



The Canadian Political Science Association

# BULLETIN

Association canadienne de science politique

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**The State of the Discipline / L'état de la discipline**

**Les études supérieures / Graduate Programmes**

**Research in Political Science / La recherche**

**La pratique de la science politique / The Practice of Political Science**

**From SSHRC / Du CRSH**

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## LE MOT DU DIRECTEUR / FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of the *Bulletin* reintroduces our column on The State of the Discipline. Professor Paul Buteux did a superb job of analysis of current trends in the field of Strategic Studies in Canada with a comparison of larger tendencies.

Le professeur Antoine Ambroise, pour sa part, a bien voulu accepter notre invitation de présenter l'évolution des études supérieures au département de science politique de l'Université Laval. Certains de nos collègues ont également répondu à notre appel et présentent, dans le cadre de notre chronique sur la recherche, des projets de recherche variés qui en sont actuellement au stade initial. Comme toujours, nous espérons que cette chronique puisse donner lieu à des échanges fructueux entre les collègues intéressés par les sujets en cause.

Our column on The Practice of Political Science has a bit of a special character since it is used to reproduce Professor Charlton's address at the President's Dinner of our last CPSA Annual Meeting at Carleton University. Hopefully, we will be able to include future addresses of this sort in upcoming issues of the *Bulletin*.

Le numéro du mois de novembre est également celui où, traditionnellement, nous reproduisons la liste des projets de recherche les plus récemment subventionnés par le CRSH. Nous en profitons pour remercier Monsieur Les MacDonald pour sa collaboration toujours empressée.

We would like to express our gratitude to all these persons and to the chairpersons of the various departments who took time to send very useful information. This enables us to offer, in addition to our main columns, diversified information which we hope will be useful to our colleagues.

En terminant, j'aimerais remercier très vivement **Claude Goulet, François Jubinville et Marie-Pierre Ashby** sans lesquels la production du *Bulletin* n'aurait pas le standard actuel. Certains collègues m'ont fait part de leur vive appréciation du travail soigné de dactylographie et de mise en page de Marie-Pierre et je tiens à l'exprimer ici publiquement.

Gordon Mace

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LE MOT DE LA PRÉSIDENTE /  
FROM THE PRESIDENT

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by Sylvia Bashevkin

While many organizations are busy designing « mission statements, » the CPSA since last spring has tried to keep two main goals in mind. The first is, of course, surviving the retirement of Joan Pond. Since Joan's departure, our Executive Secretary Michelle Hopkins has kept the business of the Secretariat moving right along. In cooperation with John Armstrong, who assists the Parliamentary Internship Programme four days a week and works for the CPSA one day, and Tim Howard, who works part-time on Association finances, Michelle has provided crucial continuity for the CPSA in these last few months. Much of the important groundwork for this transition was established by Joan and by our Past President, Professor Vince Wilson.

Second, we have worked on a number of fronts to consolidate Association activities during a time of fiscal restraint. A key innovator in this process has been our new Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Gary O'Brien, who has guided CPSA finances since last spring. The practice of printing new Secretariat letterhead each year has been discontinued, for example, as has the use of heavy bond paper. About a year ago, the Board undertook a study of *Canadian Journal of Political Science* finances to see where money could be saved. With the help of the *CJPS* Administrative Editor, Professor John McMenemy, and the Director of Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Sandra Woolfrey, major savings were made in areas that do not diminish the quality or appearance of our *Journal*. In June, two new committees were struck, one to find ways of increasing CPSA membership, and the second to evaluate the overall financial situation of the Association. These committees will be reporting to the November Board meetings; their work is crucial to our future under the CPSA President-Elect, Professor David Smith, and his successors.

Important CPSA activities have continued through the summer and fall seasons. The Parliamentary Internship Programme, under the direction of Professor François Houle, and the Ontario Legislative Internship Programme, under the direction of Professor Graham White, have each recruited a dynamic set of interns to their activities in Ottawa and Toronto, respectively. Plans are underway for the annual Departmental Chair's meeting, to be held in Toronto on February 5 and 6, 1994.

The 1994 Programme Committee chaired by Professor Lynda Erickson is developing an excellent conference for the June meetings in Calgary. We are attempting a less expensive, more informal President's Dinner for the first evening of the Calgary meetings, when the winner of the first Macpherson Prize (for a book in political theory) and second Smiley Prize (for a book in Canadian politics) will be announced. Be sure to reserve a seat!

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THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE /  
L'ÉTAT DE LA DISCIPLINE

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STRATEGIC AND SECURITY STUDIES

Paul Buteux  
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In recent years a growing literature on the future of strategic studies has appeared. Typically, much of it has an American ethnocentric bias, and much of it, again typical of the field, is acutely sensitive to a changed public policy agenda.

Indicative of this is the current emphasis on a broader concept of security than has been typical of the field. As it happens, this tendency to expand the notion of security beyond its military dimensions can be traced back at least a decade to such documents as the Palme and Brundtland Reports. Thus the Final Document of the 1987 U.N. Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development reflected an emerging orthodoxy with its statement that security "consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects." Judging by some of the proposed research programmes being published on security studies, the study of strategy might as well return to the intellectual backwaters of military staff courses from which it emerged after 1945.

The study of strategy in universities, distinct from military history and the teaching of Jominian maxims on the virtues of interior lines, emerged in response to the development of nuclear weapons. Alamogordo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Bikini Atoll are names symbolic of the truly revolutionary impact of this military technology on the meaning of war and on our understanding of it. Thus the evolution of strategic studies has been bound-up intimately with attempts to come to terms with nuclear weapons, and to make sense of them politically and militarily. Amongst the earliest intellectual responses to nuclear weapons was the belief that nuclear weapons made strategy as traditionally understood obsolete. Nonetheless, the study of strategy not only survived, but thrived, albeit in the "new" form of nuclear strategy and its *alter ego* arms control.

It also has been the case that the study of strategy, particularly in the United States, but elsewhere as well, has been driven by the desire to influence policy. Questions concerning the exploitation of nuclear weapons for the service of policy ends have been central to the growth of strategic studies. Thus the formulation of concepts of nuclear deterrence, analysis of the conditions necessary for strategic stability, and the elaboration of bargaining strategies appropriate to crisis management and arms control have been at the centre of what strategic studies is about. Moreover, the extent to which these tasks have been performed satisfactorily has been seen as crucial in determining security in the nuclear age. These efforts have been made of course within the context of the Cold War, and now that the Cold War is over, the very intimacy of the relationship between strategic studies and a particular set of historical circumstances has called into question its future.

As already indicated, one response has been to subsume strategy within a conception of security which includes everything from the state of the economy to threats to the planet's ozone layer. Yet another, has been to call for the

emancipation of security studies away from an almost exclusive concern with the state and national security in order to allow for the inclusion of the individual as a central focus of the enterprise. By emphasising the individual as a proper object of security enquiry, the way is opened to challenge the pretences of the state both as an object and provider of security, and to emphasise the autonomous roles played by "communities" and "groups" in the provision of human values that are worthy of being secured independently of states and the state-centric international system. The problem of the future of strategy is defined away by redefining the security problematic.

However security may be defined, the student of international relations cannot escape from the historical preoccupation of the subject with war. Yet one of the oddities of the emergence of international relations as a proper subject of study at universities was the fact that until the advent of nuclear weapons the study of strategy had at best a marginal place in the curriculum. Rather, the focus was on the study of legal and institutional methods of limiting war, with collective security as the dominant organising concept. Even after the disillusionment provided by the Second World War and the emergence of the threat posed by nuclear weapons, the acceptance of strategic studies as a distinct sub-field was accepted only slowly and reluctantly.

A possible explanation may be found in the policy orientation of much of what passes for strategic studies. Entry into the political marketplace has led to the charge that not only were academic strategists compromising themselves by placing their services at the disposal of governments, but that the discipline itself was tied to a particular set of politico-economic interests with a vested interest in the Cold War confrontation. One conclusion as to the future of strategic studies that flows from this view is that just like other sectors of the military-industrial complex the "strategic community" will also have to undergo a process of drastic "downsizing". On the other hand, it is worth noting that strategic studies is not the only area of the social sciences that has direct policy relevance, and which has developed in response to the agenda of public policy.

Certainly, the links between the community of academic strategists and the U.S. government have been well documented in a number of studies. But it should be noted that the development of strategic studies in the United States grew out of pressing policy problems concerning nuclear weapons, and serious intellectual analysis of these problems initially occurred largely outside established academic institutions. Strategic studies were encouraged in the United States in order to meet policy needs, and a complex of "think tanks", university centres, and official specialists emerged in response.

In the early 1960s, there was a belief in Washington that one of the reasons that the United States was having such difficulty in gaining allied support for changes in American nuclear policy was that there were few in allied countries who understood nuclear strategy. A proselytising mission was undertaken to encourage the development of strategic studies elsewhere. Indeed, the proselytising mission was extended to the Soviet Union. One justification offered for entry into arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union was that it would facilitate a process of "nuclear learning" on the part of Moscow. In reality, most of the allies of the United States and the Soviet Union understood only too well the implications of American strategic thinking, but that did not alter the fact that the development of strategic studies became an American foreign policy objective.

Canada was not immune to this exercise of intellectual hegemony. A Donner Canadian Foundation grant to the CIIA established a strategic studies programme that brought together through conferences and publication academics and others interested in nuclear strategy and defence matters generally. However, what more than anything else encouraged the development of strategic studies in Canadian universities was the Military and Strategic Studies Programme of the Department of National Defence. Established in 1967, this programme currently funds "chairs" at thirteen universities across the country in military and strategic studies. The mandate of the programme has been interpreted broadly, and a wide range of specialisations from area studies to military history has been accommodated. Parenthetically, it is important to recognise that academic interest in matters of strategy is not restricted to those centres receiving M.S.S. grants.

This eclectic approach to what constitutes strategic studies in Canada, coupled with the virtual absence of think tanks specialising in national security issues (the late and for some lamented destruction of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security notwithstanding), has meant that strategic studies in Canada has not been as preoccupied with the immediate policy agenda as has been the "security community" in the United States. While on occasion a vicarious interest and participation in essentially American debates has been impossible to avoid, by and large Canadian scholars have taken a view of strategy that is both less technocratic and ethnocentric than that of many of their counterparts south of the border. Although this view of strategic studies runs counter to much conventional wisdom, which suggests that Canadians, by and large, have failed to develop the field independently of the United States, demonstrably, a body of distinctive Canadian scholarship has appeared since the 1960s.

Thus, there is a well-established cadre of scholars in Canada interested in strategic studies, nourished by public funding, but at levels far less than the equivalent funds available in the United States. So in a very basic sense, the outlook for strategic studies in this country will depend on whether this funding is continued; something that will be more dependent on fiscal considerations, and on the political salience of defence and foreign policy, than on any evaluation of the intellectual and academic value of maintaining a body of scholarly expertise on the subject of strategy.

Nonetheless, the military dimensions of international politics are now firmly part of most curricula, and, to an extent that simply did not exist twenty five years ago, strategic studies has moved into the mainstream of international relations. That this is so, is reflected in the much greater interest in the historical dimensions of the subject, and in its exposure to the revival of interest in the theory of international relations.

One consequence of this greater historical sensitivity, and the growing tendency to integrate strategic theory with that of international relations generally, has been to blur further what always has been an uncertain distinction between "strategic studies" and "international security studies". In so far as both labels cover the military dimensions of international politics and national security then the terms simply may be regarded as reflecting semantic preference. When, however, the use of "strategic studies" is restricted to the analysis of the "proper" uses of military force, and "security studies" becomes an agenda for political change, then neither term captures what is actually being done in the field.

