

Book Reviews

Canada and the United States

by Anthony Westell

Canada and the United States; Dependence and Divergence by The Atlantic Council Working Group on the United States and Canada; Willis C. Armstrong, Chairman and Rapporteur, Louise S. Armstrong, Co-Rapporteur, Francis O. Wilcox, Project Director. Foreword by Kenneth Rush, Chairman, The Atlantic Council of the United States. Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 331 pages.

This is a book about Canada by Americans, and the purpose is to advise the US government on policy towards Canada. For Canadians, therefore, it is an opportunity to see ourselves as others see us, and to gain at least an idea of what to expect from Washington over the next few years.

The results are reassuring if not particularly enlightening. We appear to be a reasonably sensible country struggling through difficult times, and the general advice to the US government is to watch carefully, negotiate often, refrain from interfering, and hope for the best.

The Atlantic Council of the United States was formed some twenty years ago to promote closer ties among Western Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand — which surely should make it the "Atlantic and Pacific Council."

As the current Council chairman, Kenneth Rush, explains in his Foreword: "In 1979, the Atlantic Council of the United States decided to undertake a foreign policy study of the implications for the United States of trends that may be anticipated in Canadian affairs during the next ten or fifteen years. We believed that such a study could lay the groundwork for US policy by identifying the bilateral and multilateral issues where friction is most likely and where co-operation is most essential. We invited a working group of forty-five members to undertake this important task, which began in March 1980."

The moving spirits appear to have been Willis C. Armstrong, a former US Ambassador in Ottawa and Assistant Secretary of State and still a State Department consultant, and Louise S. Armstrong, also a former foreign service officer. Both of course are well known in the Canada-US studies community.

Seven members of the working group prepared position papers, and these make up the bulk of the book. In the main, they are well-informed and balanced accounts of the

relationship and of current and anticipated problems. Although they attempt to peer into the future, some are already out of date in some areas. For example, the studies were prepared before the constitutional settlement, before the Ottawa-Alberta energy pact, and before the federal government backed off its commitment to expand the scope of FIRA.

Nevertheless, the studies should persuade any thoughtful US policy-maker that we are not about to seize US assets, nationalize the energy industry, join the Third World, or fall apart as Quebec and the West separate. Professor Howard H. Cody of St. Thomas University, New Brunswick, writes thoughtfully about the future of Canadian federalism and predicts further decentralization. Edward F. Wonder, of International Energy Associates, contributes a notably well-balanced review of energy relationships, warning that the United States cannot look to Canada for more oil but should help us to achieve self-sufficiency because that will reduce world demand. Gary C. Huffbauer and Andrew James Samet, of the International Law Institute at Georgetown University, discuss investment relations and point out that the United States as well as Canada is concerned about foreign capital and control and has policies to deal with it. They conclude that further nationalistic actions in Canada will strengthen a growing opinion in the United States that more should be done about foreign investment, so that the US may wind up with its own version of FIRA — not a consummation devoutly to be desired, in this reviewer's opinion. One FIRA is quite enough. John M. Volpe, of the US Chamber of Commerce, suggests an early-warning system through which the two governments could notify each other of actions likely to affect trade relations. He writes off a move toward free trade as a non-starter, which may be premature. Annette Baker Fox, of Columbia University, who is to teach at Toronto next year, surveys cross-border environmental issues. And Douglas J. Murray of the US Air Force Academy provides a careful but perhaps optimistic view of the defence relationship.

The most controversial of the studies is Alfred O. Hero Jr.'s review of trends in Quebec and the implications for US policy. Some members of the working group doubted the wisdom of publishing anything on a matter of such sensitivity to Canadians, but they need not have worried. Mr. Hero's sympathy for Quebec nationalism is well known and it is no surprise to find him forecasting a significant devolution of powers to Quebec and to other provinces over the next couple of decades. He is from Louisiana and