

America. The Chinese support the reform of existing international economic and monetary agencies in a challenge to the executive position of the US, and it must be emphasized that "hegemonism" is not exclusively a code word for the Soviet Union. Currently, Chinese "independent foreign policy" stresses the desire to avoid entangling military commitments and alliances which might imply a reliance on external military technology and support. Thus the quality of the future Sino-American relationship will depend not only on the definition of each side's self-interest, but also each side's ability to respond effectively to the objectives of the other side.

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A Fourth Option?

by Alexander Craig

A Continent Apart. The United States and Canada in World Politics by William T.R. Fox. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, 188 pages, \$10.95.

Canada and Congress: Lobbying in Washington by Charles F. Doran and Joel J. Sokolsky. Halifax (Nova Scotia): Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1985, 257 pages, \$5.00.

Fox's book is a revised and expanded version of lectures he delivered when he was the Visiting Professor of Canadian-American Relations in Trinity College, University of Toronto, in 1982-83. The author, Professor Emeritus of the History of International Relations at Columbia University in New York, has spent more than forty years studying international politics: in an article in the *Review of Politics* in 1946, for instance, on the San Francisco conference founding the United Nations, he was the first person to use the term "superpowers."

In these lectures Professor Fox looks at how one superpower has managed to coexist peacefully for a long time with a neighboring country which is not quite so super in every respect. The author takes a grand historical sweep. He stresses the similarities rather than the differences, the North Americanness of each of the countries. Yet he also emphasizes that while the partnership is close and historically rooted, it is at the same time clearly limited, and he obviously hopes it remains that way.

Professor Fox looks closely at various of the actors and groups involved in the highly pluralistic political process of both states. Along the way he draws on some fascinating historical research. In 1934, for instance, Sir Maurice (later Lord) Hankey, visited Ottawa.

The South African-born Hankey had for decades been secretary of Britain's Committee of Imperial

Defence (CID), a kind of quasi-cabinet in the British government for what would today be called national security affairs and the model for the National Security Council in the United States . . . In reference to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Hankey made the following startling and revealing entry: "They draw to their ranks extremists of all kinds — 'highbrows,' isolationists, French-Canadians, Irish dissidents with a sprinkling of sound people who for one reason or another — sometimes because they know too much — take no leading part . . . The only real 'defeatists' I met were leading members of these bodies, and I felt the utmost sympathy for Prime Minister Bennett in a tirade he delivered to me against the Institute of International Affairs as a body that did nothing but harm and ought to be abolished."

In his conclusion, Fox sums up the traditions of Canadian diplomacy: "wariness, status concerns, vigilance in avoiding the creation of institutions in which Canada's veto power has been surrendered, and the pursuit of options that avoid one-on-one confrontation." There is a wide array of "methods for avoiding confrontation . . . Some of these can be lumped together in a basket labelled third options."

Fox lists the options, and in his final two paragraphs sums up his belief that:

There is, however, something that may be called the fourth option. It is based on the explicit recognition that, while there is no balance of power between the two nation-states of North America, there is a political process. Neither country is a political monolith, and the fourth option for Canada is to search for allies in the United States, so that the North American minority called Canada could become part of a North American majority whose policy preferences would produce parallel policies in Washington and Ottawa. The North American political process, which — though at times belatedly, grudgingly, and slowly — shifts American policy on such problems as acid rain, can also work with respect to policies towards the world as a whole.

That perhaps is what Prime Minister Trudeau had in mind when he talked of Canada's special usefulness to the United States — to hold up a mirror so that Americans can better see themselves and their own best interests.

Lobbying in Washington

"The search for allies in the US" is one way of summing up the theme of the second of these books — a rather more specialized study of Canada-US relations. As we have all seen in recent years, Congress has been asserting its right to a bigger say in foreign affairs. We shall continue to see that in the future — particularly over trade negotiations — so this book is in some respects timely.

Yet it does not appear to be very sure of its market. At times it seems to be setting out to be a primer for lobbyists, and not just the lawyers amongst them. As such it lapses too often into truism, for example, "In short, the key to successful lobbying is to work with — and not against — the existing political machinery whenever possible." At other