

alliance", was sent to Norman Robertson, then serving as High Commissioner in London. Robertson did not approve: "I see no need for rhetoric in a secret working paper . . . Specifically, I would cut out all the three-decker phrases . . . most of the double-barrelled ones, and any remaining echoes from the Anglican prayer book."

Reid's zeal to create an alliance with "economic and moral force" was shared, to a more sensible degree, by Lester Pearson, who by this time, 1948, had become Secretary of State for External Affairs and the prevailing voice in the "policy community". Pearson saw the alliance as "a real commonwealth of nations" with the potential to diversify into areas of non-military co-operation. His proposals for economic collaboration and cultural exchange were written into the Treaty as Article Two, which became known as the 'Canadian article'.

## Book Review

# Tucker's foreign policy

by Peyton V. Lyon

Has any government, in any country, tried harder than the first Trudeau administration to impose a theoretical framework and systemic management upon its foreign policy? Did all that effort, and occasional turmoil, make a significant difference in the actual conduct of Canada's external relations?

Michael Tucker's unequivocal answer to the second question is 'no'. "In its style and substance," he concludes, "Canadian foreign policy in the Trudeau era conformed with the internationalist traditions in Canada's post-1945 external behaviour". Had 'Pearsonians' remained at the helm, "had there been no questioning", it is unlikely that at the end of the 1970s Canada's foreign policies "would have differed markedly."

Fair enough, up to a point. Trudeau has enjoyed his diplomatic successes. He has even acquired a modest reputation for statesmanship. But would anyone maintain that this is the result of consistent adherence to the myopic doctrine that emerged from the foreign policy review of 1968-70? Or systematic management? Fortunately Trudeau's deeds were generally more traditional, and therefore better, than his words. By decade's end even his rhetoric was increasingly internationalist and the restless search for the right organizational structure was still proceeding.

But Tucker overstates his case. By his early state-

Pearson's commitment to an expansive alliance cannot be doubted. When the American state department, in response to congressional pressure, balked at the non-military proposals, word was sent from Ottawa that "the Canadian government would have to review its position on the whole project".

Unfortunately, the diluted 'Canadian article' has never been considered to be more than a token gesture. The failure of the Trudeau government's 'contractual link' with the European Communities serves to remind us that our other contractual link with Europe, NATO, remains primarily a military alliance.

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Eayrs, James. *In Defence of Canada: Growing Up Allied*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

ments, Trudeau deflated the legitimate pride many Canadians took in their country's international vocation, and thus weakened one argument for a strong and united Canada. Many officials, moreover, did adopt the more hard-boiled, national-interest approach that Trudeau advocated and seemed not to notice when he himself shifted to a loftier emphasis on universal, humanitarian values, especially in dealing with North-South issues.

Tucker is least persuasive when attempting to demonstrate that, as prime minister, Trudeau was always an internationalist. This he does by delineating a confusing variety of 'internationalisms.' Trudeau is then portrayed as a champion of the 'mentor-state' brand, one based on the belief that a nation best serves the common cause, not by teamwork, but by taking unilateral initiatives. Although example setting was always difficult to reconcile with Trudeau's professed modesty about Canada's influence and his rejection of 'role-playing,' a few of his early statements do support Tucker's interpretation. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Peking in 1970, moreover, and Ot-

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