

interest in French culture may be the father of his analysis — although he is always worth reading.

The working group drew upon these studies to form its opinions and to make policy recommendations. Given the balance of the good sense and the research, it is logical that the recommendations are calm and conventional and not worth repeating here in detail. Washington is urged to review this, to negotiate that, to watch with care, to protect this interest and promote that, mostly within the existing bilateral structures.

This reviewer was jarred only by some of the incidental language of the Council's conclusions. To say that Canadian policy toward the United States swings between "extreme nationalism and professions of close and friendly association," is a wild exaggeration. Canadian policy has never been close to extreme nationalism, and it is troubling that Americans can harbor such a misconception. Again, the Council suggests that Prime Minister Trudeau's agenda includes "government direction of the economy," which would be laughable if it were not so foolish.

One can hope that US readers will be more influenced by the detailed studies and by the cautious policy recommendations than by some of the curious bees buzzing in the Council's bonnet.

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The Israeli foreign office

by Sidney A. Freifeld

Destination Peace: Three Decades of Israeli Foreign Policy
by Gideon Raphael. Stein and Day, \$16.95, 403 pages.

A note on the cover says simply that Gideon Rafael was born in Germany in 1913, studied at the University of Berlin and emigrated to Palestine in 1934. This leaves the reader to wonder what there was in his upbringing that endowed him to become — in Canadian terms — a combination of O.D. Skelton, Hume Wrong and John Holmes in the development of the Israeli Foreign Service, in which he rose through the ranks to the top post of Director-General of the Ministry, and at other times held ambassadorships to the United Nations, London, Brussels and the EEC, while all the time serving as wide-ranging troubleshooter for his country. Nor do we learn how Rafael, whose mother tongue was presumably German and adopted tongue Hebrew, was able to prepare in English such an elegantly written, indeed exhilarating, book on the art of diplomacy, the infighting of Israeli Cabinet politics with warts-and-all sketches of the leading players, together with a perceptive and surprisingly frank analysis of Israeli

foreign policy and practices during three turbulent decades since the State's foundation.

From his analysis it can be inferred that Israeli foreign policy has been more tactics and less strategy, mostly designed to forestall confrontation and minimize crises. Governments seem more certain about what they *don't* want in the short run than about long-term goals; they usually respond defensively to the moves of others and seldom take calculated initiatives themselves. Only Ben-Gurion emerges from this book as a leader with a clear vision of where he was steering his country and what route he would follow to get there.

Perhaps inevitably, a nation under seige from birth will turn first to its generals to act and react, rather than to its diplomats. But, Mr. Rafael suggests, the generals' decisions may not always be wise, especially if taken with little or no Cabinet debate. All too frequently the Foreign Ministry is passed over by the Defence authorities and the Prime Minister's Office. When guerrilla raids from Jordan became intolerable during 1968, the decision to respond by attacking Karameh caused Foreign Minister Abba Eban to argue that the target was unsuitable, the scale exaggerated and the political risks disproportionate. In Rafael's view, the operation was more of a boost than a blow to the terrorists, failed to stop the attacks into Israel, and "irrevocably implanted the Palestine problem on the international agenda." In this instance at least, the Foreign Ministry knew what was going on. On another occasion during the 1970s, Israeli forces operated in Lebanon for two days without anyone in the Foreign Ministry knowing about it. Nevertheless, while on balance, Rafael is a dove, his book does supply abundant evidence to justify many actions of the hawks. His account of the antecedents of the 1967 war will prove of especial interest to Canadian readers.

Pandit Nehru once asked Rafael how Israel, with one two-hundredths India's population, could find so many suitable persons to head diplomatic posts, a problem bothering him in India. Rafael surprised him in responding that many of his ambassadors came out of kibbutzim rather than diplomatic schools. "The man from behind the plough who was familiar with the intricacies of modern rural economy, who understood how to . . . negotiate with hard-headed bankers and thick-skinned bureaucrats, who had innate intelligence and human culture, was at least as good ambassadorial timber as the professional diplomat reared in the precincts of academic exclusivity. Some of our best people had a background of both. They were . . . educated in the ways of other nations and imbued with the knowledge and sense of the history of their own people. Most . . . swiftly acquired their professional polish, others remained rough diamonds, attractive and valuable in their own way."

Mr. Rafael is never self-serving in this book, one of the most absorbing and readable on Arab-Israeli questions to be published in years.

Sidney Freifeld retired from the Department of External Affairs in 1975, after three decades in the Canadian Foreign Service.
