

New factors in foreign policy

These developments have been accompanied by a changing emphasis, at least in the industrialized world, away from factors which have traditionally influenced the formulation of foreign policy. While national survival must remain the paramount consideration in a system of nation states, military threats seem less menacing to many people than threats to the quality of life. Urban poverty and resource depletion respect no boundaries, whether physical or political. Assured sources of raw materials, including fuels, the transfer of technology, the control of pollution and the growing strength of multinational corporations are becoming matters of very wide concern. Such issues as international monetary reform and trade liberalization, which directly affect economic well-being, are also assuming much greater importance in the public mind. The need for international regulation of the wide range of activities which now cut across national boundaries and, like multinational enterprises, largely escape national control, is becoming more obvious. Increasing ease of communication *via* satellite and vastly increased travel move man closer to the global village concept with its attendant changes, confusions and new vistas.

But these preoccupations are those mainly of post-industrial societies. For the developing countries, where two-thirds of mankind live, a rising gross national product is more important than controlling the industrial pollution which is a by-product of that growth. This difference of approach, while understandable, has been shown to contain the seeds of divisiveness as, for example, at the Stockholm conference on the environment in June. Nor do these newer concerns of a more affluent world in any way lessen the continuing urgency of aid for the developing countries to reduce the widening gap between rich and poor. Here the earlier enthusiasm for foreign aid is now tempered by the realization that economic development is a long, hard road demanding a determined and sustained effort to cope with what often seem intractable problems.

Toward stability

Significant progress has been made in 1972 toward reducing tension throughout the world, buttressing inter-

national cooperation and strengthening the possibility of a lasting East-West *détente*. The high points of the year have been President Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow, the protracted negotiations which were to lead to the formal ending of hostilities in Indochina early in 1973, the enlargement of the European Community, the settlement of the Berlin problem, the improvement of relations between the FRG and its Eastern neighbours, and the USA-USSR agreement to limit strategic arms. The Middle East and Southern Africa remained areas of undiminished tension.

The continuing conflict in Indochina and particularly the United States' direct military involvement had for some years placed a strain on the Western alliance, while Soviet and Chinese assistance to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong severely restricted efforts to move in a positive manner toward improving East-West relations. By 1972, however, the conflict had become a stalemate and more active negotiations toward a settlement have reflected this fact. Canada agreed to participate in a new international commission to supervise a cease-fire and in the international conference called to ratify it.

Mr. Nixon's historic visit to China was the first by a President of the United States. It indicated in a striking way the changing direction of American foreign policy and emphasized the importance of China as a power of growing consequence. The visit to the Soviet Union set another precedent for a U.S. head of state. Although not as dramatic as that of the earlier visit to Peking, the impact of President Nixon's discussions with the Soviet leaders has in many respects been more profound. The visit's main purpose can be seen as a determined effort by the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to define and clarify for their own purposes areas of future contact, collaboration and understanding. Their negotiations point to numerous benefits which might follow from a general relaxation of tension, including forward movement on strategic arms limitation and trade expansion. What has emerged is essentially a code of conduct to avoid confrontation in an age of mutual deterrence.

The visits to Moscow and Peking have had repercussions far beyond the scope of the United States' bilateral