

dispute settlement, whether in the form of arbitration, third-party conciliation or mediation, judicial recourse or whatever, was to be avoided.

Again, as John Holmes put it, Canada and the U.S. became, in their respective classes, "leaders in the creation of new institutions for world order. There was little interest on either side, however, in creating new institutions for the continent. There was the traditional fear of mortgaging our political sovereignty." He was quite right. We wanted to maintain three things: control, control and control.

There were no distinctive Canadian contributions here to the management of international relations.

It has been speculated that our unhappy experience with international arbitration in the days when the British were responsible for our relations with the U.S. was the cause of our lingering hostility. I think it might also be due in part to the limited influence of lawyers in the corridors of power – at least until recent years. Many of our most gifted diplomats – Norman Robertson, for example – were not enamoured of international lawyers, and few thought international law of much use when the task was to be flexible and seek compromises, build bridges, or find middle ground toward which others could move.

Many of our diplomatic stars in the postwar era were also active during the years of the League of Nations and would remember the central role of the international lawyers in the deliberations of the League and the futility of their efforts.

As a result, virtually all attempts to create bilateral institutions in the North American context were stillborn or aborted or faded after some initial use. Even recourse to the historic International Joint Commission declined significantly.

The Americans were no more enthusiastic about such institutions than the Canadians, although, as the stronger power, this is not surprising. What is surprising was the failure of successive generations of Canadian diplomats to warm to the idea that Canadian interests could be protected by an equal voice in a