A special issue of International Perspectives, released in October 1972, contained a major study of Canada-U.S. relations by External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp. The article examined the integrating forces at work in North America and attempted to assess the impact of these forces on Canada.

In the face of the pull of continental forces, the article identified three options as being open to Canadians:

To try to maintain something like the present position with a minimum of policy change;

to move deliberately toward closer integration with the United States;

to pursue a comprehensive, longterm strategy to develop the Canadian economy and other aspects of Canada's national life.

The article considered the first option inadequate because it did not come fully to grips with the basic Canadian situation or with the underlying continental pull and hence involved a risk that Canada might find itself "drawn more closely into the U.S. orbit". The second option was also rejected because - whatever the economic costs and benefits of closer integration with the United States - it was judged unlikely that it was politically tenable "in the present or any foreseeable climate of Canadian public opinion".

Mr. Sharp's article concluded that, of the three options presented, the third represented the one best calculated to serve Canadian interests because it would, in time, lessen "the vulnerability of the Canadian economy" and, in the process, strengthen "our capacity to advance basic Canadian goals" and develop "a more confident sense of national identity".

International Perspectives has asked four analysts of Canadian-U.S. relations to comment on the study, which was prepared with the advice and assistance of Mr. Sharp's colleagues in the Government and External Affairs Department officials.

The commentaries are provided by Professor Dale G. Thomson, director of the Center of Canadian Studies at Johns Hopkins University, Washington; Professor Louis Balthazar of Laval University; Professor Harry G. Johnson of the University of Chicago and the London School of Economics; and Professor Abraham Rotstein of the University of Toronto. Although two of these scholars are conducting their principal research at present outside Canada, all four are Canadian-born. The views expressed in each of these commentaries are those of the author.



Dale C. Thomson



Louis Balthazar

## Option Three: what price tag?...

By Dale C. Thomson

While the content of Mitchell Sharp's article deserves careful analysis, the very fact and the circumstances of its publication are also worth mentioning. Over the centuries, foreign policy in practically every country has been the exclusive preserve of a small élite group, and, after it became independent, Canada fell with amazing rapidity into this pattern. The Canadian public, including academics, accepted this state of affairs; until recently courses on Canadian foreign policy were a rarity in our universities.

In recent years, the connection between domestic and foreign affairs has become more evident, a fact recognized by the Government of Canada when it declared in its Foreign Policy Review, issued in 1970, that foreign policy was "the extension abroad of national policies". The Foreign Policy Papers themselves constituted not merely the "severe reassessment" of Canada's external policies called for by Prime Minister Trudeau in the 1968 election campaign — they represented as well an attempt to establish a dialogue with Canadians in that area of public policy, and to ensure greater popular understanding and participation.

The principal shortcoming of the Foreign Policy Papers was the absence of a booklet on Canadian-United States relations. Responsible officials in the Department of External Affairs asserted that the subject was too vast and complex to be encompassed within a single paper, and



Harry G. Johnson



Abraham Rotstein