

work in this direction only by working with, and on, those forces both within the U.S. and elsewhere which reject the belief in the implacable hostility of East and West.

Forces Influencing Policy Elsewhere

Foreign and defence policy in each of the super-states is not determined monolithically by the head of the state but is subject to conflicting internal pressures. This is well-known in the case of the U.S., where the shifting constellation of forces (White House, State Department, Pentagon, Air Force, industrial lobbies, Senate House Committees, etc.) is freely reported. Close observers of the Soviet Union find a similar pattern there. In both countries there are forces which accept and forces which reject the implacable hostility assumption.

Each of the super-states, as leader of a bloc, is subject to some extent to pressures from the other nations of that bloc, in the sense that the long-range policy of the super-state has to be adjusted to the behaviour it can count on from its important allies. Thus the policies of Poland and Yugoslavia, not to mention China, have shaped Russian policy, and the policy of France is shaping U.S. policy. The policies of most of these allied states can be assumed to be subject to similar internal pressures, both by those who accept and those who reject the implacable hostility assumption.

The long-range policies of both the Eastern and Western blocs are influenced by the policies of the non-aligned nations (mainly the newly-independent African and Asian nations). Each bloc has an interest in winning their general approval or at least in preventing them giving their full support to the other bloc. And the non-aligned nations, being now so numerous, have an effective public forum in the United Nations. The non-aligned nations, in refusing to line up with either bloc, have rejected the belief in an unavoidable division of the world into two implacably hostile sides. The very existence of the non-aligned nations has prevented a bipolar division of the world; hence they must be counted as forces working against the heightening of cold-war tensions.

Maximum Effectiveness of Canadian Policy

A Canadian policy designed to counteract the forces making for heightened cold war, must seek the maximum possible net influence in three areas together: with those forces within the U.S. government which reject the implacable hostility assumption; with other members of the Western bloc who reject or might reject the implacable hostility assumption; with the non-aligned nations, who have rejected that assumption.

We may neglect possible influence on forces within the Soviet bloc, since no direct Canadian influence there is to be expected.

It should be emphasized that it is the net influence that must be calculated. That is, actions which might increase our influence in one of these areas at the cost of diminishing it in another area must be judged accordingly.

There can be no doubt that the U.S. is the most important country to influence, simply because of its weight in the West. If Canada could expect to have a significant influence on U.S. policy, even at the cost of having no