutions such as the IEA. The present project would show that foreign interests and external economic conditions have always had an impact on Canadian fuel policies and may suggest that the same informal influences may continue to work in shaping Canadian relations with the world energy economy of the future.

Approach

The data used in the study would be the material available in the archives of the federal government and those of the producing provinces, such as Alberta, Nova Scotia and British Columbia. The method would be simply to examine and analyze the material found in these collections along with the reports and proceedings of the various Royal Commissions on coal and energy during this century. Interviews with knowledgeable officials will be sought where necessary. The research would require time spent in Ottawa, and in various provincial capitals to assess the importance of provincial relations with foreign governments on matters regarding federal fuel policy. Further research will be conducted at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. to assess the nature of the contin-

ental market in fuel resources. Exact research procedures for the project proposed here will be shaped in part by the current study on domestic factors, and it is expected the current study will contribute information relevant to the questions posed here.

Timetable and Budget

The bulk of the research for the project will commence in the spring and summer of 1977. An itinerary including the provincial and federal capitals will be arranged for late spring of 1977, and will conclude with a period for research and consultation in Halifax later in the summer.

Significance

The theoretical significance of the project is in the identification of persistent foreign influences upon Canadian trade and transportation patterns. It is felt that a study of this nature is needed to provide a basis for the development of the future transportation and trade policies of the government. Harold Lloyd's book, 'The Canadian Transportation System' (1964) is a valuable study of the transportation system in Canada. The study of the transportation system is a complex task and requires a multidisciplinary approach. The study of the transportation system is a complex task and requires a multidisciplinary approach. The study of the transportation system is a complex task and requires a multidisciplinary approach.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel Nil

2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
Edmonton, Vancouver (from London) 2 weeks	\$340	\$ 450
Ottawa (from London) 2 weeks	90	450
Halifax (from London) 2 weeks	180	450
Washington (from Halifax) 2 weeks	250	450
Sub-total	\$860	\$1,800
Total		\$2,660

3) Other Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel Nil

Travel \$2,660

Other Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$2,660

Canada and International Energy Politics

Principal Investigator: Robert Boardman

Summary

In November, 1974, Canada and other OECD countries established the International Energy Agency within the framework of the Organisation. This project will examine the following topics: first, the course of international energy talks pursued within this group in the late 1970's; second, Canadian policies on international energy issues discussed by members in this period on such questions as producer-consumer relations within the OECD, and as between Western consumer nations and outside suppliers, proposals for conserving and pooling energy supplies and the development of alternative supplies; and third, the connections between energy issues and trading issues between Canada and other Western nations, and in particular between Canada and West European states. These questions will be investigated in the light of overall Canadian energy policy.

Background

The project stems from research already carried out by the Principal Investigator into offshore oil policies in the United Kingdom, and the political ramifications of this development in terms of Scottish devolution; and the Common Energy Policy of the European Community. It can also be viewed as an extension of the author's project "Canada and the European Community" (Theme IV: 7), since some of the issues raised by that study during the first two years of the programme (1976-8) will be taken further in this project. Regular contact will be maintained with Professor John McDougall who is conducting the project "Cana-

dian Trade in Fuels" (Theme IV: 3), and the findings of that study will be used as a basis for shaping more specific research questions for the study in 1978-79.

Significance

International energy negotiations are likely to assume greater importance for Canada by the end of the decade. A number of estimates have pointed to the possibility of existing Canadian oil reserves being used up by the early 1980's at current rates of depletion. This in turn raises the possibility of greater exploitation of difficult fields in the Arctic and offshore Atlantic regions; or a turn to more indirect petroleum production methods, for example from oil sands; or to other fossil fuel supplies in Canada; or greater reliance on foreign supplies for those provinces currently being supplied from Canadian resources; or, finally, the development of alternative energy sources, for example in the nuclear field. Many Western countries other than Canada face similar problems. Even before the OPEC price increases of 1973-74, a number of governments--particularly those of the West European members of the OECD--were concerned at the problems of dependence on Middle East supplies of oil. An indication of this is the number of major reports published from the 1950's; for example, the OEEC's Europe's Growing Needs of Energy: How Can They be Met? (1956), Europe's Need for Oil (1958), and Towards a New Energy Pattern in Europe (1960). Energy problems have been even more salient for the OECD in the 1960's, as indicated by the establishment of the International Energy Agency in November 1974, following on the activities carried out by the OECD's Energy Coordinating Group. Other Western inter-governmental bodies, such as the European Community, have developed a growing interest in energy issues. It seems likely that Canada will be more affected by these developments in the middle and late 1970's than she was in the 1950's because of the changing nature of her own, and other OECD members' energy

problems. Two further developments make a study of international energy politics central to an evaluation of Canada's changing role in international affairs. The early 1980's are currently being forecast officially by the British Government as the period by which the United Kingdom will arrive at a position of self-sufficiency in oil as a result of exploitation of the North Sea reserves. Depending on the course of negotiations between West European governments at that time, this may bring in its wake a lessening of regional dependence on external supplies. These developments will, by the late 1970's, have important consequences for energy discussions between Western nations in the OECD framework. Furthermore, the spillover between trade and energy issues in relations between Canada and members of the European Community is becoming more significant. Denmark, for example, has been strongly critical of a European Community link with Canada because of Canadian oil pricing policies. It is probable that these kinds of issues will arise more frequently by the late 1970's, considering the possibility of West European interest in Canadian uranium reserves, Canadian interest in diversification of external energy supplies in the next decade, and the possibility of joint Canadian-Community energy ventures.

Approach

This project will be undertaken in the third year of the Centre's programme (1978-79), and for this reason the precise field of investigation will in part be determined by developments during 1976-78. However, the core areas to be investigated are those noted earlier: the changing character of international energy issues; Canadian policies within intergovernmental groupings of Western nations; and links between trade and energy questions in the emerging relationship between Canada and the European Community. Three main sources will

be tapped in the research: (1) documentary material from Canadian Government, United Nations, OECD and other sources; (2) specialist journals dealing with developments in oil and related areas, such as the Petroleum Press Service, Oil and Gas Journal, Petroleum Economist and Energy Policy; (3) press reports on the evolution of Canadian policies and intergovernmental talks, including on the latter question newspapers that have taken a special interest in international energy questions (such as the London Financial Times); and (4) interviews with officials of governments and intergovernmental bodies. This last approach will be a major feature of the research. Interviews will be sought with officials of the National Energy Board; OECD officials with International Energy Agency responsibilities; officials in the Energy Directorate of the Commission of the European Community; and in the Department of Energy in London.

Timetable and Budget

Research will be carried out in the third year of the programme (1978-79), though it is anticipated that preparatory work will be done during the previous year. One Research Assistant is required for this year. He will be tasked to review the relevant background of developments in both Canadian energy policy and international energy policies, through bibliographic research and through study of documentary and press sources and specialist publications as indicated by the principal investigator.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant, 1 year		\$8,000
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2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
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Ottawa, 2 weeks	\$ 152	\$ 450
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London, 2 weeks	696	450
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Intra-European travel (from London) 2 weeks	400	450
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Sub-total	\$1,248	\$1,350
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Total		\$2,598
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3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$ 8,000
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Travel	2,598
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Other	Nil
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	<u>\$10,598</u>
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The Formulation of Defence Policy in a Low-Threat Environment

Principal Investigator: Michael McGwire

Summary

Peacetime investment in defence is in part a protection against known threats and in part an insurance against unforeseeable contingencies. Canada's political commitment to defence expenditure in peacetime is low, but should any such contingency materialise, attitudes and priorities will shift and there will be a political demand for a positive response. However, while perception of threat and the response it evokes can change rapidly, the reorientation and build-up of a military capability is much more complex. This project will therefore address the problem of how to formulate a politically acceptable defence policy in a period of low-threat perception and low political commitment to defence, which will also be fully effective at a time of high-threat perception and high political commitment to defence.

Background

In time of crisis, the Canadian people are very willing to commit men and resources to defend or support a threatened cause or interest. At other times the requirement for 'defence' rates low on the scale of their priorities, because of Canada's geographical location, her historical experience and her cultural affinity with the USA.

Members and supporters of the Canadian defence establishment respond to this situation in two main ways. There are those who bewail the shortsightedness of political leaders and continue to press for the type of capability

needed to handle a wide range of worst-case contingencies. And there are those who accept the political realities and concentrate on maintaining the maximum 'ready' forces that the limited budget will allow. Neither response produces satisfactory results. Given the political climate, the first is doomed to failure. The second response, which is reflected in contemporary Canadian defence policy, causes the armed forces to concentrate on a single part of the threat spectrum and limits the policy options available to the political leadership.

Threat perception, political commitment, and budgetary allocations to defence are directly related. An ideal defence policy is therefore one which, in times of low-threat perception, provides the political justification for a stable defence posture, while simultaneously enabling a rapid and effective response to any increase in the allocation of resources to defence. Such a policy is particularly hard to achieve in Canada's case. Her peculiarly favoured national security situation means that there is an unusually wide disparity between the kind of forces needed to meet a threat at the higher end of the spectrum and the type of role which can be readily justified in times of low-threat perception.

Canadian doubts about the physical commitment to Europe, about the likelihood of war with Russia and even the possibility of major war in the nuclear age, combined with US military preponderance on the North American continent, mean that the latter role must be justified primarily in terms of the armed forces contribution to protecting and promoting Canadian interests in peacetime, and only secondarily in terms of insurance against future contingencies. Justification for a combat capability in peacetime rests on the requirement to guard against hostile infringements of national jurisdiction, to participate in alliance and United Nations diplomacy, and to provide aid to

Canadian civil power. Other roles such as Arctic development, search and rescue, disaster relief and the enforcement of resource-exploitation regulations, stem from the armed forces organisational structure and operational capability, and they do not involve combat.

The problem of spanning peace- and war-time requirements is not new, and has existed as long as organised military forces. However, the advent of nuclear-missile warfare in the latter 1950's focused military attention almost exclusively on forces-in-being, while long established concepts such as cadre-forces and national mobilisation were put away and virtually forgotten. While this may have been justifiable fifteen years ago, it is now no longer so. A first step in this project will therefore be to reintroduce the concept of strategic warning, in order to resuscitate modern variants of policy options such as cadre forces. Strategic warning shifts the focus of threat assessment from its concentration on the enemy's capabilities to include the other factors of requirements, interests and intentions; it discounts the possibility of a surprise attack at a time of mutual cooperation and low tension, unless there is compelling evidence to the contrary. It is a well established concept which in a shorter time-frame, underlies all strategic 'alert' systems. It can be seen in a much extended time-frame in the British ten-year rule, which was most recently in effect between 1945 and 1949. It moves away from worst-case analysis and evaluates the seriousness of the threat in terms of probability as well as unpleasantness ($T=P \times U$). This project will consider the time-frame from three months to three years, and will concentrate mainly on Canada's requirement for maritime forces.

Given the level of threat, there remains the question of what constitutes a politically 'acceptable' expenditure on defence. The decision rests on political judgements as to how the national cake should be shared between

claimants, but 'acceptability' will also reflect public perceptions of the cost/benefit calculus of 'defence'. This project will therefore consider the socio-economic costs and benefits of the defence establishment, with a view to exploring a more accurate way of measuring the net cost to the nation of the public good which comes under the general label of national security or defence.

Significance

The theoretical significance of this project lies partly in the challenge it will pose to the simplistic assessments of threat which underlay much of the academic work done in strategic studies and nuclear deterrence doctrine between 1955 and 1970. It also lies in the attempt to clarify the true costs and benefits of 'defence'.

The practical significance is of greater importance. In the first place the findings of the project will be applicable to those countries (including the USA), where the level of defence appropriation depends upon some measure of democratic process. Second, the project has potential significance in terms of arms control and reducing the dangers of nuclear war. Western nuclear deterrence theory (based on worst-case assumptions), provided a major impetus to the strategic arms race in the sixties. Positive steps in the opposite direction are likely to have some corrective effect, particularly if the underlying principles are more widely accepted.

And third, the project is of particular relevance to Canadian defence policy, especially as it concerns the maritime forces. Because immediate requirements for the direct defence of Canada are low, the primary justification for her present military capability lies in the insurance it provides against future contingencies. But while the characteristics of the Canadian armed forces are largely determined by worst-case threat assessments, their size is

dictated by the peacetime level of political commitment to defence. The result is an unbalanced force, primarily shaped for general war with Russia, whose components only achieve their full effectiveness as elements of other NATO forces, and which can only cover a limited range of contingencies. Nor are the armed forces designed to assimilate rapidly a sudden increase in defence allocations.

This limited capability combined with structural rigidity has an adverse effect on policy planning. The policy-makers are unused to thinking beyond the constraints of existing military capabilities and hence tend to exclude a whole range of options from their contingency plans and from their wider political appreciations.

Approach

The first step is to justify the use of strategic warning as a planning assumption. This will draw on the work already done by the principal investigator on methods of threat assessment, on fallacies in deterrence theory, and on the nature of the Soviet threat. The implications of this assumption will be followed through in terms of all branches of the armed forces, but work will focus mainly on Canada's maritime forces, and only that aspect is discussed below.

Strategic warning will allow a new range of options in structuring Canada's forces-in-being, reflecting more closely the country's peacetime requirements. While the purpose of this project is to develop a method of formulating defence policy and not to propose a policy per se, it will be necessary to identify Canada's operational requirements for maritime forces in peacetime. This assessment will be based on an existing study entitled "The Nature of Canada's Maritime Interests," which is currently being conducted for the Defence Research Board under the aegis of the principal

investigator. Naval force requirements for a national "high-threat situation" will be assessed in discussion with officers from Maritime Command.

In the matter of ship characteristics, weapons and equipment, attention will be focused on the cost/benefit equation of fitting units 'for' but not 'with' the full-design outfit of machinery and weapon systems. For example, a ship could be designed and built to take a gun (including the turret ring, deck stiffening, magazine space, hoist shafts, radar spurs, fire-control, wiring etc.), but the mounting, ammunition hoists and associated fire-control system would not be fitted until such time as the threat increased. Or a ship might be designed for three propulsion systems, and would be built with the necessary engine bed-plates and stern glands for propellor shafts; however, only one propulsion system would be actually fitted to the ship, and full-design fitting would only take place if the threat environment changed from low to high. Within this general category of research comes the related subjects of modular construction of ships and equipment, and various forms of trade-in or throw-away maintenance systems.

In the matter of procurement, attention will be focused on the limitations of high-threat 'build-up' procurement, and on the more difficult subject of low-threat 'sustained' procurement. The latter will look into questions such as trickle versus batch-procurement, tied versus competitive production facilities, standardisation versus up-to-datedness, and so forth.

In the matter of manpower, the more important aspect of the research will deal with possible types of reserve organisations, territorial defence systems, reinforcement philosophies, simulations training methods and call-up procedures. The less important aspect will focus on the inversion of priorities accorded such factors as habitability and conditions of service, which occurs as a by-product of a shift from a low- to high-threat environment (or

peace to war), and will investigate ways of exploiting this phenomenon in the initial design of forces-in-being.

In the matter of the cost/benefit calculus of defence, the study will consider the opportunity cost of resources allocated to defence and seek to derive some measure of the actual 'burden' involved. On the benefit side of the equation, it will seek to identify those services which the armed forces provide to the community, which would otherwise have to be supplied from other sources. These would include such items as education, health and welfare, regional development, and various forms of non-defence activity. The study would also seek to distinguish between the 'present protection' and 'future insurance' elements of defence costs.

Although this project builds on two existing bodies of work (threat assessments and Canada's maritime interests), a large part of the research will have to start from scratch. There is substantial literature on manpower (although only a small part is relevant to this project) and there is a growing body of work on defence economics. But the nature of the subject as a whole means that a majority of existing research will be contained in reports produced for or by national governments, much of which may be classified. Research will therefore divide into four stages, which will not necessarily be consecutive; (1) a systematic search for existing studies covering the different aspects of the problem; (2) a review and synthesis of these studies, the identification of areas requiring further research, and the collection of such new information and advice as necessary; (3) the study of approaches to these problems in other countries; (4) an on-going process of discussion with defence and other officials in Halifax, Ottawa, Washington and London. Preliminary discussions with Admiralty officials in London will be held on ship construction and man-power this summer. Close contact has already been established

with the Naval Ship Engineering Centre outside Washington.

Timetable and Budget

The duration of this project is seen as two years, full-time, although the work may be spread over three years. Depending on the availability of a suitably qualified research associate who will carry out the major part of the research, the project is expected to get under way on September 1, 1976.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Senior Research Associate, 1976-77	\$16,000
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Senior Research Associate, 1977-78, funded by Dalhousie University Chair for Military and Strategic Studies	17,000
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Total	\$33,000
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2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
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Ottawa, 4 trips, 5 days each	\$ 608	\$600
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Washington, D.C., 2 trips, 5 days each	500	300
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Sub-total	\$1,108	\$900
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Total		\$ 2,008
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3) Other Nil

Summary Budget (for 2 years)

Personnel	\$33,000
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Travel	2,008
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Other	Nil
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Total	\$35,008
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Less Dalhousie contribution (1977-78)	- 17,000
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$18,008
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Forecasting Canadian-American Relations

Principal Investigator: Don Munton

Summary

Foreign policy-making processes as well as academic studies of those phenomena depend on some kind of futures thinking or forecasting. The question therefore is not whether one can forecast, but how and how well one forecasts. This study is intended to be an exercise in applying various formal forecasting techniques to the question of future developments in the political aspects of Canadian-American economic relations over the next decade. The overall objectives are twofold. First of all, the aim is to compile a set of forecasts about specific future developments in this area, and to develop a number of alternative scenarios as to how these developments might combine. Secondly, the aim is to assess the relevance to foreign policy of the "Delphi Exercise" consensus forecasting technique, and to explore the use of such consensus forecasts in "cross-impact analysis" and "dynamic modelling" methods.

Background

Canada's position in the international economic system appears in many respects to be at a crossroads. The new prominence of economic issues, international monetary and economic dislocations of the 1970's, the continued development of the EEC, the new round of GATT negotiations, and the pursuit of Canada's "Third Option" policy all have underscored the necessity of re-examining Canada's economic position. So, too, has the publicity afforded the possibility of a Canada-U.S. free trade area by recent studies and reports from the Economic Council of Canada. The challenges of the external environment and the heightened

policy debate within Canada both demand a re-thinking and consequent adjustment, if not radical shift, of current policies.

Such a re-thinking must be based on a systematic examination of the possible future consequences of existing and alternative policies. The essential problem, of course, is that economic and political developments seldom seem accurately predictable. It is thus very difficult to determine with any certainty what the consequences of any particular policy decision will be. But all foreign policy decisions necessarily involve some sort of forecasting, however primitive it may be. Thus, it does not make any sense to ask whether one should attempt to forecast. The meaningful question is whether one can improve the forecasting that must necessarily be done.

The focus of the present project is the political aspects of Canadian-American economic relations. Possible developments in this area are certainly among the foremost aspects of Canada's international position, as well as its domestic politics and federal-provincial relations, and thus provide an important focus of inquiry.

The questions being asked include the following: What are the possible future developments relating to trade matters, including problems of resources, energy, industrial growth, and so on? Which of these developments seem to be most probable? Which seem least probable? What are the assumptions which underlie these forecasts? Are there likely combinations or sets of developments? If so, what do these alternative sets (or scenarios) look like? Would major policy changes render certain scenarios more likely than others? On the methodological side the questions include: What are the advantages and strengths of these techniques? What are the disadvantages and weaknesses? What sort of assumptions do they require? How valid do the scenarios seem to be, on an intuitive basis? Are these techniques, then, an improvement over less formal methods of forecasting?

The present project represents a continuation of work being carried out by the principal investigator over the past two years. One product of that work was a report for the Department of External Affairs on various approaches to forecasting. More recently, a preliminary study has been conducted with a group of international relations experts that will serve as one basis of the present project (see below).

Significance

The theoretical significance of this study rests potentially both in its possible contribution to the analysis of Canadian-American relations and to the methodology of forecasting. Thinking systematically about the future often helps to reveal things about the present, if only by placing them in perspective. It also can force one to be more explicit and clear about the sorts of implicit theories one often uses to explain past and present events. Thus, the results of this study may well contribute to a better theoretical understanding of Canadian-American relations. Moreover, the study should provide a basis for refining the "consensus forecasting" approach and the underlying rationale of this and other forecasting techniques.

Despite their increasing use in various situations, the potential utility of such techniques in the foreign policy-making process is still an open question. The fact is that they have not really been tried. While they may well ultimately prove to be of limited utility, this can only be determined by serious attempts to apply them. Part of the Workshops outlined elsewhere in this proposal will in fact be devoted to engaging government officials in similar forecasting exercises. The lessons learned in this initial study will be invaluable for these later applications.

Approach

The forecasting study outlined here is a continuation of a preliminary project currently under way. A three-phase Delphi and cross-impact exercise is being carried out with a group of approximately 30 Canadian academic international relations specialists. The first stage of the project should be completed by 1 April 1976, and will consist of a preliminary compilation of the consensus forecasts. Funding for the first stage, to develop the basic questionnaire and collect the participants' forecasts, is being provided by the Department of External Affairs.

The second stage of the project will comprise an in-depth examination of the data from the exercise, and of the exercise itself. A content analysis of the comments made by the participants will be carried out in order to relate qualitative assumptions and evaluations to the quantitative patterns. The varying degree of consensus on particular developments will be analyzed, as will any tendencies over the three phases toward greater or less consensus. Participants' overall evaluations of the exercise will also be examined, and used in part to suggest desirable alterations in the format of such exercises.

A series of methodologically oriented research papers on the techniques and a paper on the substantive forecasts will be prepared.

Timetable and Budget

This study will be carried out in the first year of the grant. The in-depth analysis will probably require about six months; writing of the final papers and monograph will probably require another six months.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (1/4 year)		\$1,750
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2) Travel

Nil

3) Other

Computer (card punching, programming and machine time)	\$ 800	
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Formulation, printing and distribution of questionnaires	1,840	\$2,640
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Summary Budget

Personnel	\$1,750
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Travel	Nil
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Other	2,640
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Total	\$4,390
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Less Department of External

Affairs contribution (1975-76)	- 1,840
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$2,550
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Canada and the European Community

Principal Investigator: Robert Boardman

Summary

The aim of this project is to analyse Western European attitudes and policies on the question of relations between the European Community and Canada. Two main foci of research will be centred on: (1) decision-making processes within the European Community, both before and during the formal negotiations on a Framework Agreement from early 1976; and (2) the broader setting of Canada's relations with individual Member States of the Community in the light of the questions raised by this relationship. The European side will be approached with an eye to Canadian interests and concerns, and concluding observations will be made about the implications of the findings for Canadian policy.

Background

The study is an extension of one on British attitudes towards Canada carried out by the Principal Investigator in an earlier Centre for Foreign Policy Studies project. His research background has been mainly in the field of British foreign policy, and more recently he has been engaged in research into European Community policies.

Significance

The research proposed will make a useful contribution to the literature on Canada's economic and political relations with advanced industrialised countries other than the United States, and hence to the continuing debate

inside Canada on the Third Option. It will deal with such questions as the receptiveness of other Western nations to Canadian overtures; the ability of Canada to diversify effectively her trading links in the later 1970s; and the degree to which the changing agenda of international issues is making Canada a more attractive trading partner for the Western European countries. This last question will be tackled also in a related project to be carried out by the Principal Investigator (see "Canada and International Energy Politics").

The Framework Agreement for Economic and Commercial Cooperation, on which negotiations between European Community and Canadian officials began in spring, 1976, may well extend in its scope far beyond questions of classical trade policy. The idea of a "contractual link" between the European Community and Canada represents a novel departure in the Community's external relations. If successfully concluded, the agreement will be the first of its kind between the Community and an advanced industrialised country, and a significant tie between the North American and Western European economies. On the Canadian side, the step reflects a recurrent theme in Third Option thinking. Such a relationship with the Community was not usually foreseen at the time Canadians were examining the implications of likely British membership of the EEC in the early 1960s.

(1) European Community policy-making. The course of the exchanges between Ottawa and Brussels will be examined, taking the Paris European Community summit and Canadian Aide-Memoire of 1972 as a starting-point. Particular attention will be paid to the attitudes and decisions of Commission officials, especially those members of the External Relations Directorate responsible for trade agreements with non-member countries. In addition, the views of officials in the Energy Directorate will be sought in order to determine the extent to which energy questions entered into European Community deliberations on the

link with Canada. The aim will be to identify clearly the goals of the Commission in approaching a formal relationship with Canada, the costs perceived by officials as being entailed in such a link, the balance of interests represented in the Commission, and the process whereby policy positions are arrived at. Secondly, national inputs at the Council of Ministers and Committee of Permanent Representatives level will be studied. To what extent have Member State concerns, for example those of Britain and France that the Commission should not be allowed to encroach too much upon traditional bilateral relations with Canada, had an influence over the formulation of Community policy?

(2) The broader setting. Community policy-making will also be set in the broader perspective of Canada's relations with individual Member States of the European Community. This is important since the upshot of the negotiations may be a consolidation, rather than a diminution, of certain kinds of bilateral links. The Commission, for example, may be called on to assist in the shaping of joint ventures between European and Canadian companies. Emphasis on the policies of national governments is also appropriate in the 1970s because of the decline which a number of observers have noted in the Commission's position relative to other Community bodies.

Canada's changing relations with the larger European Community powers will be assessed in three ways. First, the historical background will be discussed, and attention drawn to tradition and continuity as political constraints operating in the present. Secondly, elite attitudes towards Canada will be studied. Here, the interest will be in more general responses to relations between Western European countries and Canada, Canada's changing position in world affairs, and to the specific issues raised in the contractual link negotiations. How important, for example, is Canada to West Europeans? Which groups have habitually taken an interest in Canadian questions? How high a priority

is given to relations with Ottawa? How are Canadian-American relations viewed? What freedom of manoeuvre is Canada seen to have in world politics? How important still are older stereotypes of Canada and Canadians? Thirdly, data on pertinent aspects of bilateral relations will be collected, and presented as an adjunct to the discussion where appropriate; for example, on changing patterns of trade and investment, diplomatic representation, and intergovernmental meetings.

Approach

A variety of tactics are planned for the research.

(1) Documentary sources. Official and related publications of the European Community will be examined, including the Official Journal of the European Communities, as well as periodicals like European Community and the Revue du Marche Commun. The publications of the Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities will be used, as well as government and parliamentary papers of relevance from Member States (such as the United Kingdom Command Papers or statements in Hansard).

(2) European press reports. These will be used for two purposes: first, as a continuing background guide to developments in Community-Canadian relations and related developments; and secondly, as an insight into attitudes in selected Member States. On the second of these, a balance will be sought between the demands of systematic analysis of attitudes and a reasonable comprehensiveness of scope. Thus it is not expected that a formal content analysis of editorials in key West European newspapers will be undertaken; rather, a selected number of newspapers and news magazines will be studied with a view to discerning attitudes on the questions noted earlier, identifying consensuses of opinion on both the general and more specific questions, and discovering whatever

significant departures may exist to the left and right wings of party politics in these countries. Provisionally, the study will begin with the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany; it may be extended to others depending on the more specific research questions expected to emerge in the early stages of the project (several countries, for example West Germany and the Scandinavian states, publish English-language summaries of press reports). For Britain, the sources will be The Times, Daily Telegraph and Guardian, together with The Economist, New Statesman and Spectator; for France, Le Monde, Le Monde Diplomatique, and L'Express; and for West Germany, Die Welt and Der Spiegel.

(3) Interviews. Thirdly, an interview schedule will be drawn up.

Interviews will be sought with officials in the External Relations and Energy Directorate of the Commission; officials in Member State delegations to the European Community, in particular from Britain and France; British officials in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London; and Canadian officials in the High Commission in London and in the mission in Brussels. If it seems appropriate, further interviews may be sought with members of political parties, companies, or other groups in Britain and other countries, and with academics particularly interested in Canadian questions and the European Community's external relations. These decisions will be made during the early stages of research.

In order to carry out these tasks, research time is required in both London and Brussels. In London, the European press reports on the continuing negotiations and their background will be studied at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (of which the Principal Investigator is a member), whose press clippings service is a convenient source for gaining speedy access to commentary in the leading West European countries; at the press library of the British Museum, Colindale, which stocks complete collections of these

publications, though without a clippings service; and at the cultural institutions related to the French and German embassies. Also in London, the interviews with British and Canadian officials mentioned will be carried out, and relevant documentary sources examined. In Brussels, the library and documentary resources of the Community will be used, and the interviews mentioned conducted.

Timetable and Budget

In addition to time spent working on this project at Dalhousie University, it is estimated that one research period of four weeks in London and Brussels will be needed. This will take place in mid-1977. One Research Assistant will be tasked to (1) gather data on trends in Canadian-European relations, according to indicators decided by the principal investigator; (2) engage in directed study of those English- and French-language sources available at Dalhousie (chiefly a limited range of United Kingdom press and parliamentary material); and (3) in conjunction with the principal investigator, keep a watching brief over the course of Canada-EC negotiations, particularly with an eye on the broader perspective of Canadian foreign policy.

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant, 1 year \$7,000

2) Travel

Place: Air Fare: Subsistence:

London, 2 weeks \$ 696 \$450

Intra-European travel (from London), 2 weeks 400 \$450

Sub-total \$1,096 \$900

Total \$1,996

3) Other

Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel \$7,000

Travel 1,996

Other Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$8,996

The Future of Canadian Wheat Trade and The Chinese Political Economy

Principal Investigator: Roger L. Dial

Summary

This will be a case-level study focusing on the relationships between the domestic political economy and China's foreign trade policy, with particular reference to grain imports from Canada. Of the several hypotheses presently entertained as to why China became a net importer of grains in the 1960's, few have seriously considered the politics of regional economic equalization in China. Explanations, so far, have assumed that Chinese foreign trade is solely dependent on the technical problems of economic planning in Peking. It is our contention that this approach over-rationalizes what would better be understood in terms of the distribution of wealth, power and interest throughout the Chinese political system. The shift in trade policy favorable to Canada, then, results from political conflict, rather than narrowly conceived rational economic planning.

Background

This project is greatly stimulated by the work of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies. The Centre has adopted a collective focus on the effects of the changing world order on Canadian policy. So-called "new China" was, of course, born a quarter of a century ago. However, there has as yet been amazingly little in the way of consideration of China's impact on the world, other than in the area of international security. It should now be evident that the presence of "new China" can not be reduced to a simple military problem. China's integration into the "Family of Nations" is fundamentally altering the distribu-

tion of international roles and ethics, as well as power. In short, much of what is "New" about our world order, is "new" because of the emergence of the Peoples Republic of China as an important actor. Canada has thus far profited greatly by this development; whether we can continue to take advantage of the new international presence of China will depend on how well we can grasp the internal dynamics that lay behind China's emergence on the global scene.

Significance

Theoretical. For the past two and one-half decades we have studied China from two operative assumptions. First, we have assumed that the P.R.C. is a highly centralized state, wherein the age-old "problems" of regionalism, localism, and particularism have been removed by a successful revolution. Second, we have assumed a high degree of homogeneity of interests and ideology within the central elite who make policy and manage the state. In the wake of the Cultural Revolution the first of these assumptions can be said to be, at minimum, an exaggeration; and the second outright fallacious.

The reaction of Sinologists to the shortcomings of our previous understanding of Chinese behaviour has been confused. The epistemologist, Thomas Kuhn, has suggested that anomalies ('counter evidence') alone are insufficient to bring on the rejection of an archaic and inadequate paradigm. Only in the presence of an alternative system of thought can old assumptions be cast aside. In the case of China studies, it can be said there is presently a movement toward understanding China as a more or less pluralist non-democratic system. The operative assumption behind this research, then, is that politics, in China, is a conflict process; that government policy results from a political interaction of conflicting interests and power. It cannot yet be said that pluralist theory or research is preeminent in the field. However, the work of such

pluralist scholars as William Whitson, Michel Oksenberg, Parris Chang, and Andre Donnithorne has assumed a prominent place in Sinology.

The "pluralist" transformation of China studies has, so far, concentrated on relating policy variation to conflict amongst top elites. This research priority is, of course, stimulated by the Cultural Revolution, which for a decade has shown the Chinese leadership structure to be very unstable at the highest levels. But "Politburo watching" is not the only level of analysis suitable for the pluralist seeking an understanding of Chinese politics. Power struggles at the top are significant only because they reflect conflict of interests springing from the larger polity. These more systematically dispersed conflicts of interest are not empirically hidden; rather they have been theoretically ignored or downplayed.

In this study we shall take a single policy issue (viz., to import for economic equalization; or to seek internal redistribution for economic equalization). Our expectation is that conflicts of interest will be found between agencies within provinces, between provinces, and between the central and provincial governments. The resolution of those interest conflicts will be, of course, dependent largely on the distribution of power. The fact that Peking did adopt an "import rather than redistribute" policy in the 1960's, is strong prima facie evidence for the contention that provincial power, relative to central power, has been a long-standing condition behind the national policy formulation process.

Practical. The wheat trade has been important in both the domestic and foreign politics of Canada. Whether China buys wheat has far-reaching consequences for the Canadian polity. It is unfortunate that in the growing literature on Sino-Canadian relations the nearly universal focus has been on the politics

behind Canadian policy toward China. Partly this is, of course, because most of the research has been done by specialists in Canadian, rather than Chinese, politics. Those Sinologists who have looked at the subject have, by and large, been burdened by the "monolithic China" assumptions, and have sought to explain shifts in China's foreign policy in terms of Chinese ideology. The Chinese political economy has been ignored and it is precisely this variable which most directly shapes Chinese trade policy - whether, when, and how much wheat is bought from Canada. Our work will conclude with a projection of the relationship between China's political economy and its trade policy toward Canada in the future.

Approach

The study proposed will be "traditional." The first task will be to delineate the parameters of interest in the key wheat-producing Chinese provinces and the strategies the central government used in the problem of economic equalization during the preceding decade. These factors will be related to the balancing of China's foreign trade. In all cases, evidence will be garnered from documentary sources and from the press. There is available adequate material emanating from the provincial level. Drawing suitable data from this material will, however, be a long and laborious task. The project will require the assistance of a research associate familiar with techniques of generating economic data.

The second task will be to relate the distribution of power between various interests to the decision to shift China's foreign trade drastically in the direction of grain importing. Several indices of power will be explored. Of particular concern will be the ties between provincial politicians and former colleagues, who have assumed central government positions. The relative stability of provincial government personnel will be assessed as an indication of the

III

"center's" capacity to intervene in the distribution of power at the provincial level. Relative centre-provincial power will also be reflected in a broader look at the provincial economy, with particular reference to its dependencies or independence. Extensive personnel data is available at the Harvard East Asian Institute. Provincial level economic statistics are in somewhat shorter supply, but considerable, unorganized, economic data may be garnered from the provincial press and government documents.

Timetable and Budget

The basic research will be taken up during the academic year 1977-78. Nearly all the work can be done in residence at Dalhousie. It will be necessary for the principal investigator and the research associate to spend three weeks at Harvard University working up the personnel data. It is expected that a lengthy monograph can be completed by the summer of 1978.

Practical. The work has been important in both the domestic and international spheres. The second task will be to relate the distribution of power between

various interests to the decision to shift China's foreign trade drastically in the direction of grain importing. Several indices of power will be explored. Of particular concern will be the ties between provincial politicians and former colleagues, who have assumed central government positions. The relative stability of provincial government personnel will be assessed as an indication of the

Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel			
Research Associate			\$14,000
2) Travel			
Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:	
Boston, 3 weeks	\$125	\$ 630	
Boston (Research Associate) 3 weeks	125	630	
Sub-total	\$250	\$1,260	
Total			\$ 1,510
3) Other			Nil

Background

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$14,000
Travel	1,510
Other	Nil
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$15,510

Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order

Principal Investigator: Glyn R. Berry

Summary

The proposed project seeks to describe and explain present Canadian aid and trade policies toward the less developed countries, and to anticipate likely Canadian responses to evolving problems in North-South relations. The intention is to employ a "governmental politics" approach in order to examine the Canadian policy process as it relates to newly salient issues in international economic relationships. It should thus be possible to identify the constraints on and, by extension, the alternatives for Canadian policy. The project will also seek to assess the utility of the proposed framework both for the analysis of Canadian foreign policy and for comparative foreign policy in general.

Background

This project stems from current doctoral research being conducted by the author on the policy process as it relates to the broad spectrum of past, present and future Canadian relations with the Third World. Having become aware, during the course of an in-depth analysis of Canada-West Indies relations, of the significance of intra-governmental divisions of responsibility for eventual policy outputs, the logical next step seemed to the author to be a broader application of a "governmental politics" model to the examination of Canadian policy toward the less developed countries generally. That the operation of governmental politics does have significant ramifications for future Canadian policy toward the Third World has been admitted, if somewhat cautiously, in CIDA's recently

published five-year strategy:

It is inevitable, of course, that there will be occasional differences of opinion between officials in CIDA and their colleagues in other departments, concerning not only policies and programs administered by CIDA but also those for which other agencies have prime responsibility. Such conflicts have occasionally to be resolved by cabinet.

(p. 33)

It is clear, then, that CIDA aspires to a significant policy-making input into trade and other non-aid issues, while anticipating serious problems in attaining such influence. This study will seek to identify the nature of these problems and ascertain their significance for Canadian policy.

Significance

It is virtually a truism that the economic dimension of international politics, in particular the confrontation between the rich and poor nations, has become increasingly salient in recent years. This development has created serious problems in the foreign policy of a resource-rich state such as Canada, and the evolution of Ottawa's policies in this area is of great contemporary and future significance. It is therefore important to examine the nature of the Canadian policy process as it relates to policy outputs in such pressing issues as foreign assistance and trade.

There will be valuable practical pay-offs in attempting to explain and evaluate the Canadian response, or lack of response, to the new demands from the emerging nations. The research should reveal the major constraints operating on Canadian policy-makers in their attempt to deal with unprecedented challenges, and should indicate the circumstances under which new policy directions are likely in future. It will be necessary to ascertain the perceptions of current global problems in the interested government departments and agencies,

and the manner in which these perceptions have changed in recent years under intensifying systemic pressures. Of great interest, for example, is the extent to which external pressures must be seen as a direct threat to domestic economic welfare before such departments as Agriculture, Industry, Trade and Commerce, and Finance are prepared to accede to CIDA or External Affairs desires for broader aid and trade concessions to the developing countries.

The issues involved here are extremely complex and multifaceted, and it may well be that in some relevant areas of policy-making departments or agencies such as CIDA and External Affairs have great difficulty establishing their 'legitimacy' as interested actors. One might hypothesize this to be the case on tariff issues, with Finance and Industry, Trade and Commerce defending their 'core' interests--hence, perhaps, the long four-year delay in implementing a very mild set of preferences on manufactured goods from developing countries. The proposed research thus has important implications for the future of Canadian foreign policy, and should lead to constructive prescriptions based upon an enhanced understanding of existing problems and constraints in the policy-making process. It may indeed suggest changes in the process itself.

The project will also have two-fold theoretical utility. First, it should lead to some more general observations on the nature of the Canadian foreign policy process. The existing literature on Canadian foreign aid, much of it overwhelmingly prescriptive, has tended implicitly to adopt a 'rational actor' framework for investigation. There is a serious need to juxtapose to this an analysis which considers in depth, for the first time, the impact of intra-governmental conflict on policy outcomes. In this way, prescriptive suggestions can be based on a more secure empirical foundation.

There are many questions which need to be asked. How, for example, do different departments secure policy input and influence, and how is this affected

by their changing (or perhaps immutable) perceptions of domestic and external exigencies? Certainly, the institution of the General Preference Scheme in July 1974 would indicate that the 'progressive' view has gained ground, perhaps because of external developments that weakened the case of the 'hard-liners' in the economic departments. When intra-governmental disputes on policy occur, which variables are most crucial in determining the outcome? Under what circumstances are short-term foreign policy and long-term international economic objectives likely to clash, as they perhaps do now on the question of Canadian aid to Southeast Asia. Indeed, on a more general plane, to what extent does the bureaucracy have a "free hand" in the formulation of Canadian foreign economic policy?

Second, the governmental politics approach to the analysis of foreign policy has not in the past been significantly utilized by Canadian foreign policy scholars, and the problems upon which this project focusses appear especially suited to its application. It is possible to anticipate a number of valuable contributions to the development of theory in both Canadian and comparative foreign policy; for example, the identification of the circumstances in which governmental politics play a central role in policy formulation and decision-making; the generation of a number of testable hypotheses on the operation of the policy process; and the inductive formulation of a broad range of empirical generalizations from case study and interview material.

Of most theoretical relevance to the project, perhaps, are the major points made by Neustadt in his Alliance Politics: that bureaucratic politics, although less visible due to constitutional convention, is as operative in the British parliamentary as in the American separation of powers system, and that not only does bureaucratic politics occur, but lack of awareness of its operation obstructs the making of sound policy. Neustadt's well-documented assertion

tions clearly have serious implications for Canadian foreign policy, and this project will explore them thoroughly in the Canadian context.

Building in this way on the base constructed by such analysts as Neustadt, Hilsman, Huntington, Hammond, Schilling, Allison and Halperin, and refining the approach in response to many justified criticisms and caveats, it is anticipated that the application of the governmental politics model in the Canadian context should do much to reveal its utility and limitations as an analytical tool in the comparative study of foreign policy.

Approach

The broad areas of aid and trade policy must first be disaggregated into their major component issues before fruitful research can begin. From a reading of the literature the following breakdown seems most useful, with examples of decisions for analysis provided in parentheses:

Aid Policy (unilateral decisions and positions in international forums)

- a. Volume of the aid flow (problems with attaining international targets)
- b. Multilateral/bilateral aid mix (partial multilateralization in the 1970 review)
- c. Geographical distribution (new emphases of the five-year strategy)
- d. Loans versus grants (criteria of allocation)
- e. Forms of assistance ('project' versus 'programme' assistance)
- f. Tied versus untied aid (partial untying in 1970 and 1975)
- g. Foreign policy versus developmental emphasis (assistance to Egypt and Indonesia)
- h. International food policy (external orientation of domestic agriculture)

Trade Policy (unilateral decisions and positions in international forums)

- a. Response to cartels
- b. Tariff policy (introduction of the Generalized Preference Tariff in 1974)
- c. Commodity pricing (position at the international sugar talks, 1973)
- d. Export credits policy (credits to heavily indebted countries)
- e. Export marketing assistance to LDCs (possible role-change of overseas commercial counsellors)

A Three-pronged strategy will be pursued, based upon documentary research, examination of departmental files (if access can be obtained) and open-ended personal interviews with leading policy-makers in the following bureaucratic collectivities:

- (i) The Canadian International Development Board
- (ii) The Interdepartmental Committee on Economic Relations with the Developing Countries
- (iii) The interdepartmental task force on foreign policy/agricultural policy harmonization
- (iv) Department of External Affairs - particularly the Aid and Commerce divisions of the Bureau of Economic and Scientific Affairs
- (v) Department of Finance - particularly the International Economic Relations and Trade Policy Division
- (vi) Department of Agriculture
- (vii) Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce
- (viii) CIDA - particularly the Policy Planning Branch
- (ix) Export Development Corporation

Timetable and Budget

Two six-week periods of residence in Ottawa would be required during the late spring/early summer and late fall of this year to conduct interviews and source material research. During the first of these periods middle-level officials will be interviewed and the results analyzed, digested, and used to plan later interviews, during the second session, with senior personnel. Completion of an article utilizing this research is planned by the summer of 1977.

Resources

- (i) The Canadian International Development Board
- (ii) The Interdepartmental Committee on Economic Relations with the Developing Countries
- (iii) The Interdepartmental Task Force on Foreign Policy
- (iv) Department of External Affairs - particularly the Aid and Commerce divisions of the Bureau of Economic and Scientific Affairs
- (v) Department of Finance - particularly the International Economic Relations and Trade Policy Division
- (vi) Department of Agriculture
- (vii) Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce
- (viii) CIDA - particularly the Policy Planning Branch
- (ix) Export Development Corporation

Canada and the Third World: Interdependence and Development

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel Nil

2) Travel

Place:	Air Fare:	Subsistence:
Ottawa, 6 weeks	\$152	\$1,350
Ottawa, 6 weeks	152	1,350
Sub-total	\$304	\$2,700

Total \$3,004

3) Other Nil

Summary Budget

Personnel	Nil
Travel	\$3,004
Other	Nil

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$3,004

Canada and the Third World: Interdependence and Dependence

Principal Investigator: Timothy M. Shaw

Summary

Canada has important and growing ties with many states in the Third World; the purpose of this project is to clarify the nature and direction of these interactions. The research will consist, firstly of a survey of Canada's relations with this large group of countries and, secondly, of an analysis of several particularly substantial or interesting bilateral links. The project will investigate the range and motivations of Canada's interest in the Third World and identify the actors and issues involved in each of the dyadic interactions. It will be concerned with relations of both interdependence and dependence in areas such as aid and trade, investment and technology, diplomacy and international organisations. By clarifying the content of separate bilateral links, our understanding of Canada's role in the new international order will be advanced.

Background

This project arises from a dissatisfaction with the widespread assumption that Canadian-Third World ties are homogeneous (cf. Lyon and Ismael Canada and the Third World, 1976). It will focus on the distinctive features of Canada's relations with different Third World states and seek to relate them to the particular patterns of interests, actors and issue areas in each dyadic relationship. In the process, the project will address the apparent ambiguities and paradoxes in Canada's links with the Third World countries.

Canada has played a catalytic role in establishing novel associations and coalitions in the debate over the new international order and generally has been viewed as sympathetic to the claims of the Third World. Closer inspection shows, however, that Canada's response to global inequalities has been uneven, and that Canada has often pursued apparently contradictory objectives both between states and among the various strands in its ties with particular states. For example, it is ambivalent over the role of multinational corporations and foreign investment in the Third World, as well as at home. Should it encourage or limit Canadian investment abroad and in which sectors? Should it support industrialisation and grain production in the Third World? Is it really concerned with the impact of trade restrictions on development in new states? Is there a coherent and consistent Canadian position on the many issues emerging from the new international order?

Because of such dilemmas, this project addresses three different sets of questions. The first concerns the sources of Canadian policy towards the Third World and so reinforces the interests of the project on "Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order" (Theme IV: 9). Is there a coherent Canadian strategy towards the new states or is the policy the result of accidents of history and geography? Is Canada either a "disinterested" or an "imperialist" state in the sense these terms are used by Sanger or Moore and Wells? To what extent do the interests of Canadian corporations and other transnational actors determine Canadian policy towards individual countries?

The second set of questions concerns the impact of Canadian policies and actions on the development and foreign policies of particular Third World states. Do Canadian interests and actors encourage interdependence or dependence; that is, do they advance mutually beneficial transactions or foster unequal exchange? Are they supportive of non-alignment and independence?

Finally, the third and major set of questions concerns the nature of Canada's interests. Is it either desirable or necessary to have a national strategy towards the Third World as a group or rather should Canadian policy be distinctive for each country? Is it important for Canada to be identified with the Third World or will this lead to a conflict of interests as at the Law of the Sea negotiations? Does Canada have a special role in the debate over the new world order or will this produce further ambivalence? What are the constraints on Canada's disinterested participation and will its own political economy and distinctive society limit its choices?

The overall objective of this project, then, is to clarify the nature of Canada's interests in the Third World and to identify the complex range of problems raised by these relations.

Significance

This project has both an immediate and a longer-term significance. Over time, it may contribute to posing questions about the nature of Canada's interests and place in the evolving world order. In the near future, it may serve to highlight dilemmas in Canada's negotiating position on the new international order and encourage an informed debate on Canada's stance in this set of complex and interrelated issues.

Further, by disaggregating several salient dyads in "Canada-Third World" relations, the project should advance both our understanding of new international inequalities and of Canada's differential impact on Third World states. This piece of comparative research will not only improve our analytic approaches, it may also increase sensitivity in the policy community to new inequalities and issues in the Third World. It will result in a critical analysis of Canada's ambivalent impact on those states most concerned with new international order.

Approach

The project will adopt two different but complementary modes of enquiry. The first stage will consist of a comprehensive survey of Canada's widespread and growing relations with the Third World. This macro, quantitative survey would be based on established data sources and involve the analysis of trade, investment, aid, transactions and events data. Together, these indicators will provide an overview of the economic, political and social concentration of Canadian-Third World ties. From this and more qualitative data, a final set of bilateral relations will be identified, leading to detailed case studies of Canada's links with no more than ten Third World countries.

The second stage of the project, then, will consist of a detailed series of case studies in which the content of the dyadic relationships, the range of actors involved, and the impact of these ties on each state's foreign and development policies will be investigated. The range of dyads will include important "middle powers" (e.g., India, and Brazil), "regional states" (e.g., Nigeria, Mexico and Zambia), "dependent states" (e.g., Jamaica and the Bahamas), and "least-developed states" (e.g., Tanzania, Botswana and Bangladesh).

Timetable and Budget

This research would be concentrated in year two of the grant (1977/8) and would involve the work of a Research Assistant to assemble the quantitative global data. The principal investigator would supervise the extraction of relevant data from established sources and undertake the analysis; he would also visit the capitals of the selected states in three research visits (summer of 1977 to Brazil, Mexico, Jamaica and the Bahamas; Christmas 1977/8 to India and Bangladesh; and summer of 1978 to Nigeria, Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana).

These are necessary because of the paucity of data in North America and because of the usefulness of open-ended interviews with both indigenous and Canadian officials in Third World capitals. In each city, the national ministries of foreign affairs and development plus the national depository library and government printer would be visited, as would parastatal organisations and other relevant economic institutions; also diplomatic missions and any resident Canadian corporation and non-governmental organizations would be investigated. In addition to enquiries among national government officers and Canadian officials concerned with dyadic relations, contacts with appropriate Third World scholars and research centres would be established, such as with the Indian and Nigerian Institutes for International Affairs and the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies.

The research would also require visits to North American centres to interview government officials, corporate executives with investments and interests in the states identified, and leading diplomats from the Third World countries. Of particular concern would be the perceptions of Third World diplomats regarding Canada's common interest with the Third World and the impact of bilateral relations with Canada.

This project will lead to a set of papers which will in turn deal with general problems of Canadian-Third World relations and specific issues of selected bilateral relationships. These will be presented within the Centre and will be published in the normal academic outlets. They will also contribute to the preparation of materials for the "Workshop on Canada and the Third World" projected for the final year of the grant.

Academic Practitioner Workshops

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Research Assistant (1/2 year) \$3,750

2) Travel

Place: Air Fare: Subsistence:

New Delhi, 2 weeks \$1,640 \$ 450

Rio de Janeiro, 2 weeks 1,060 450

Johannesburg, 2 weeks 1,480 450

Ottawa (2 trips), 2 weeks 304 450

Toronto, 1 week 182 225

Washington, D.C., 1 week 250 225

Sub-total \$4,916 \$2,250

Total \$7,166

3) Other

Purchase of documents and photocopying while in the field \$ 500

Summary Budget

Personnel \$3,750

Travel 7,166

Other 500

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$11,416

Academic/Practitioner Workshops

These are necessary because of the paucity of data in North America and because of the usefulness of open-
 officials in Third World capitals. In
 foreign affairs and development plus the necessary

Coordinators:	Workshop I	Gilbert R. Winham	(1977)
	Workshop II	Don Munton	(1978)
	Workshop III	Timothy M. Shaw	(1979)

Summary

Academic/Practitioner workshops will each consist of a three-day session for government officials drawn from the federal and provincial governments. Workshops will be held at the end of each year of the grant period under the principal direction of one Centre member. The workshops will draw on the work of various Centre members, and will include seminars and briefing sessions, films, simulation training, and other forms of practical training sessions.

The purpose of the workshops is to provide junior officials an opportunity to reflect on professional matters outside their normal bureaucratic activities. Participants will be drawn from different agencies and will be encouraged to present and confront different perspectives on the problems discussed in the workshops. The grant requested is for the preparation and conduct of the workshops, and particularly for the development of the simulation exercises which will be a prominent feature of each workshop. Costs of attending the workshops will be borne by the participants' agencies.

Background

The impetus behind the workshops is the desire by Centre members to continue to pursue academic work that combines theoretical and practical concerns. The Centre was established with the avowed purpose of bridging theory and practice, and the workshops are a logical extension of this mission. The Centre is well staffed to conduct an advanced programme in foreign policy analysis for young professionals. Centre members conduct research that is policy-

related, and several have had consulting relationships with government agencies. Moreover, there is reason to believe the workshops would be enthusiastically received by the Canadian foreign policy community. Comments solicited from the Training Department and the Academic Relations Section of the Department of External Affairs were favourable toward the workshops, and very optimistic about the prospects for attracting workshop participants. The workshops were viewed as augmenting, and not competing with, existing government training programmes.

The training workshops would be completely integrated into the overall programme of the Centre. Insofar as possible, the workshop programmes will reflect the research being undertaken by the Centre members throughout each year of the grant period. Concepts and procedures to be used in the workshops will be aired in the Centre seminar. Practical training sessions, such as simulations, will be tested with Centre members and students prior to being used in the workshop.

The workshops will emphasize simulation as a training technique, and the development of each simulation will be an academic project in its own right. Simulations are widely regarded as extremely valuable training devices, and are commonly used in government training programmes. The Centre has ample expertise in the design and training application of simulation. Professor Winham and Mr. Glyn Berry, a Ph.D. student in the Centre, previously designed a Trade Negotiation simulation which they have employed four times in training courses at the Department of External Affairs and the Department of State. Finally, Professor Boardman has participated in simulation exercises at the Foreign Office in London, and has authored several articles on the teaching value of such exercises. Additional experience comes from Professor Munton and Professor MccGwire, who have employed simulation in their classes on Futurology and International Organization respectively.

Significance

The immediate task of the workshops is to transmit information to the participants, and to challenge them to think about the broader problems facing Canadian foreign policy. In itself this will constitute a valuable experience for junior government officers whose early careers often involve specialization at the expense of breadth. A particular advantage of the workshops is that they would draw from a wide range of individuals from federal and provincial agencies, and would enable participants to encounter a wide range of perspectives on foreign policy.

The significance of the workshops would go considerably beyond the information conveyed in seminars or elsewhere. By bringing together officials from different agencies, the workshops will enable the participants to explore those concerns which integrate them as Canadian policy makers, while at the same time appreciating the different perspectives they hold on problems of foreign policy. The workshops could be expected to enrich the perspectives of the participants, not only about the problems of Canadian foreign policy in a changing world, but also about the society they live in. In addition, the workshops would enrich the perspectives of the Centre members themselves. Conducting the workshops would increase their capacity to appreciate the concerns and problems of policy makers, which is conducive to academic and professional growth. In sum, the workshops would achieve a close working relationship between academics and policy makers, without the dangers of co-optation and loss of academic values that such close relationships occasionally give rise to.

In theoretical terms the workshops will provide a forum for exploring how Canadian foreign policy can overcome the centrifugal problems of bureaucratic and regional politics. Much of the work of Centre members is influenced by the bureaucratic politics model, and an awareness of these concerns will be

reflected in the seminars and other sessions presented to workshop participants. Furthermore, the simulations to be designed for the workshops will reflect the problems of bureaucratic politics. It is expected that the workshops will be an excellent forum for a confrontation between academic theory and practical experience in a subject area that is both important and relevant. One of the important questions that can be posed of the bureaucratic politics model is: How does one define and pursue an integrated national interest when there are so many reasons for taking a more limited regional or bureaucratic perspective? This question will be central to the workshops.

Approach

The grant requested here is for the preparation and conduct of the workshops. Workshop preparation will commence in the fall of each year of the grant, and the workshop will be held late in the following spring. Preparation will take several forms. A scenario for a one-day negotiation simulation will be written and tested. The academic work of several Centre members will be distilled into briefing sessions and seminars suitable for a workshop environment. Particular concern will be given to the design of hand-outs and other training materials designed to transfer the maximum amount of information in a minimum time. Centre members will discuss the feasibility of drawing up case studies for presentation to participants.

Practical sessions will also be considered as a training vehicle for the workshops. Practical sessions will be designed to set an intellectual problem for participants, give them time to work through the problem, and then critique openly the results which have been achieved. Examples of subjects which might be amenable to this training approach are a bibliographic problem in Canadian foreign policy, or a problem of drafting a Canadian response to an issue before

an international organization. Finally, it is expected that outside consultants will be used during the preparation process, and that maximum use will be made of Dalhousie's Institute for Public Affairs, which has considerable experience in running workshops for municipal officials.

Simulation construction will constitute the major task of preparing for the workshop, and the research associates will be used principally for this purpose. The simulations designed for each workshop will be dovetailed to the theme of the workshop. The theme of the first workshop (Workshop I) will be the interaction of Canada with foreign governments. The simulation for Workshop I will be an adaptation of an existing simulation, originally written at the United States Department of State, that has been used for training purposes at the Department of External Affairs and the State Department. This simulation models a fictitious negotiation between two nations, and it provides a number of roles which reflect different domestic interests in each nation. Consequently, the simulation gives ample scope for the play of bureaucratic politics, and it makes clear the difficulty of international negotiation in the presence of conflicting domestic demands. Professor Winham who will co-ordinate Workshop I has observed several runs of this simulation conducted with government officials, and has employed it on two occasions with university students. It is considered to be an excellent simulation for teaching purposes. It can be run in about five hours, which leaves ample time to debrief participants and to discuss the implications of the exercise.

The adaptation to be carried out on the above simulation will be to make the simulation scenario relevant to contemporary issues faced by Canadian negotiations, and hence more consistent with the theme of Workshop I. This will necessitate choosing a range of issues which are convincing and which can be fitted to the structure of the existing simulation. In addition, relevant roles

Budget - Workshop I

must be selected and fitted to the scenario. It is expected that considerable background research will be required to select appropriate issues, to determine how these issues might be dealt with in the negotiation process, and to decide which roles would be most representative of the decision process involved.

The theme of Workshop II will be the Canadian foreign policy process, and consequently the problems of identifying alternative policy options, consensus-building, and federal-provincial and inter-departmental discussion will be stressed. The simulation to be designed will replicate the processes and stages of Canadian foreign policy making on a number of issues emphasizing the activity which takes place particularly within the federal government, but also incorporating the roles of public opinion and non-governmental groups, of the opposition parties, and of the provincial governments. The simulation will be multi-issue oriented, that is, it will be adaptable to simulating the policy processes across a variety of contemporary issues. The simulation will especially attempt to represent both the capabilities of and the limitations placed upon policy makers in the real world.

The intent of this project is to design a "man-machine" simulation, a technique successfully applied by Harold Guetzkow and his associates in the well-known Inter-Nation Simulation (INS). By "man-machine" it is meant that while human players will do most of the interacting, a limited computer programme will be used to perform computations necessary in the operation of the simulation. The actual design of the simulation will be done in three stages: formulation, development and testing. Formulation will involve a collection of data on the roles to be included in the game, and the establishing of certain propositions that will serve as programmed hypotheses to be built into the game. The second stage will involve the development of roles and issues, with special concern for

the constraints that are attached to each role. The final stage will involve a series of test runs to assess the manageability and validity of the simulation.

The theme of Workshop III will be Canada's relations with the Third World, with special concern for issues of trade and aid, food and technology, and the negotiation of issues involving the new international economic order. Plans for the simulation, which at this point is more than three years in the future, are not now definite. However, it is expected the simulation will define a fictitious situation involving a bilateral negotiation over agricultural aid and/or trade between an industrialized and a Third World nation. The simulation would be designed to raise questions concerning market impact on agricultural produce and equipment in the industrialized nation, and to raise problems of national planning and aid allocations in the Third World state. Other problems such as commodity prices, aid policies, and the regional and sectoral growth in both countries would be introduced.

The programmes for the workshops will be drawn up during the academic year, and they will reflect generally the research of the Centre members during that year. The following programme for Workshop I (1966-77) is submitted as a tentative example of what the workshop will include:

Day 1 Change and Canadian foreign policy - Staff
 Agenda Setting in Canadian Negotiations - Winham
 Problems of Bureaucratic Control - Stairs
 BBC movie on International Negotiations (evening)

Day 2 Simulation of Canadian negotiation processes - Winham

Day 3 Forecasting exercise - Munton
 Canada's relations with the EEC - Boardman
 Canadian Maritime Interests - MccGwire

Budget - Workshop IBudget - Workshop IIBudget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Principal Investigator (1/2 salary)	\$11,000
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Research and Project Associate	13,000
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Total	\$24,000
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2) Travel	Nil
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3) Other

Outside Consultants	\$ 2,000
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Administrative costs of conducting Workshop	1,000
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Total	\$ 3,000
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Summary Budget

Personnel	\$24,000
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Travel	Nil
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Other	3,000
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Total	\$27,000
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Less Dalhousie contribution	- 11,000
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TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$16,000
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Budget - Workshop II

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel		
Principal Investigator (1/2 salary)	\$11,000	
Research and Project Associate	14,000	
Total		\$25,000
2) Travel		Nil
3) Other		
Outside Consultants	\$ 1,000	
Administrative costs of conducting Workshop	1,000	
Total		\$ 2,000

Summary Budget

Personnel	\$25,000
Travel	Nil
Other	2,000
Total	\$27,000
Less Dalhousie contribution	- 11,000
TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED	\$16,000

Budget - Workshop III

Budget Breakdown

1) Personnel

Principal Investigator
(1/2 salary) \$11,000

Research and Project
Associate 15,000

Total \$26,000

2) Travel

Nil

3) Other

Outside Consultants \$ 1,000

Administrative costs of
Conducting Workshop 1,000

Total \$ 2,000

Summary Budget

Personnel \$26,000

Travel Nil

Other 2,000

Total \$28,000

Less Dalhousie contribution - 11,000

TOTAL GRANT REQUESTED \$17,000

V - BUDGET

The total budget for the three-year programme is \$343,272, of which \$237,432 is requested from the Donner Canadian Foundation. The remainder is principally contributed on a contingent basis by Dalhousie University in the following amounts: \$33,000, faculty release time for simulation and workshop preparation; \$30,000, three Post-Doctoral Fellows; \$24,000, Senior Killam Fellowship; and \$17,000, Senior Research Associate. A contribution of \$1,840 from the Department of External Affairs is also included.

Notes to Budget

1. Research Associates will be recruited at or near the Ph.D. level, and will be tasked for one-half time on Centre projects over the calendar year, less one month for vacation. The remaining one-half time is for personal research. Salary levels for Research Associates are slightly below salaries for new faculty appointments for what is expected to be roughly comparable work.
2. Research Assistants are funded from a base of \$7,000 per annum for 1976-77.
3. Fringe benefits (approximately 8%) are included in the salary figures for Research Associates and Research Assistants.
4. Release time for faculty members preparing simulations and workshops is averaged at \$11,000 per annum. Faculty members will have one-half normal teaching duties.
5. An allowance for inflation (approximately 7% per annum) is included in figures projected beyond 1976-77 for Research Associates and Research Assistants.
6. Travel costs are based on current air fares (tourist), plus \$10 for ground transportation. Subsistence (including room, meals, taxis, incidentals) is \$30 per day. No allowance has been made for inflation.
7. Projects are normally timetabled and funded in one year, although writing the results of the research may carry over to subsequent years.
8. Administrative costs are pooled and presented as one request for the total grant period. Dalhousie University currently pays most operating costs of the Centre, including one full-time secretarial salary. Administrative costs requested here (especially, one-half secretarial salary) are those which will accrue because of the added Centre activities specified in this proposal.

OVERALL BUDGET

	<u>Donner</u>	<u>Dalhousie</u>
<u>THEME I New Global Environment</u>		
1. Centre Seminar	\$ 6,000	\$ 30,000
2. Killam Scholar		24,000
<u>THEME II Analytical Challenge</u>		
1. Editorial workshop	6,500	
<u>THEME III Decision Making</u>		
1. Research project (Stairs)	1,508	
2. Research project (Aucoin)	5,008	
3. Research project (Winham)	5,008	
4. Research project (MccGwire)	5,993	
5. Group project and workshop (Stairs)	23,000	
6. Research project (Stairs)	15,536	
7. Research project (Munton)	2,482	
<u>THEME IV The Policy Challenge</u>		
1. Research project (Munton)	22,484	
2. Research project (Nyamekye)	3,671	
3. Research project (McDougall)	2,660	
4. Research project (Boardman)	10,598	
5. Research project (MccGwire)	18,008	17,000
Sub-total	\$128,456	\$ 71,000

* Figures for Donner request only

	<u>Donner</u>	<u>Dalhousie</u>
Sub-total	\$128,456	\$ 71,000
 <u>THEME IV (cont'd)</u>		
6. Research project (Munton)	2,550	(1,840)*
7. Research project (Boardman)	8,996	
8. Research project (Dial)	15,510	
9. Research project (Berry)	3,004	
10. Research project (Shaw)	11,416	
 <u>ACADEMIC-PRACTITIONER WORKSHOPS</u>		
1. Workshop I (Winham)	16,000	11,000
2. Workshop II (Munton)	16,000	11,000
3. Workshop III (Shaw)	17,000	11,000
 <u>CFPS ADMINISTRATION</u>		
1. Secretarial assistance (1/2 salary)	\$10,000	
2. Printing and reproduction	4,000	
3. Supplies	3,000	
4. Communication (telephone, postage)	1,500	
Total	18,500	
Sub-totals	\$237,432	\$105,840
OVERALL BUDGET		\$343,272
TOTAL REQUESTED FROM DONNER	\$237,432	

* DEA funding

TIMETABLE*

YEAR 1	YEAR 2	YEAR 3
Theme I (Centre Seminar) \$ 3,000	Theme I (Centre Seminar) \$ 2,000	Theme I (Centre Seminar) \$ 1,000
Theme III: 1 (Stairs) 1,508	Theme II (Munton & Stairs) 6,500	Theme III: 5 (Stairs) 23,000
Theme III: 2 (Aucoin) 5,008	Theme III: 6 (Stairs) 15,536	Theme III: 7 (Munton) 2,482
Theme III: 3 (Winham) 5,008	Theme IV: 1 (Munton) 7,000	Theme IV: 4 (Boardman) 10,598
Theme III: 4 (McCWire) 5,993	Theme IV: 3 (McDougall) 2,660	
Theme IV: 1 (Munton) 15,484	Theme IV: 8 (Dial) 15,510	
Theme IV: 2 (Nyamekye) 3,671	Theme IV: 10 (Shaw) 11,416	
Theme IV: 5 (McCWire) 18,008		
Theme IV: 6 (Munton) 2,550		
Theme IV: 7 (Boardman) 8,996		
Theme IV: 9 (Berry) 3,004		
Workshop I (Winham) 16,000	Workshop II (Munton) 16,000	Workshop III (Shaw) 17,000
CFPS Administration 6,500	CFPS Administration 6,000	CFPS Administration 6,000
Total \$94,730	Total \$82,622	Total \$60,080

Total: \$237,432

* Figures for Donner request only

CFPS PROGRAMMECANADA'S FUTURE IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies is developing a three-year programme under the above title which will comprise joint study, research, training and teaching. The programme will focus on change in the international system and the impact of such change on Canadian foreign policy.

The principal outputs of the programme will be research papers and monographs, an enrichment of the graduate programme of the CFPS, and three workshops for policy makers held at the end of each year of the programme.

THEME I The new global environment

The main activity will be joint study through the Centre Seminar, with emphasis on political and economic change in international politics, Third World politics, and techniques for understanding political change. Participants for some meetings will be invited from outside.

Activities:

1. Centre Seminar. A regular programme of in-house and outside speakers will be planned. Several extended seminars with major figures will be held. Seminars will augment the graduate programme of the Centre.
2. Killam Scholar. A major figure who can contribute to this theme will be sought for one full year's residence at CFPS.
3. Teaching. A new course will be added to the Centre curriculum, taught by Professor Shaw. Other new offerings will be considered.

THEME II The analytical challenge

The activity will be the compilation and publication by Professors Munton and Stairs of a series of articles on "Approaches to the Study of Canadian Foreign Policy." A workshop for editorial contributors will be held.

Activity:Workshop:

Stairs - Presentation and discussion of papers; subsequent publication.

CPS PROGRAMME

THEME III The decision-making challenge

This theme consists of several related research projects which explore the decision-making environment of Canadian foreign policy, and which examine the impact of changing conditions on the policy process. As part of this theme Professor Stairs will head a group research project involving an editorial meeting between researchers and policy makers.

Activities:

1. "Changes in the Policy Process: Exploding Bureaucracies and other Variables (Stairs)
2. "The Impact of Science and Technology on Canadian Foreign Policy" (Aucoin)
3. "Domestic Pluralism in Canadian Negotiation" (Winham)
4. "The Law of the Sea Negotiations and the Canadian Policy Process" (McCWire)
5. "Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy: Pundits, Publics, and Pressure Groups" (Stairs and staff)

A group research project, with research papers by Stairs and others presented at conference with policy makers.
6. "Changing Societal Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of the Press" (Stairs)

Included in group project above.
7. "Public Opinion in the Canadian Foreign Policy Process: The Case of the IJC (Munton)

Included in group project above.

Activity:

Workshop:

Stairs - Presentation and discussion of papers; subsequent publication.

THEME IV The policy challenge

This theme will consist of a series of issue-oriented research projects which illustrate the problems Canada faces in the context of changing conditions in world politics. Research will be reported in articles and monographs and will constitute the basis for instructional presentations to policy makers' workshops.

Activities:ENVIRONMENT

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

ENERGY

3. "Canadian Trade in Fuels: The Impact of External Factors" (McDougall)
4. "Canada and International Energy Politics" (Boardman)

DEFENCE

5. "The Formulation of Defence Policy in a Low-Threat Environment" (McCWire)

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

9. "Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order" (Berry)
10. "Canada and the Third World: Interdependence and Dependence" (Shaw)

ACADEMIC-PRACTITIONER WORKSHOPS

THEME IV The policy challenge

Academic-practitioner workshops will consist of three-day instructional sessions for officials from DEA, CIDA, ITC, and provincial governments. Workshops will include a one-day training simulation, and case studies, seminars and other activities presented by Centre staff.

Activities

1. Workshop I (Winham)

The theme of the workshop will be the interaction of Canada with foreign governments.

2. Workshop II (Munton)

The theme of the workshop will be the Canadian foreign policy process.

3. Workshop III (Shaw)

The theme of the workshop will be Canada's relations with the Third World

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- 9. "Canadian Aid and Trade Policy and the New International Economic Order" (Berry)
- 10. "Canada and the Third World: Interdependence and Dependence" (Shaw)

Papers (recent)

PETER AUCOIN

"Science Policy Machinery in Canada." Seminar Series, the Institute of History, Sociology and Politics of the University of Montreal, January, 1976.

APPENDIX B

Plus (5) other papers delivered at academic meetings, 1972-75.

CURRICULA VITAE

Education

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Peter Aucoin	148
Glyn R. Berry	151
Robert Boardman	153
Roger L. Dial	156
John N. McDougall	159
Michael K. MccGwire	161
Donald J. Munton	164
Stephen Kwasi Nyamekye	167
Timothy M. Shaw	169
Denis Stairs	173
Gilbert R. Winham	177

Science Adviser, Science Council of Canada (on secondment from Dalhousie University) 1973-74

Seasonal Lecturer, School of Public Administration, Carleton University, 1974

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1974-

Associate Professor and Associate Director, School of Public Administration, Dalhousie University, 1975-

PETER AUCOIN

Born: 1943 (Nova Scotia)

Married: Two children

Canadian

Education

B.A., Saint Mary's University, 1960-64

M.A., Dalhousie University, 1964-66

Ph.D., Queen's University, 1966-68, 1970-71

Fellowships and Awards

Gold Medal, Faculty of Arts, Saint Mary's University, 1964

I.O.D.E. Memorial Fellowship, 1967-68

Canada Council Graduate Fellowship, 1970-71

Canada Council Leave Fellowship, 1976-77

Appointments

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Saint Mary's University,
1968-69

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1970-74

Science Adviser, Science Council of Canada (on secondment from
Dalhousie University) 1973-74

Sessional Lecturer, School of Public Administration, Carleton
University, 1974

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1974-

Associate Professor and Associate Director, School of Public
Administration, Dalhousie University, 1975-

Papers (recent)

"Science Policy Machinery in Canada." Seminar paper presented to the Institute of History, Sociology and Politics of Science, University of Montreal, January, 1976.

Plus (5) other papers delivered at academic meetings, 1972-75.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Member, Board of Directors, Canadian Political Science Association, 1974-76

Member, Research Policy Committee, Social Science Research Council of Canada, 1974-

Member, Editorial Board, Canadian Public Administration

Member, Editorial Board, Case Programme, Institute of Public Administration of Canada

Member, Faculty Council, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Dalhousie University, 1972-73

Member, Dalhousie University Senate, 1976-

PublicationsBooks

The Structures of Policy-Making in Canada, co-edited with G. Bruce Doern, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971).

Knowledge, Power and Public Policy, co-authored with Richard French, (Ottawa: Science Council of Canada, Special Study No. 31, Information Canada, 1974).

Articles and Book Chapters

"Class and Voting in Recent Halifax Mayoralty Elections," with Robert Vaison, in N. Goldrick and L. Feldman, eds., Politics and Government of Urban Canada, 2nd Edition (Methuen, 1972).

"Pressure Groups and Recent Changes in the Policy-Making Process," in A. Paul Pross, ed., Pressure Group Behaviour in Canadian Politics (McGraw-Hill, 1974).

"Federal Health Care Policies," in G. Bruce Doern and V. S. Wilson, eds., Issues in Canadian Public Policy (Macmillan of Canada, 1974).

"The Stanfield Era: A Political Analysis," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn 1967), pp. 400-9.

"Staff Relations in the Nova Scotia Civil Service," with Robert Vaison, Canadian Public Administration (Winter 1969-70), pp. 572-80.

"Municipal Politics in Canada: Class and Voting in the 1968 Halifax Mayoralty Election," with Robert Vaison, University of Windsor Review (Spring 1970), pp. 68-78.

"The 1970 Nova Scotia Election: Observations on Party Support and Performance," Journal of Canadian Studies (August 1972), pp. 25-55.

"Whither the Canadian STOL Air Transport System Program," Issues in Science Policy, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 17-23.

"The Ministry of State for Science and Technology," with Richard French, Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1974), pp. 461-81.

Book Reviews

Reviews (7) in Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Public Administration, Science Forum and Dalhousie Review.

GLYN R. BERRY

Born: 1946 (England)

Married: One child

Canadian citizen

Education

B.A., University of Wales, Swansea, 1967

M.A., McMaster University, 1971

Fellowships and Awards

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1974-75

First Prize Regional Winner (Eastern Canada and New England) of the International Studies Association Graduate Paper Competition. Winning Paper entitled "Canada and the ICCS: The Wind of Change for Canadian Peacekeeping?", 1974.

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1975-76

Appointments

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University. Completed preliminary examinations 1975; expect completion of degree in 1977. Dissertation title: "Canada and the Developing Countries: The Governmental Politics of Foreign Policy Formulation," Supervisor: Professor Denis Stairs.

PublicationsArticles and Book Chapters

"Attitudes and Motivations of Welsh Nationalist Party Activists." M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1971.

"The Oil Lobby and the Energy Crisis," Canadian Public Administration (Winter 1974-75), pp. 600-35.

"In the Shadows of Giants: West Indian Elite Images of Canada," in Denis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies: publication forthcoming).

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"The West Indies in Canadian External Relations: Present Trends and Future Prospects," Canadian Public Policy (forthcoming).

Papers

"Trade Negotiation Simulation," with D. Magee and G. R. Winham, McMaster University, 1973 (mimeo.).

"The Canada-Caribbean Relationship: Prospects and Possibilities." Paper presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, Alberta, June 1975.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Panel Discussant at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Toronto, June 1974.

First Prize Regional Winner (Eastern Canada and New England) of the International Studies Association Graduate Paper Competition. Winning Paper entitled "Canada and the 1970s: The Wind of Change for Canadian Foreign Policy?", 1974.

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1972-76. 6-004 pp. (7591 number) 3 No.

Staff Relations in the Nova Scotia Civil Service, "scissors" title in entitled file. Canadian Public Administration (Winter) 1969-70, pp. 32-45.

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University. Completed preliminary examinations 1970; expert committee of Dalhousie University in 1972. Dissertation title: "Canada and the Developing Countries: The Governmental Policies of Foreign Policy Formulation." Supervisor: Professor Denis Stairs. Year no. entitled file. 1971. 42-25 pp. (7791 number) "Performance."

"Margaret Mead's Prophecy for the 1970s," Canadian Public Administration (Winter) 1970, 1, no. 1, pp. 33-41.

"Attitudes and Motivations of Welsh Nationalist Party Activists." M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1971.

"The Oil Lobby and the Energy Crisis," Canadian Public Administration (Winter) 1974-75, pp. 600-35.

"In the Shadow of Giants: West Indian Risk Images of Canada." Denis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies: publication forthcoming).

ROBERT BOARDMAN

Born: 1945 (England)

Married: Two children

Landed immigrant

Education

B.Sc. (Econ.) Honours, University College London, 1966

Ph.D., University College London, 1969

Appointments

Lecturer in Politics, University of Leicester, 1970-71

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1971-

PublicationsBooks and Monographs

The Management of Britain's External Relations, edited with A. J. R. Groom (London: Macmillan, 1973).

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

Britain and the International System, 1945-73: A Guide to the Literature (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974).

Patterns of Actor Involvement in Foreign Policy Issues: A Comparative Study of Britain and Nepal, with Kunjar Sharma (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974).

Articles and Book Chapters

"A Social Science for the Foreign Office," with E. Stern, New Society, Vol. 12, No. 312 (September 19, 1968), pp. 402-4.

"Simulation and the Teaching of International Relations," Higher Education Journal, Vol. 16, No. 6 (Autumn 1968), pp. 3-6. Also published as "Simulation und die Unterrichtsarbeit über das Gebiet der internationalen Beziehungen," Briefe zur Volkerverständigung, Vol. 51 (December 1969), pp. xxiii-xxv.

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"Simulated Conflicts and International Crisis Games: A Report on the MANEX Project," The World and the School, Vol. 14 (October 1968), pp. 53-68.

"The Theory and Practice of Educational Simulations," Educational Research, Vol. 11, No. 3 (June 1969), pp. 179-84.

"The Manchester Tactical Society: Gaming in Nineteenth Century Britain," Political Studies, Volume XVII, No. 2 (June 1969), pp. 82-3.

"The Twenty-year Wrangle," Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. LXVII, No. 15 (April 9, 1970), pp. 26-7.

"Conflict in Western Perceptions of Change: Two Profiles of China," British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1971), pp. 191-208.

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

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

"Chinese Diplomacy and the United Nations," Contemporary Review, Vol. 219, No. 2168 (September 1971), pp. 155-60.

"British Public Opinion and the Common Market Issue," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Spring 1972), pp. 34-46.

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

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

"Pride, Prejudice, and Politics: Memoirs of a Supermac," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer 1974), pp. 349-54.

"Chinese Foreign Policy: Towards Authentic Social Science," debate with Edward Friedman, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Vol. 5, No. 2 (April-August 1974), pp. 2-6, 7-14.

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

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

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"Perception Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy," in Roger L. Dial, ed., Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974).

"Scottish Nationalism and Oil," with G. MacLeod, International Perspectives (March-April 1975), pp. 36-9.

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

"British Views of Canada," in Denis Stairs and Don Iunton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies: publication forthcoming).

Book Reviews

Reviews (5) in International Journal, Dalhousie Review.

Papers (selected)

"Perception Theory and Foreign Policy Models: Some implications of a Sociology of Sinology." Paper presented at Conference on Approaches to Chinese Foreign Policy, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, May-June, 1972.

"The Categorical Comparative: Two Choices in Foreign Policy Analysis." Paper presented at Political Studies Association, Lancaster, England, March 25-7, 1974.

"Let a Hundred Flowers be Counted: The State of the Art of Quantitative Chinese Politics." Paper presented at International Studies Association (West), Berkeley, May 9-11, 1974.

"Expectations of Aggression in Inter-State Conflict" Paper presented at Political Studies Association, St. Catherine's College, Oxford, March 24-6, 1975.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Participant at meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association

Languages: Fluent, English; general competence, French; working knowledge (reading), German, Italian

ROGER L. DIAL

Born: 1942 (United States)

Married: Two children

Canadian citizen

Education

B.A., University of California (Santa Barbara) 1965

M.A., University of California (Berkeley) 1967

Ph.D., University of California (Berkeley) 1972

Fellowships and Awards

Killam Research Fellowship, 1969-70 and 1970-71

Appointments

Research Associate, Himalayan Border Countries Project, Institute of International Studies (Berkeley), 1968-69

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1969-70

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1970-75

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1975-

PublicationsBooks and Monographs

Advancing and Contending Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy, ed., (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1974).

China, China-Watching and You: An Introduction to Chinese Foreign Affairs, ed., (presently with publishers for consideration).

Studies on Chinese External Affairs: An Instructional Bibliography of Commonwealth and American Literature. Monograph, 2,085 citations, 193 pp., with extensive introductory annotations (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1973).

Articles and Book Chapters

"Nepal Among the Protagonist Powers," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 386 (November 1969), with Leo E. Rose.

"Mao Tse-tung: On His Rationality and Marxist Credentials," Dalhousie Review (Summer 1971).

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

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

"The Several and Competing Chinese Perceptions of Canada" Content Analysis of Hsinhua, 1950-1973," in Denis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (publication forthcoming).

"The Press and Foreign Policy Formulation in China," International Journal (Spring 1976).

Book Reviews

Reviews (14) in Pacific Affairs, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, and other publications.

Papers (selected)

"Looking for Functional and Regional Interests in Chinese Foreign Policy: The Burma Boundary Case." Paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies Western Regional Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, November, 1972.

"A New Pedagogic Design for Chinese External Affairs and Research Implications for the 1970's." Paper presented at the 29th International Congress of the Orientalists, Paris, July, 1973.

"Revolution as Westernization: The Conceptual Framework of George Taylor." Paper presented at the Western Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Boulder, Colorado, October 10-11, 1975.

Plus (4) other papers presented at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Canada Council Conference Grant, 1972

Dalhousie University Research Development Grants, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1974

Articles and Book Chapters

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Member, Programme Committee, Canadian Political Science Association, 1971-72

Travel and Research, Hong Kong (Universities Service Centre) and Japan, 1968

Chairman, Halifax Municipal Development Plan Committee, 1974; a task force made up of the aldermen, mayor and select citizens to coordinate the production and facilitate the adoption of a plan for Halifax growth, restoration and redevelopment.

"The Several and Competing Chinese Perceptions of Canada" Content Analysis of Halifax, 1950-1973, in Dennis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (publication forthcoming).
"The Press and Foreign Policy Formulation in China," International Journal (Spring 1976).

Book Reviews

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Reviews (14) in Pacific Affairs, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, and other publications, 1961-1971.

Papers (selected) presented at the International Studies Western Regional Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, November, 1972.

"Looking for Functional and Regional Interests in Chinese Foreign Policy: The Burma Boundary Case," paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies Western Regional Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, November, 1972.

"A New Pedagogic Design for Chinese External Affairs and Research: Implications for the 1970's," paper presented at the 19th International Congress of the Orientalists, Paris, July, 1973.

"Revolution as Westernization: The Conceptual Framework of George Taylor," paper presented at the Western Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Boulder, Colorado, October 10-11, 1972.

Advancing and Contending presented at academic meetings and policy (1971).

Other Professional Experience and Activities (1971).

Canada Council Conference Grant, 1972.

Halifax University Research Development Grant, 1970, 1971, 1972.

JOHN N. McDOUGALL

Born: 1945 (Alberta)

Single

Canadian

Education

B.A., University of Calgary, 1963-67, Honours

M.Sc.(Econ.), The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1967-68

Ph.D., University of Alberta, 1974

Fellowships and Awards

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1970-72

Appointments

Research Fellow, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1972-73, 1973-74

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Western Ontario, 1974-

PublicationsArticles and Book Chapters

"Regulations versus Politics: The National Energy Board and a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline," in Andrew Axline, et al., eds., Continental Community: Independence and Integration in North America (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

"Oil and Gas in Canadian Energy Policy," in G. B. Doern and V. S. Wilson, eds., Issues in Canadian Public Policy (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974).

"Lougheed's Energy Mandate," Canadian Forum, Vol. LV, No. 652 (July, 1975), pp. 10-11. (With Martin M. Westmacott)

"Oil and Whose Academic" The Politics of Expertise," Social Sciences in Canada, April 1976.

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"Canada and the World Petroleum Market," in Garth Stevenson and Norman Hillmer, eds., Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, forthcoming 1976).

Papers (selected)

"Multinationals and the Third World." Paper presented to a Public Forum on Development in the Third World, Dalhousie University, March 1974.

"Canada's Oil and Gas Trade with the U.S." Paper presented to a Conference of the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, February 1975.

"Between the Past and Future of Canada and the World Petroleum Market." Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa, December 1975.

Plus (2) papers presented at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Discussant of "Regulatory Policy Making and Patterns of Public Access: A Preliminary Evaluation." Paper presented by Lloyd Brown-John to the Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, June 1975.

Participant in round-table discussion of North Atlantic cooperation in energy, organized by the Committee on Atlantic Studies. North Atlantic Assembly, held at Carleton University, September 1974.

MICHAEL K. MccGWIRE

Articles

Born: 1924 (India)

Married: Five children

British

Education

Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, 1938-42

Russian Language; Cambridge University and en-famille, 1947-49

Staff Courses, 1959-60

Economics and International Politics Joint Honours Degree (II/1),
University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

Awards

King's Dirk, 1942

Order of the British Empire, 1967

Appointments

Officer, Royal Navy, 1942-67

Lecturer in International Politics, University College of Wales,
Aberystwyth, 1970-71

Professor of Maritime and Strategic Studies, Dalhousie University,
1971-

PublicationsBooks and Monographs

Soviet Naval Developments: Context and Capability, ed., (New York: Praegers, 1973) and author of seven chapters.

Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints, co-editor (New York: Praegers, 1975) and author of six chapters.

Naval Power and Soviet Oceans Policy. A 70,000-word monograph prepared for the Soviet Oceans Policy Study of the U.S. Senate's Committee on Commerce, February 1976.

Articles

"Soviet Naval Developments," Brasseys Armed Forces Annual (1968).

"Der Hintergrund der sowjetischen Marinepolitik," Marine Rundschau (October and December 1969).

"Soviet Naval Capabilities and Intentions," "Soviet Naval Procurement," The Soviet Union in Europe and the Near East, Royal United Service Institution (1970).

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

"Soviet Maritime Requirement," NATO Fifteen Nation (October 1971).

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

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

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

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

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

"Maritime Strategy and the Superpowers," in Power at Sea, Adelphi Paper (forthcoming). Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ronneby, Sweden, 1975.

Papers and Other Presentations

Presented papers on relevant aspects of Soviet maritime policy at seminars or conferences at the Centre for Naval Analyses, Washington, the U.S. Coastguard Academy, the Ditchley Foundation and the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Respondent to plenary papers presented at international conferences on "Strategic Confrontation in the Arctic and North East Atlantic" (Iceland, October 1975); "Power at Sea" (IISS, Sweden, September 1975); "The Impact of New Technologies on U.S. Defence Planning for Non-nuclear Conflict" (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, September 1974).

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Conferences organised:

- April 1972 - "Canada's Maritime Requirements, 1980-1999."
Joint academic and high-level official participation.
- October 1972 - Soviet Naval Developments I
- October 1973 - Soviet Naval Developments II
- September 1974 - Soviet Naval Developments III

The international participants at these three workshops came from government, research institutes and academia, the latter representing four disciplines.

Professional participant in recent seminars or conferences:

- February 1975 - Oceans Policy Research Workshop (U.S. National Science Foundation - only non-U.S. participant)
- May 1975 - New Directions in Federal Marine Transportation Policy (York University Programme in Transportation)
- July 1975 - The Security of North Sea Oil (Atlantic Council of Canada delegate)

Principal Investigator for a Defence Research Board project "The Nature of Canada's Maritime Interest" (1973-75).

Consultant at the Centre for Naval Analyses, Washington, on Soviet and maritime strategic matters generally, and at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, on Soviet naval capabilities.

Consultant on Brookings Institution study defining U.S. naval requirements from first principles.

Lectured on Soviet naval matters at the U.S. National War College, U.S. Naval War College, Canadian National Defence College, Canadian Armed Services College, Canadian Maritime Warfare School, British National Defence College, Royal Naval Staff College. The U.S. National and Naval War Colleges and the Canadian Armed Services College and Maritime Warfare School are now annual commitments.

Other Professional Experience and ActivitiesDONALD J. MUNTON

Born: 1945 (British Columbia)

Married

Canadian

Education

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1967

M.A., University of British Columbia, 1969

Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1973

Fellowships and Awards

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1969-72

Pi Sigma Alpha, 1971

Appointments

Director, Data Archive Section, Behavioral Sciences Laboratory,
Ohio State University, 1970-72

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie
University, 1972-

PublicationsArticles

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

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

"Data Confrontation Seminars: The Interaction of Research and Researchers,"
in Neal Cutler, ed., Emerging Data Sources in International Relations
(Beverly Hills: Sage, forthcoming).

Articles, cont'd

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

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

"Waiting for Kepler: Event Data and Relational Model Explanations of Canadian Foreign Policy Behavior," International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies (Sage, forthcoming 1976).

"Comparative Foreign Policy: Fads, Fantasies, Orthodoxies, Perversities" in James N. Rosenau, ed., In Search of Global Patterns (Free Press, forthcoming).

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

Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy: Summary of Proceedings of a Workshop, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1975, with Denis Stairs.

"The Provinces and Foreign Policy," International Perspectives (March/April 1976), with Thomas A. Levy.

Book Reviews

Reviews (5) in Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, and Dalhousie Review

Papers (selected)

"Federal-Provincial Aspects of Canadian-American Relations." Paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1975, with Thomas A. Levy.

"Forecasting Canadian-American Relations: Speculations, Projections, and Models about the Future." Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on International Relations, Ottawa, March 1976.

"The Post Hostilities Planning Group." Paper to be presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1976 (with Donald Page).

Plus (15) other papers delivered at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Co-Organizer of Workshop on Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy, Dalhousie University, 1974.

Consultant, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1974-75.

Commentator, CBC Radio and Television

Reader for International Studies Quarterly, Sage Professional Papers in International Politics, International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Interactions, The Canada Council.

"Comparative Foreign Policy: Trends, Theories, and Research," in James N. Rosenau, ed., In Search of Global Patterns (Free Press, forthcoming).

Approaches to Forecasting in Canadian Foreign Policy, Report prepared for the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1975 (2 volumes).

Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy: Summary of Proceedings of a Workshop, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1975, with Lemna Starr.

"The Provinces and Foreign Policy," International Perspectives (March/April 1976), with Thomas A. Levy.

Appointments

Book Reviews

Director, Data Archive Section, International Journal of Political Science, International Reviews (2) in Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, and Dalhousie Review

Papers (selected)

"Federal-Provincial Aspects of Canadian-American Relations," Paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1975, with Thomas A. Levy.

"Forecasting Canadian-American Relations: Speculations, Projections, and Models about the Future," Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on International Relations, Ottawa, March 1976.

"The Post Hostilities Planning Group," Paper to be presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1976 (with Michael Page).

Plus (15) other papers delivered at academic meetings.

STEPHEN KWASI NYAMEKYE

Born: 1944 (Ghana)

Married: One child

Ghanaian citizen

Education

B.A., University of Ghana (Honours), 1968

M.A., McMaster University, 1970

Ph.D., McMaster University, 1975

Appointments

Research Fellow, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974-76

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Papua, Papua, New Guinea

PublicationsPapers

"Kenya and the Politics of International Political Prominence: A Case Study in Diplomatic Thought in Africa." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of African Studies, York University, 1975.

Other Professional Experience and Activity

Addressed the United National Association in Canada (Hamilton Branch) on "The Problems and Opportunities of the Secretary-General of the United Nations" on January 25, 1972.

Graduate intern at United Nations Secretariat, Summer, 1972. Worked in the Security Council and Political Committees Division of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs and assisted with the administration of the United Nations Sanctions Committee.

Dissertation Topic STEPHEN KWASI NYAMEKYE

"Environmental Politics at the United Nations: An Analysis of the Role and Influence of the Less Developed Countries." The study focused on the UN Environmental Conference at Stockholm, 1972.

Consultant, Department of International Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ghanaian citizen

Education, Ministry of Education, Ghanaian citizen
B.A., University of Ghana (Honours), 1968

M.A., McMaster University, 1970
Ph.D., McMaster University, 1975

Appointments

Research Fellow, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1974-76

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Papua, Papua, New Guinea

Publications

Papers

"Kenya and the Politics of International Political Prominence: A Case Study in Diplomatic Thought in Africa." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of African Studies, York University, 1975.

Other Professional Experience and Activity

Addressed the United National Association in Canada (Hamilton Branch) on "The Problems and Opportunities of the Secretary-General of the United Nations" on January 25, 1975.

Graduate intern at United Nations Secretariat, Summer, 1975. Worked in the Security Council and Political Committee Division of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs and assisted with the administration of the United Nations Sanctions Committee.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW

Born: 1945 (England)

Married: Two children

Landed immigrant

Education

B.A., University of Sussex, Upper Second Class Honours, 1967

M.A., University of East Africa, 1969

Ph.D., Princeton University, 1975

Appointments

Teaching Fellow, Department of Political Science, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda. Concurrent appointment as Research Associate, World Order Models Project, World Law Fund, 1968-70

Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1971-72

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, 1972-73 and 1974-present

Lecturer in International Politics, University of Zambia, 1973-74

PublicationsArticles and Book Chapters

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

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

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

"Uganda under Amin: The Costs of Confronting Dependence," Africa Today Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 1973), pp. 32-45.

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

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

"Southern Africa: Cooperation and Conflict in an International Subsystem," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 1974), pp. 633-55.

"Discontinuities and Inequalities in African International Politics," International Journal, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer 1975), pp. 369-90.

"The Foreign Policy of Zambia: Interests and Ideology," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 1 (March 1976).

"Regional Cooperation and Conflict in Africa," International Journal Vol. 30, No. 4 (Autumn 1975), pp. 671-88.

"The Political Economy of Energy in Southern Africa: Oil, Israel and the OAU," Africa Today, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 1976).

"The Foreign Policy System of Zambia," African Studies Review, Vol 19, No. 1 (April 1976).

"Zambia: Dependence and Underdevelopment," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1976).

"The Political Economy of African International Relations," Issue, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 1975), pp. 29-38.

"The Political Economy of Regional Detente: Zambia and Southern Africa," with Agrippah T. Mugomba, Journal of African Studies (1976).

"Zambia and Southern Africa: From Confrontation to Coexistence," in Olajide Aluko, ed., The Foreign Policies of African States (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976).

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

"Zambia and Canada: Diplomacy in Southern Africa," in Denis Stairs and Don Munton, eds., Canada in World Perspectives (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies: publication forthcoming).

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

"Towards Explanations of the Foreign Policy of Zambia: Findings from a Relational Model," with Dianne Pothier, in Don Munton, ed., A Relational Model of Foreign Policy (forthcoming).

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"Alternative Sources of Zambian Foreign Policy Event Data," with Douglas G. Anglin, in Don Munton, ed., Validity Problems with International Event Data (Centre for Foreign Policy Studies: publication forthcoming).

"Zambia: Dependence and Detente," with Agrippah T. Mugomba, in John Seiler, ed., Southern Africa Since the Portuguese Coup (forthcoming).

Book Reviews

Reviews (37) in American Political Science Review, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal, and other publications.

Papers (selected)

"An Events Data Analysis of Zambia's Foreign Policy." Paper presented at Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, Alberta, June 1975.

"International Organisations and the Politics of Southern Africa: Regional Integration or Liberation?" Paper presented at Canadian Association of African Studies, Victoria, British Columbia, February 1976.

"International Stratification in Africa: Sub-Imperialism in Eastern and Southern Africa." Paper to be presented at the 10th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, August 1976.

Plus (20) papers presented at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Canada Council Travel Grant, 1973

Canada Council Seminar Grant, 1973

Organiser, Workshop on Southern Africa, Dalhousie University, 1973

Consultant, CUSO project on Canada's Trade and Aid with the Third World, 1973

Member, Committees on African Studies and Fields of Study, University of Zambia, 1973-74

Occasional commentaries on Zambia television, 1973-74

Organiser, Panels on Political Science, Canadian Association of African Studies Conference, Dalhousie University, 1974

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Member, Review Group on the Development of Area Studies, Canada Council, 1974-75

Occasional commentaries on regional and national networks, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1974-76

Chairman, Panel on Comparative Public Participation Models: Western and Non-western Systems, Atlantic Provinces Political Science Association Conference, Antigonish (1975)

Organiser, Panel on International Organisations in Africa, Canadian Association of African Studies Conference, Victoria, B.C., 1976.

Organiser, Panels on New State Foreign Policies, International Studies Association Conference, Toronto, 1976

Co-ordinator, Panels on Comparative Communist and Third World States, Canadian Political Science Association, Quebec City, 1976

Organiser, United Nations Association/Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Workshop on Canada and UNCTAD 4, April 1976.

Occasional assessor for International Studies Quarterly, Canadian Journal of African Studies and United Nations Institute for Training and Research

Occasional assessor for Research Grant and Programme Grant applications for Canada Council.

DENIS STAIRS

Born: 1939 (Nova Scotia)

Married: Two children

Canadian

Education

B.A., Dalhousie 1957-61, First Class Honours

B.A., Oxford 1961-64, First Class Honours

M.A., Oxford 1968

Ph.D., University of Toronto 1964-66, 69

Fellowships and Awards

Rhodes Scholar, Nova Scotia, 1961

University of Toronto Open Fellowship, 1965-65

Province of Ontario Graduate Fellowship, 1965-66

J. W. Dafoe Post-Graduate Fellowship in International Studies, 1965-66

Canada Council Leave Fellowship, 1972-73

Appointments

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1966-70

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1970-75

Professor, Department of Political Science,
Dalhousie University, 1975-

Director, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies,
Dalhousie University, 1971-72

Academic Director, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies,
Dalhousie University, 1972-75

Research Associate, School of International Affairs,
Carleton University, 1972-73

PublicationsBook

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

Articles, Chapters of Books, Etc.

"Parliamentary Secretaries - Onward to the Cabinet," in Paul Fox, ed., Politics: Canada, Second Edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966). Revised and up-dated version in Third Edition (1970).

"Confronting Uncle Sam: Cuba and Korea," in Stephen H. Clarkson, ed., An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada? (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968). Extracts reprinted in J. L. Granatstein, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy Since 1945: Middle Power or Satellite? (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969).

"The United Nations and the Politics of the Korean War," International Journal, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (Spring 1970), pp. 302-320.

"The White Paper: Dreary Product of Consensus Decision-Making," Behind the Headlines, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 7-8 (August 1970), pp. 21-23.

"Publics and Policy-Makers: The Domestic Environment of Canada's Foreign Policy Community," International Journal, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Winter 1970-71), pp. 221-248 (25th Anniversary Issue).

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

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

"Pierre Trudeau and the Politics of the Canadian Foreign Policy Review," Australian Outlook (Journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs), Vol. 26, No. 3 (December 1972), pp. 274-90.

"Canadian External Relations: Trends in Policy-Making, or, The Building of the Rabbit Warren," in The Changing Role of the Diplomatic Function in the Making of Foreign Policy, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Occasional Paper, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. (June 1973), pp. 18-33.

"Present in Moderation: Lester Pearson and the Craft of Diplomacy," International Journal, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Winter 1973-74), pp. 143-53.

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

Articles, Chapters of Books, Etc., cont'd

"The Press and Foreign Policy in Canada," International Journal,
Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (forthcoming Spring 1976).

Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy: Summary of
Proceedings of a Workshop (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies,
1976) (With Don Munton).

Book Reviews

Reviews (12) in International Journal, Dalhousie Review, The Canadian
Forum, and other publications.

Papers (selected)

"The 'United Nations' Powers and the Korean War." Paper presented as
part of a panel on "The Korean War Reappraised" at the 27th Annual Meeting
of the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, March 24-6, 1975.

"Problems in the Administration of Nationalism: The 'Bureaucratic'
Variable." Lecture presented at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario,
under the auspices of the Department of Politics, April 11, 1975.

"The Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade." Seminar
paper presented to the Faculty of the Department of Politics, Trent
University, Peterborough, Ontario, April 11, 1975.

Plus (10) other papers delivered at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Vice-Chairman, Halifax Branch, Canadian Institute of International
Affairs, 1969-

Member, National Research Committee, Canadian Institute of
International Affairs, 1970-

Secretary, Rhodes Scholarship Trust (Nova Scotia), 1968-72.

Member, National Executive, Canadian Political Science Association,
1970-71; Board of Directors, 1971-72.

Member, Editorial Board, SAGE International Yearbook of Foreign
Policy Studies, 1972-

GILBERT R. WINHAM

Born: 1938 (Long Island, New York)

Married: Three children

American

Education

A.B., Bowdoin College, 1959

Diploma in International Law, University of Manchester,
England, 1965

Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1968

Fellowships and Awards

Canada Council Leave Fellowship, 1972-73

Appointments

United States Navy, Rank: Lieutenant, 1959-1962

Assistant Professor, McMaster University, 1967-1972

Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, 1972

Associate Chairman (Acting), Department of Political
Science (McMaster University, 1972-73)

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science,
and Director, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies,
Dalhousie University, 1975-

PublicationsArticles and Book Chapters

"The ABM Debate," Spectator (Hamilton, Ontario, April 16, 1969).

"Quantitative Methods in Foreign Policy Analysis," Canadian Journal
of Political Science (June 1969).

"The Vietnam Moratorium and After," Spectator (October 22, 1969).

Articles and Book Chapters, cont'd

"Developing Theories of Foreign Policy-Making: A Case Study of Foreign Aid," Journal of Politics (February 1970).

"Can Soldiers Win the Arctic," Spectator (March 4, 1970).

"Political Development and Lerner's Theory: Further Test of a Causal Model," American Political Science Review (September 1970).

"Party Leader Images in the 1968 Federal Election," with R. B. Cunningham, Canadian Journal of Political Science (March 1970). Reprinted in Hockin, ed., Apex of Power (1971).

"PCOR: A Program to Compute First and Second Order Partial Correlations," Behavioral Science, CPA 380 (May-June 1971).

"Attitudes on Growth and Pollution in Hamilton, or 'There's an awful lot of talk these days about ecology,'" Canadian Journal of Political Science (September 1972).

"Sviluppo economico o protezione ambientale," Mercurio (September 1973).

"Comparative Urban Voting Behavior: Canada and the United States," with R. B. Cunningham, American Review of Canadian Studies (Autumn 1973).

"International Trade Negotiations," Research Note, ISA Newsletter (Fall 1973).

"Choice and Strategy in Continental Relations," in Andrew Axline and associates, eds., Continental Community? Independence and Integration in North America (McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

"Complexity in International Negotiations," in Daniel Druckman, ed., Negotiations: A Social-Psychological Perspective (Halsted Press, 1976, forthcoming).

Book Reviews

Reviews (4) in American Political Science Review, International Journal and Canadian Journal of Political Science.

Papers (selected)

"On Studying International Negotiation Through Simulation." Paper presented at the Workshop on Approaches to the Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy, Dalhousie University, May 1974.

Papers (selected) cont'd:

"Bureaucratic Politics Revisited." Paper presented at the Inter-University Seminar on International Relations, McGill University, October 1974.

"Complexity in International Negotiations." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, February 1976.

Plus (6) other papers presented at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Canada Council Research Grants: 1968, 1969, 1971.

Reader, Journal of Politics, Canada Council, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and Journal of Developing Areas.

Initiated and directed (with Mr. P. A. Globensky) research project on role of Ontario municipalities in water pollution control, Summer 1971. Project involved 20 students and 3 faculty, funded by Government of Canada (\$45,950). Reports submitted: "Report on the Erie and Superior Communities Project," 493 pp., September 1971; and "The Role of Ontario Municipalities in Water Pollution Control," 40 pp., 1971.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association Programme Committee, 1973-74.

Delivered lecture on "Strategies of International Negotiation" at Department of External Affairs, June 1974.

Consultant, Department of External Affairs and Department of State, 1974-76. Conducted training simulations for foreign service personnel on methods of trade negotiation.

Member, Board of Directors, Canadian Political Science Association, 1974-76.

Articles and book chapters, cont'd: Papers (selected) cont'd:

"Complexity in International Negotiations," Paper presented at the meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, February 1976.

"Party Leader Image in the 1960s," Paper presented at the meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, February 1976.

Plus (6) other papers presented at academic meetings.

Other Professional Experience and Activities

Canada Council Research Grants 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Initiated and directed (with Mr. P. A. Glendon) research project on the role of political scientists in international relations.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Member, Canadian Political Science Association, National Science Foundation, Canadian Journal of Political Science, and other journals.

Member, Board of Directors, Canadian Political Science Association, 1974-75.

Reviews (4) in American Political Science Association journal.

Papers (selected)

"On Studying International Negotiations," Paper presented at the meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, February 1976.

