

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
JOHN WESLEY DAFOE
31st ANNUAL POLITICAL STUDIES STUDENT CONFERENCE
THE GREAT WARS: MARKING HISTORY AND HUMANITY
29 JANUARY 2015

ANDREA CHARRON = University of Manitoba

(Standing ovation for the opening of John Wesley Dafoe Student Conference)

Thursday and Friday at University College discussed

Conference is free and open to the public

No students present were alive for the Great Wars

Reference to Dr. Allan Levine delivering the introductory Paul Buteux Memorial Lecture. Professor Buteux was known as “Mr. Nuclear Deterrence.” But he was most known for commitment to his students.

Dr. Levine’s talk is entitled: “The Great Wars: Marking History and Humanity”

Allan Levine is a historian and the author of “Toronto: A Biography of a City.” He has written for the Winnipeg Free Press and the National Post about the impact of the World Wars.

ALLAN LEVINE – THE PAUL BUTEUX MEMORIAL LECTURE

The Great Wars: Marking History and Humanity

Reference to the Department of Political Studies and 1974 studying Introduction to Political Science with Wally Fox-Decent smoking his pipe.

Allan was interested in the reform of the Senate and received a B or B+ on his essay. He found the topic broad and the key issues are still valid one hundred years later.

The scale of the carnage in 1918 was enormous, with 10 million combatants and 7 million civilians killed.

Approximately 65 thousand Canadians died in World War I. With the Holocaust, double the numbers died in World War II, with 60 million killed, including 6 million Jews and 45 thousand Canadians. A total of 65 to 70 million people were killed in both wars.

During the late 1920s and 40s people have tried to explain why these wars were so senseless. Neither conflict was inevitable. “Men” made decisions

If JFK had not been assassinated, what would have happened with Vietnam? Reference was also made to Robert Kennedy.

1914 – responsible for path – 100 years of economic boom ended – limited government intervention = globalization/ growth collapsed – war killed globalizing trends.

1917 – Lenin could not have returned to Russia - anti-globalization shock – Holger Harwood – currency stability ended – highly politicized political relations – prices increased – politicians pursued war policies – prices doubled – 40% inflation – 2 decades of zero net growth -

Without World War I there would have been no USSR, no Hitler, no World War II – the path would have been less bloody.

Linkages between militarism and nationalism – ref Armenian genocide – Holocaust – ref Macleans – Winnipeg museum going in right direction – a student wrote an article on this

Canada not in a vacuum – ref change gradual – 1914 – Borden defending interests of Mother Country – Ready aye Ready – young men ran to armouries to enlist.

Reference to 1965 outcry regarding the Red Ensign – veterans saw as sacred – Maple Leaf flag seen as slight against Britain – royal family seen as insignificant.

Causes of war in 1914 – trend/ patterns/ movements

Alliance system and arms race – seen as defensive and offensive

Treaty of Versailles – Germany felt encircled by Russia and France – foolishness and bravado

Militarism – war seen as solution to problems – reference to nuclear war – war waged more cautiously now.

War as Darwinistic struggle for survival.

Von Bernhardt – wrote the book “Germany and the Next War” – war as “divine” – biological necessity – indispensable – war as the father of all things.

Reference to honour – duelling common in Canada – challenge could not be refused – honour paramount.

Reference to the Russian ambassador to Bulgaria and the 1915 challenge – reference to Bernhardt and honour – reference to Treitschke – demand satisfaction – state must declare war – national self-determination – national sovereignty – memory of shared victimization, e.g. Middle East, Russia and Ukraine – 1871 – Alsace and Lorraine – France and Germany.

Ref nationalism – teaching history – big factor – globalization and autonomy – reference to national minorities – state sovereign.

Personalities:

1. Gabriel Prinze – Blackhand assassin.
2. Woodrow Wilson – 1913-1921 – 14 points – principle of national self-determination.
3. Hitler – hatred and fear of others

70th anniversary of Yalta Conference – Churchill and Roosevelt – had to cave in to Stalin.

Canadians like to think of being different

In the 1830s slavery was abolished, but not discrimination.

Eugenics was not invented by the Nazis – it was borrowed from the US – Alberta had sterilization until 1972 of “feeble-minded” – encouraged fitter families to have more children – immigration seen negatively – urbanization was resisted – mothers become criminals – Nellie McClung was for eugenics – after 1945 eugenics died away – D.H. Lawrence would build a crystal palace and kill inferior people.

Social Darwinism prevailed – Canada was anti-Catholic and anti-Asian – the Committee of 1,000, led by Max Steinkopf, was a member of a business group trying to break the strike of 1919 – they said that rich Jews were meeting in West Kildonan and supporting the Bolsheviks – in the 1930s it got worse

The Holocaust was unprecedented and attitudes were slow to dissipate – the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not binding – Pearson was concerned – Canada abstained and was concerned regarding the treatment of Japanese and Aboriginals – ref slow change – 1960s and 70s – discrimination disappeared – property restrictions disappeared – reference to Victoria Beach, Manitoba Club membership clauses – St. Charles Country Club – attitudes towards aboriginals.

in 1947/48 Pierre Berton wrote in Maclean's magazine – he was shocked by prejudice against the Jews.

The majority of Canadians preferred German immigrants versus Jews – in 1960 Gay Woman Power of Ontario would be shocking – John Sewell spoke out in the 1970s on Gay issues in Toronto – Jewish mayors, Asian mayors, etc.

Winnipeg the most racist – reference to Toronto police versus the black community.

Impact of wars leads to a shift in attitudes – in 1940 people could not relate to today.

Reference to Canadian autonomy from Britain – Mackenzie King was crazy

In 1945 there was the Hiroshima bomb – it was regarded as terrible, but no white people were killed – Mackenzie King was pro-British but moved Canada towards a more autonomous position.

In 1939, Canadians had to declare war because of the Statute of Westminster, i.e. because of Britain.

Attitude shifted closer to the US regarding trade and geography – reference to the Commonwealth – the Queen is still there – the flag is still being debated

Reference to the weakening of the Middle East and extreme nationalism

Reference to Gabriel Prinz and Jean Jaures who was assassinated on July 31 in 1914 by Raoul Villain because of Jaures' pacifism.

Question: regarding the development of nationalism – reference to socialism and the welfare state

Answer: Levine – Mackenzie King was an advocate of unemployment insurance and welfare – Woodsworth was also – there was a movement towards change – reference to 1913

British labour policy changed – Churchill was tossed from office – Atlee had more adaptive policies

The CCF advocated socialism but the USSR gave socialism a negative image – in the 1943 Ontario election brought the CCF to opposition – liberals coopted useful stuff from the CCF.

Question: reference to a financial basis for the First World War?

Answer: Levine – mentioned this – not too concerned with that – 1919/20 there was a massive dislocation – there were problems in Germany with hyperinflation.

Question: Was World War I inevitable? What if there had been no assassination?

Answer: Levine – there was a century of wars between Prussia and France – they believed that wars solved problems – the Kaiser tried to stop the war – Russia could have avoided revolution. The rise of the Nazis was not inevitable – Weimar could have survived – Hitler was a crank – but the naval race could have led to conflict.

Question: regarding unelected EU commissioners.

Question: were there voices of reason regarding the treaty of Versailles?

Answer: there were feelings in France to avenge and punish Germany. Wilson had heart problems. Britain and France were determined to punish Germany. Margaret Macmillan says that we cannot blame Versailles for Hitler.

Question: Germany has convinced the world that Versailles caused World War II. This was meant to excuse Germany and to attack Hitler, according to the Franco-German commission, according to the historical and military community in Germany.

Answer: Hitler dwelled on the humiliation of Versailles. Many Germans voted for Hitler.

Question: regarding the treaty of Versailles – does this have any relevance for the Middle East?

Answer: one can have a full university course on the fall of the Ottoman Empire. World War I was pushed forward.

PANEL ONE

MODERATOR – HLCOL BARRY BURNS

HONOURARY LIEUTENANT COLONEL 38 SIGNAL REGIMENT

DR. GENE WALZ – University of Manitoba

CANADA'S FILMS ABOUT WORLD WAR I

DAVID MCDONALD – University of Wisconsin

RUSSIA 1917

DEAN OLIVER – Canadian Museum of History

CANADA'S ROLE IN WORLD WAR I

Question: Jim Warlock – nobody designed a more reactive war plan. Greater coordination between political and military realities. Who deserves the blame? There was the prediction of a short war. Instead it was a tragedy – prolonged and bloody.

Answer: Oliver – exceptions to every rule – no occupation by Russians of Vienna – railroads – planned for – Britain intended to occupy small territory – tanks not anticipated – communications – coffee and maps – automatic rulers in sync with their leaders – Kaiser not briefed – British navy and army uncoordinated – rare predictions of actual course of war – technical reasons French prime minister and defence minister in Baltic – over in weeks expected – people desperately afraid of long war – risk of bankruptcy.

Question: major from s

Shilo – reference to McDonald's comment – Canadian view of World War I – changed over time?
Reference to political expediency.

Answer: McDonald – Gallipoli and Anzacs.

Answer: Dean Oliver – not humbug – different image – investigation and pride – blinkered view of the past – politically divisive 1917 election contentious and vicious.

Question: young – kelvin high school – Russians lost most soldiers in World War I – cemeteries – much remembrance

Answer: McDonald – 1916 – memorial to imperial soldiers – German attacks on polish bordertown – Kalishin (?) – memorial to imperial soldier General Brusilov successful in civil war – orthodox cathedral –

wife devout – Shanghai, Prague, Berlin monuments – expats from Bolshevik revolution – within soviet union – subsumed in World War II – Kevin Petronev book.

Question: Russian film industry

Answer: Solzhenitsyn's – Red Wheel

Barry Burns – 2 soldiers – needed a place to stay – an old woman took one named Cox – the others stayed in a local brothel – that made 17 men in the brothel, without Cox – Madame, hearing this story, answered: “You’re kidding!”

MODERATOR – HCOL JOHN SAUDER

Thursday 29 January 2015

Panel 2: WORLD WAR II

ROBERT YOUNG – University of Winnipeg

THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR II

Reference to the Maginot line –reference to new French commitments to Eastern Europe – Franco-phobia in Britain and French mistrust of the UK – the US after 1918 had little interest in Europe, other than repayments of debt.

Reference to the bi-polar world

Italians were among ranks of unhappy – they received nothing from the secret treaty of London.

The Versailles treaty of 1919 did not satisfy the major powers.

The League of Nations’ purpose was to preserve the peace – the 1919 boundaries were hastily drawn – the covenant restrained the powers to first negotiate – then, upon failure, collective security was in effect – the US never ratified the treaty – Germany joined in 1925 and left in 1933 – no nation would surrender their sovereignty to a collective organization.

Italy and Japan decided to leave the League – the “all for one” slogan was meaningless – nobody was willing to risk a war.

The third interpretation was dependent on Moscow’s policy – reference to Czechoslovakia – the USSR was a member of the league – there are articles regarding the mistrust of the organization aimed at the destruction of the USSR – the USSR hoped for war between the capitalist powers and to then pick up the pieces – Stalin saw the Munich pact as opening the gateway for the USSR to Eastern Europe – Stalin hastened to build up his armed forces – Hitler, in 1938/39, was not removed from power – the Reichstag

vote gave him power – understanding Hitler is important – reference to “genius” – the Rhineland, etc. were occupied within 4 years.

AJP Taylor wrote in the 1960s regarding Hitler’s instinct regarding when to act – the UK and France were afraid of inflation – Hitler would have to seize Czech industry.

There was an attempt in 1970 to understand Hitler in a World War II study of “The Mind of Adolf Hitler” – was he a madman? Were there other scenarios at work?

IIAN JOHNSTON – Cambridge

DOMINIONS AND WORLD WAR II

Reference to the Canadian national identity

London needed help in training air crew – the dominions trained men – there was a significant colour bar – reference to the British Commonwealth air training plan – reference to South Africa (?) – absorbed in British armed forces – colonial model of cooperation – British airman had control – agreement to identify units with dominions – Canada, Australia and New Zealand – this was seen as an overwhelmingly British effort – the Royal Australian Air Force had a single Australian.

With Mackenzie King as prime minister, 600 different RAF units had Canadians. There was a Canadian 6th bomber group. Australia acted similarly.

Reference to operational training units in England, with increasing numbers of Australians – criticised Canadian inadequacies – Canadians had an individualist approach – Canadians wanted to Canadianize operations. Australians tried infiltration.

Britain emphasised “empire” and “whiteness” – people from India’s “heart not in the war” = There were 54 thousand pilots. 18 came from India – there was no emphasis on British ethnicity among Canadian airmen.

Aircrew relationships compared to “marriage” – squadrons adopted rituals and identities – In 1942, there was enthusiastic support for Canadianization (more than 90%). Canadianization was seen as a political tool for the benefit of Canadian politicians.

There were tensions between Canadians and Commonwealth partners because of vociferous nationalists. Censors, for example, did not review French letters. The Canadian identification emphasised, not ethnic origins. In 1946, the Canadian citizenship act had an effect on the rest of the commonwealth.

CATHERINE CHATTERLEY – University of Manitoba

WHY WE NOW CALL IT HITLER’S WAR: Anti-Semitism and the Origins of World War II

Reference to anti-Semitism and World War II. We could not have had World War II without anti-Semitism. Hitler had a meeting with his generals 3 days after taking office to discuss this.

In 1936 the economic plan for military expansion was led by Goering.

The question was: whom to blame for the 1918 surrender? Reference to the “Jew.” There was a “stab in the back by Jews and communists.” But only 0.1% of Germans were Jewish. There was excessive Anti-Semitism in Hitler’s policy.

Communism was equal to Judeo-Bolshevism in Hitler’s policy. Jews were seen as a “bacillus.” No mercy was to be shown in the extermination of the Jewish people. The exhortation was to be “hard” but “decent.”

The “J-Communist conspiracy” was a “canard.” Jewish ancestry was needed to condemn the leaders of the communist movement. There were, for example, 2,300 to 2,700 Jews in the Polish communist party, which was a small proportion of the communion of Jews.

The racial engineering of Eastern Europe led to a decline in the Slavic population. The disabled, gays, Jehovah’s witnesses, etc. were targeted. Gypsies were seen as a racial group. The new Ottawa war museum shows no connection to the Nazi ideological motivation.

STEPHAN JAEGER – University of Manitoba

THE MEMORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

References were made to Anne Frank, hegemonic or collective memory, and the change in the meaning of war. Gopnik referred to the American national collective memory.

Reference was made to Hiroshima and the Enola Gay debate, and its connection to the US collective memory or cultural memory. Jaeger spoke about the New Orleans museum and the film directed by Tom Hanks, experiencing war in all its dimensions. Reference was made to the illusion of simulated reality not being broken in a linear black and white narrative. The use of nuclear bombs was not questioned.

In the Canadian collective memory, nation building is important. There is the long-established use of World War II for reconciliation. Jaeger referred to trans-national memory patterns.

1 September 2016 – to fill void with Post-National War Museum will talk of collective experiences

World War II memory became dynamic collective memory regarding atrocities.

The German national memory is complicated, as a “perpetrator” – reference to war of atrocities.

Dresden Army Museum with political, social and cultural history covering 1300 to the present. It is concept-based covering trans-historical and trans-national events, rather than memorializing. The focus is on cultural history.

The German-Russian museum in Berlin simulates the impact of World War II. This is more important than the structural experience. It is rather a universal experience since it simulates impacts. It is useful for us because historical understanding can increase understanding in general.

Question: regarding the extermination of the Jews.

Answer: Chatterley – the Wannsee conference was the coordination meeting instead of a decision meeting. We have the agenda. Heydrich held the meeting. Himmler told Heydrich. There was no written order for doctors to euthanize children backdated by Hitler. Reference to the Sopranos. The debate was held during the summer and fall of 1941-42. Chris Browning is an expert on this. The emphasis was on the invasion of the USSR.

Question: for Jaeger – ref twin towers – national museums – European perspective – ref reaction to 1919 – not to re-engage willful belief.

Answer: Young reference to Russians – we associate war with soldiers – Italians differ because of ideology.

Answer: Jaeger – what could they offer to us in the 21st century? – difference between 2 national museums – ref Bundeswehr – museum in Gdansk – national North Polish museum – ref trans-national.

Question: speculate if presentations would be different if the focus was Asia and the Pacific

Answer: Jaeger – the German memory is different from the Japanese memory – reference to impact – reference to Manchester.

Answer: Young – in 1941 – should have stopped aggression earlier.

Answer: Johnston – reference to Australians in North Africa – reference to 1931.

Answer: Chatterley – not much to say – ref racial imperialism – regarding Jews – 2 happy stories in Japan and Shanghai.

Question: ref Canadian and Japanese programs.

Answer: Johnston – higher in Britain

Question: for Dr. Chatterley – roots of anti-Semitism – ref Hitler, Himmler and Heydrich.

Answer: Chatterley – historians not supposed to answer such questions – would not have had the state of Israel – reverberations profound.

MODERATOR – DEAN TAYLOR

PANEL 3: COLD WAR

JIM FERGUSON – University of Manitoba

WAS M.A.D. MAD?

Last year was the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall – the Cold War versus the hot war – greatest conflict since the beginning of time – the Middle East had hot wars – conditioned and fed by the cold war.

Ref World War I and World War II – casualties not so high – but in the third world, millions died – books and articles and documentaries regarding World War I and II to be used – more than 20 thousand nuclear weapons – sophisticated command and control systems – the internet, computer mouse, etc. – air and rocket forces trained to deliver these weapons on command

Condition of mutually assured destruction – how much is enough? 25 to 33 percent of the soviet population was to be killed – reference to sea-based systems – ability to retaliate whatever happened – number of warheads targeted on Moscow, Washington and other major cities – Winnipeg was a target because of its railroads – there was a single integrated operational plan – a wooden footbridge was targeted in Bulgaria.

There were enough to destroy the world 20 times over and change the climate – the unthinkable – defence, security and survival depended on the enemy – civil defence measures – ABM seen as active defences – seen as dangerous – thousands of warheads created certainties that nobody would start a war – lower levels of nuclear weapons were dangerous – could create the assumption that nuclear war could be won – reference to the principle of rationality – the enemy would not use force because of the consequences.

Social systems created the conditions for war – except for nuclear weapons – the war would be worse than World War II – the failure of appeasement – peace through strength – Romans – if you want peace, prepare for war.

Control war on the periphery to prevent escalation – mutual suicide pact – MAD prevented the 3rd World War – reference to 2 major crises – the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and the 1972 Yom Kippur war.

How much is enough?

World War I according to AJP Taylor, was a war of railway timetables – the decision-makers lost control of events.

The Cold War is ancient history – the lessons have been forgotten and are no longer studied – nuclear weapons are one-tenth of the previous numbers but are still there.

China is seen as a competitor of the US – conflicts loom – ref MAD – dangerous to try to relearn the lessons – strategic nuclear weapons remain interested in you.

ANDREW BURTCH – War Museum

COLD WAR CIVIL DEFENCE

Reference to passive defences – insurance policy

Domestic security – overcoming incredulity with planning – reference to the homefront – 1942 gift day – Canadian army soldiers dressed as Germans.

Reference to the prosperous Canadian welfare state led to a destroyed country – in the January 1947 Macleans – illustrated an attack on Winnipeg – 40 thousand dead and 60 thousand injured, etc. – wanted a system in place to ensure survival – civil defence leaders – had to prepare governments – Major General Frank Worthington – civil response to aerial attack – each community would take care of itself – Winnipeg had Major General Matthew Campbell – 1950 flood dealt with – public exercises, exhibitions and radio messages – 1942 simulation.

People in school boards saw civil defence as ridiculous military ruse – reference to Joe Zuken.

Self-preparedness – duck and cover – Justin case – posters – civil defence song proposed.

Civil defence changed from airplane attack to ballistic missiles – creation of bomb shelters in rail stations, restaurants, etc. – basements and back yards costing approximately \$400 thousand today.

The threat was not evident and they could not maintain that level of fear – it was seen as impractical, leading to improvised shelters in 1961 – Diefenbaker proclaimed that smart men were making the best of a bad situation.

The Berlin and Cuban missile crises passed and alarm diminished – reference to the psychological situation – survival? Helplessness and powerlessness – what if you don't die? There was no answer to this from the government.

DR. KYLE HADDAD-FONDA – Middle East Institute

CHINESE-ARAB PERSPECTIVE OF COLD WAR

Reference to the cold war – confrontation – global turmoil – reference to aloof from soviet and us blocks

Global phenomenon of de-colonization – series of crises in the Cold War versus the Cold War as ever-present reality – countries trying to assert themselves on the world stage.

Reference to helping Asian and African countries – cannot overlook.

1955 plots – Chou en Lai and Nasser – in 1956 Nasser's Egypt extended formal diplomatic recognition to china – the Suez crisis – the nationalization of the Suez canal – the Soviet invasion of Hungary at the same time – against the UK – Chinese supported the anti-imperialist movement – China sent \$20 million gold francs to Egypt – pictures shown of 400 thousand people demonstrating in Tien-a-Mien square.

Reference to mass politics – rallies carefully orchestrated – let off work – pre-printed placards – government controlled how people supported Egypt – Beijing demonstrators chanted "long live China and Egypt" – included Muslims – avoided dissent and sought Muslim support.

The US did not participate in the Suez crisis – the Chinese said that the US was behind the Suez crisis.

In 1958 in the Middle East there was a coup/ revolution in Iraq – there was the invasion of Jordan and Lebanon by the US – China was in Mao's revolution, the great leap forward – millions of people died.

The US threat was used as an excuse for bombarding Quemoy and Matsu – reference to China and Iraq – justification for Mao's view regarding global revolution – in 1958 – increasingly optimistic.

Algeria was in a war with France for independence – China was first non-Arab government to recognize the Algerian government – they told the Algerians what to do, e.g. regarding guerilla warfare – Chinese population influenced – no long-lasting partnerships – the Chinese were now anxious to influence the Middle East – this strengthened their domestic policies.

Question: Andrea Charron – have we learned anything regarding civil preparedness – reference to water contamination

Answer: Burtch – we had community activities during World War II – the use of slogans and songs – in 1959/60 – there were studies regarding community and responsibility – lines of communication were clear.

Question: David McDonald – with the Cold War over, is there an enemy? What affects the post-Cold War? Reference to semi-mobilized post World War II – reference to Mao – reference to USSR.

Answer: Haddad-Fonda – upset – 1961 – Mao woke up to nuclear weapons – in 1957 – Chinese and Soviets took different views of Iraq -

Answer: Fergusson – reference to the Ukrainian-Russian crisis – Putin another Hitler? Russia and us drifting back to a Cold War relationship – Russian threats if NATO continues with its ABM system in Eastern Europe - to ignore arms limitation agreements – 2009 - Russian-American strategic relations – China and Obama strategic pivot – Cold War under different conditions? Traditional great power rivalry? Was more than that – zero sum conflict between 2 systems – now do not have zero sum relationship – economically inter-dependent – strategic nuclear relationship – both now have missile defences – future nuclear strategic relationships.

Answer: Haddad-Fonda – will not have the same level of attempts to influence other countries.

Question: ref hosting officer - ref MAD – types of weapons/ capabilities – ref stealth technology = reference to rationale for MAD – reference to Armageddon – offensive weapons within the context of MAD.

Answer: Fergusson – new weapons systems developed with a concern for stability – reference to Herman Kahn and to go first – minimalists versus the maximalists – Denis Healy regarding using nuclear weapons – need first and second strike forces to ensure that opponent will not use salami tactics – reference to Eisenhower's massive retaliation. War-fighting during the Reagan years – emerged under Jimmy Carter – enemy must be convinced that the US was willing to fight – reference to Chinese nuclear

forces – how much is enough? The Soviet Union was not a global threat in the 1940s – now is the time to think about China.

MODERATOR – ANDREA CHARRON

Pamela Shaw is from Veterans Affairs – reference to the presenters from Europe and small table on stage – on Thursday World Wars I and II were discussed regarding how wars affected people.

Terry McLeod with introductions – 15 minutes for each speaker.

FRIDAY 30 JANUARY 2015

PANEL 4: IMPACT ON HUMANITY

ADAM CHAPNICK – Canadian Forces College

UNITED NATIONS – LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The United Nations is a dated institution in need of reform. It was founded in 1945. It is a Second World War institution that needs to be revised. This is obvious, but still important. State-based institutions are the causes of great wars. There is criticism of the generals who plan for the last war. Peace creation institutions plan for the last peace.

Reference to great wars – the 30 Years War began as a battle between Protestant and Catholic states – it was ended in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia which was the start of a new international system focussed on state sovereignty which prevailed until the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The congress of Europe worked for 100 years.

The League of Nations was created at the end of World War I – the UN was created at the end of World War II – it was a new international system.

Great wars create the great opportunities to recreate the peace – like the generals, peace planners use the past.

Unanimity of members – made sense in 1815 – reference to a system that had broken down – the UN did not reflect the state of power in 1949 – France was not a great power – also China – Canada had the 4th strongest army and economy – it should have been a permanent member of the Security Council – China was wanted by the US as a permanent partner – the USSR was against this.

This had 3 implications: 1. So what? 2. We missed our chance; and 3. ?

1. So what? The UN does not reflect world affairs today – unfair and impossible – institutionalized design always retrospective.

2. At the end of the Cold War we had a chance to do something big – the Charter gave a seat to the Soviet Union – with the disappearance of the USSR, the seat is now unoccupied.
3. Britain, the US and France wanted Russia in that seat – we don't know how to reform institutions other than after a great war – historically we let institutions continue, if not discredited.

MELANIE MORIN-PELLETIER – War Museum

HOME FRONT IMPACT, NURSES, POSTWAR TREATMENT

Melanie was doing research 3 years ago on the “homefront” gallery in the museum – a thrilling and at the same time frustrating research.

In 1917 (1970?) we knew much more about Canadian soldiers than people back in Canada – war was tearing the country apart – we looked for images – farmers in the field, women, French-English pictures .

We need to reassess women and munitions work – by 1917 there were more than 35 thousand women working in munitions factories.

In 1928 Stephen Carnegie was often quoted – 35 thousand was reported at the Women's War Conference – this surprised the attendees – in May 1917 – 11 thousand women were identified

In other areas, the bank of nova scotia hired women to replace the men. Conscription was not unique to Canada – Australia rejected conscription in 2 plebiscites – in Ireland, conscription radicalized the population – in Canada, conscription was seen as an English-French debate – other groups resisted conscription.

The liberal leader, Ginger Goodwin of BC, refused to be conscripted – he was shot in 1918.

In Toronto there was the case of Laura Hughes – Sam Hughes was the defence minister – Laura Hughes was a pacifist and a delegate to the convention in The Hague. This horrified her uncle. Laura thus moved to the US and got married. She had a child.

JAMES HANLEY – University of Winnipeg

MEDICINE AND THE HOME FRONT IN BRITAIN

Reference to catastrophic effects on soldiers – debate started by Winters' book “The Great War and the British People” – the population benefited from the war – high infant mortality rates declined faster during the war – World war I was good for people on the home front.

Debra dvoks – “war is good for babies and small children” – reference to the physical unfitnes of men to serve causing the british state to start programs at the local level – World War I gains – clinics doubled with 20 times the health expenditures = reference to infant and child welfare movement – established in 1919 by the Ministry of Health.

Reference to the unintentional increase in living standards during the war – this included the separation allowances and rent controls helping increase worker living standards.

The influenza in 1918/19 could not isolate the home front – 170 thousand deaths in Britain or 230 thousand – the genesis was controversial – reference to the movement of troops – this complicates statistics – Winters' conclusions have been disputed – tuberculosis among women from overcrowded housing as per Winters – malnutrition also – Harris saw trends continuing – infant mortality rates.

Winters' critics ignored the rise in living standards – Winters saw government interference in the free market and government taxation of income being redistributive - rent controls came from rent strikes – isolating biological from political and social effects – reference to Peterson – reference to unreliable husbands but irrelevant for single women – separation allowances paid to all married women – with no means test.

World War I entrenched made the breadwinner the norm through separation allowances – the ministry of pensions investigated and disqualified 13 thousand women – extra marital relations of men was not monitored – the rates of STD/OEDF(?) – the venereal disease service of government – it was a model of science-based policy.

A 1918 regulation allowed women to be arrested if there were solitary and had venereal disease – the names were published in the press.

Historical myopia saw war good for people on the home front.

JODY PERRUN – University of Manitoba

MANITOBA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD WAR II AND AFTER EFFECTS

Reference to “homeland”?

Canadian contribution to World War II – visited many war cemeteries – think about families left behind – what war like for families in Winnipeg – family living conditions – unity? War effort? Housing? Dependents allowances and family separation.

Ref living conditions – overlap with Hanley

Upholding civilian morale – housing crisis in Winnipeg up until 1945 – insufficient housing stock for war – lack of materials – problems got worse.

In 1941 less than one room per resident – accommodations not available – figures do not include uninhabitable dwellings.

Housing shortages were not dealt with by government – only postwar was first Winnipeg public housing creating in Elmwood

Average income – people living beneath the poverty line

1943 Leonard Marsh – 5 member family need \$1,577 per year poverty line

Absence of breadwinner – dependence allowances – separation allowances – AP amount (pay) \$20 per month per family

Total family service income less than \$100 (?)

Alcohol

DA paid in arrears per month – 3 weeks

Hardship for wives – wait 3 months for money – emergency expenses – frequent complaints in 1942 – Trustees to administer supplementary grants.

Two dependents allowances – maximum – ref 6 children e.g. chaplain's wife on officer's [au – Lamont – St. John's College papers show morale problems – kept wife's letters – frequent moves within Canada – housing difficult to find – Canadian welfare agencies not cooperative – mail was crucial to morale – domestic problems sapped morale – fear of loss – propaganda focussed on enemy cruelty generated fear – psychological impact of fear of abandonment on children – lack of sleep, discipline, etc. – moral panic because of absence – more juvenile delinquency perceived – police had more time to pursue because most young men were in the military.

Everyone had to appear patriotic

Winnipeg Family Bureau provided counselling for marital problems, housekeeping services, loans, etc.

Coming home not easy – infidelity, children not knowing father, marriages could not withstand the strain – indefinite separations imposed by military services – forced abdication of gender roles.

MODERATOR – TERRY MCLEOD

Thanks

Question: Alex Rudolf – for Chapnick – ref Kofi Annan's suggested reforms

Answer: Chapnick – Kofi Annan could do things that were easy – without major shift, did not see policy windows opening up – 8 more permanent seats? – disagreement over assignments

Question: for Chapnick - new institution – ref armed conflicts could be controlled?

Answer: Chapnick – could moderate conflicts – little wars could happen but would not allow big wars – could live with vetoes – Security Council moderates conflicts.

Question: inquiry regarding “greatest generation” – documentaries questioning truth of mythology – researchable question – veterans' benefits.

Answer: Melanie – came back from World War I – access to public health courses – ref cross cultures.

Answer: ref training and experienced used for post-war lives – artillery services or community services for war effort – volunteer activities.

Question: Stephen Jaeger – stories of what looked at.

Answer: Melanie – ref War Museum – ref conscription – views from 1917.

Question: for Chapnick – ref terrorism – ref Russia and China – ref World Bank – ref compromise

Answer: Chapnick – ref World Bank – parallel institutions are not universal – western states only join these institutions when in their interests – weaker institutions unlikely to influence great powers

Question: ref Chapnick – ref nutrition – ref influence and institution.

Answer: Hanley – most people often died from influenza – interventions of states were mostly ineffective.

Question: Dingwall, West Point – change since World War II?

Answer:

Perrun (?) – during world war II – Canada had 11 million people – could not avoid World War II – ref Afghanistan – easy to ignore – different scale.

Answer: Chapnick – numbers – most people paid taxes for war during World War I – with Afghanistan – taxes down

Question: retired chemistry prof – have to get a budget (for the UN?) – the USA has 22% - Britain, France contributed more than Canada – ref Russia and China minimal.

Answer: capacity to pay – China had lower GDP versus population than USA with 35% of UN budget.

Question: ref USSR – ref 1991 – ref USSR seat.

Answer: Chapnick – Russia did not adequately have a claim for a USSR UN seat – non-permanent members could have blocked this.

Andrea Charron:

Ref humanity – current event - moderator Barry Rempel

MODERATOR – HCOL REMPEL

Barry rempel:

Chance to look forward – ref Gen Ploughman – ref Bruce – education – queen’s program – General Charles Hyde (Sea King) – senior US officer in Canada – NORAD – 1987 commissioned – 86th Airlift Winnipeg – Herc pilot.

Captain Emmuel Goffe – French Air Force – ethics – use of drones/robots – Bryan Peeler – background in reciprocity and armed conflict – vast amount of reading on future of war.

Prevailing wisdom – major inflection point – drones and robots – George Freedman – future of war power technology – end of ballistic supremacy – civilization and the dawn of a new era – jihadist era will end – new cold war with Russia? China has peaked (2010)?

Process of recruiting and training – resurgence of Russian national power within 20 years highly unlikely

MAJOR GENERAL Ploughman –1 Canadian Air Division

DRONES AND THE FUTURE OF WAR

Ref Arab Spring, Tunisia, Libya – predicting future – do not have good history – future engagements unpredictable.

Preoccupations – A2AD – area of denial – vulnerability for the US – what if Saddam Hussein had stopped logistics flow into the theatre? – Afghanistan – supplied by ships – US – air-sea battle – could fly staff in but ships could be slowed down by floating mines.

Long lines of communications – US pivot to Asia/China – lines of communication very long.

Ukraine – who foresaw? – non-state actors – laws of armed conflict not followed.

Low/no collateral damage – ISIL and Iraq – expectation into future – technology with greater precision – airspace and meteorology complicates things.

Election year – how opposition will deal with?

Peer near peer adversaries – Gucci kids – using Rochon cellular phones – Blackberries – how to keep up with the technology – technology as a vulnerability.

Increased use of UAV’s and vehicles – drones implies degree of autonomy – still being driven.

Ethical question regarding means of delivery.

Impact on crews – forward lines versus working remotely

Law of armed conflict and Geneva Convention – still relevant.

Ref manned platform/helicopter with machine gun – old technology.

BRIGADIER GENERAL HYDE – DEPUTY-COMMANDER, CANADIAN NORAD REGION

Track record – tendency to fight last war – easier to critique and plan – drawn to enduring truths – reasons for war and desired end states have not changed – means have changed – collective issues could be discussed – limits the focus to specific predictions – general discussion.

EB Sledge – until millennium arrives and peoples try to enslave others.

Classic state – elimination of evil – von Clausewitz – continuation of politics by other means – Thucydides- rise of Athenian power and fear it caused in Sparta.

Use of force to accept your will – Sherman – war means fighting and killing.

If somewhat remote and hygienic, war still has grim consequences – ref impact of disease.

Means of war – more killing power, accuracy and range of weapons – shifts balance between offence and defence – joint forces quarterly – towards future warfare – organizations with doctrinal changes take 80 years to evolve.

World War II use of tanks and airplanes – in 1940 Allies had superior tanks and airplanes – in 1940 Allies had superior tanks but Germans used different tactics – precision weapons – new technology did not ensure victory – possible to lose war.

Thucydides – warships – trireme – amphibious assaults – powered flight – airpower created new approaches – innovations – new fighting domain – air to land to sea domains – now air to space to cyber domains.

Technology – use of ? metrics – war fighting options – rich nations can apply force from a distance – poor use terror to negate technology.

How powers use force, as Russia illustrates – use of proxies veiled with legitimacy – high end technologies used – more likely if power has a shield like Russia with nuclear weapons.

Thucydides - the strong will do what they will and the weak will do what they must.

Obfuscation with proxies.

EMMANUEL GOFFI – University of Manitoba

DRONES AND THE FUTURE OF WAR

3 challenges – history and the great wars – what is war?

History has shaped our perceptions of war – should think out of the box.

Future difficult to think about – drones/ robots likely.

History is important – look for continuity – ethics of morality and values

Future about drones – shadow of the past – changing character of war

Copy past history – experiential learning – hard to envision.

“Shadow of the past” – Strachan

“Western way of war” – V. David Hanson.

Too much moral normative constraints rooted in history – related to-

Ref military ethics – seriously shaped by drones

In France there is strong concern about the role of the military – ref “combat” – military academics.

Ref moral values – no longer valid – 4th century ideas from Aristotle and St. Augustine still at work.

Normative framework – “just war” tradition no longer relevant.

Ref tanks, legacy, identity, role, values.

The future of *war* is not *war*.

‘Gentlemen, *we* never fire first, fire *yourselves*’

Fighting non-state actors

High tech confrontations

Ref applying all the rules we have learned?

Ref discrimination between *combatants* and *non-combatants*

Ref universal values e.g. « humanity » understood differently

We are part of a network

We do not have armoured drones – the future is about drones – robots – ref “Terminator” – using drones that are “human-like” and robotizing humans – connection with “Iron Man” – armour – like Iron Man – prosthetic limbs – more power – ref “\$6-million Man” – on the edge of new technology – *acceptable* to *desirable* – like science fiction – between 10-thousand and 12-thousand ground robots are deployed by the US – more than 15 other countries are developing military robots.

More than 5 countries are developing more than 900 UAV systems – 76 countries possess drones.

Conclusion: the future needs to be thought of from the future – the future of war is not war – ref counter-terrorists – the future is about drones and robots.

BRYAN PEELER – University of Manitoba

GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND WHAT IF’S

Thanks to organizers – ref future of war

Concern with legal regime – humanitarian concerns – concern with reciprocity – each must comply

Legal regime – resort to force – state legally entitled – law of armed conflict.

Ref 1907

Ref 1949 – Geneva Convention based on 1864 – distinguishing between *combattants* and *non-combattants* – limitation of military force to that necessary

The Hague? and Geneva conventions

Explanations – why comply?

Easier to comply with – intonefication (?) – use of armed force in our name.

Law of war no longer separate category

Humanization of humanitarian law.

Ref how Saudi Arabia treats its female population.

Ref 3rd parties have an interest in putting an end to

International committee of the red cross – ref contradicting parties – ref voting reciprocity – humanitarian law – more restrictions on belligerents – 1929 POWs – ref all classes of protected persons – protocols regarding cultural treasures.

Ref humanitarian law thesis – ref reciprocity

Ref Nuremberg – post World War II – further agreements – ref own courts – violations can pose threat to sense of justice – therefore will prosecute whoever and wherever involved.

Ref high-contracting parties – significant for those who signed Geneva conventions – states do not have to adhere to every aspect of every international treaty.

Ref reciprocity – ref POW status – definition of combatants – article 1 – conduct hostilities in accordance with laws of war – expectations that all combat in accordance with rules.

Ref conventions – ref Article 4a – members of organizational resistance movements – must be able to trace their authority to a state actor.

Assumption – military – forces trained in customs of war – Protocol 1 – insurgence groups – ref carrying arms openly.

What about expectation of reciprocity with global war on terror – increased risk to civilians.

Non-combatants being caught in crossfire – powerful enemy – concerned with complying.

Technology and less desperate military

Weaker side has to use assymetric means

Be careful what you wish for.

Question: West Point – passwords (?) buzzwords (?) – future conflicts.

Answer: Goffi – experience – subjective – ethics – may have to wage war differently – get rid of concepts of “morality” – legacy of past – has disadvantage against those who think differently.

Answer: Hyde – westerners tend to have short time horizon – Mao asked about French revolution – answered to wait several centuries for answer – ref South Korea – us forces under un command – South Korea has developed into open and free society – NATO has developed into agent of free society.

Should take the long view – western society increasingly instantaneous – still in doubt.

Answer: Ploughman – do good job of training – Afghanistan – not trying to impose our values – have to recognize what is “right” for Afghanistan – when going into conflict, start with instinct and work backwards – Libya – very uncomfortable with declaring any kind of victory there.

Answer: Peeler

Question: use of cyberspace – military and offensive abilities.

Answer: Hyde – separate domain – war is still relevant – ref sledge – someone should use war for their own interest including cyber – some have used – principles who appear relevant with cyber – co-equal war fighting domain.

Answer: Ploughman – personal opinion – have to protect networks for net-centric warfare – more precision – time-dependent – depends on network – need offensive capability.

Question: Burtch

Answer: Peeler –

Answer: Ploughman - as long as money can be made – ref Russia and China – ref deterrent standpoint – conflicts will be like Afghanistan and ISO –RPGs – ref proliferation of small arms increasing.

Answer: Goffi – small arms spread around world – we sell small arms – can make the wrong choice – ref new weapons – we know where they are and where they come from.

Question: ref complexity of issues – monopoly of employment of force – paradigm of monopoly of force – others do not respect our ideas and social activities – have to recruit for specific skill sets to cope with rapid change – ref terrorists use violence differently from western people – need wide range of skills for specific matters – problematic – identification – still strong separation – military are not supposed to speak with political leaders – should be friends .

Answer: peeler – not so sure it would be more of the same – locked in.

Answer: ploughman – Hillier’s 3 block war – ref recruiting standards – cannot train as we used to – technology is a generation ahead of before – BOE for detainee – 2010 – basic training – found perpetrators /POWs/detainees – have to be able to face ambiguities – 3 block war scenario.

Answer: Hyde – separation of military from society – increase in technology – separation – danger – delegitimize monopoly of force – ability to defend values? Adm (?) McMillan – ref separation of society and those who protect society.

Thanks to volunteers and drivers.