

the lead federal government department responsible for fleshing out Canada's Europe policy.

Given the widespread perception of the Third Option's failure, the tangled economic, political, military and social events in Europe in 1989 forced a cautious re-evaluation of the Government's stance on Europe.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, officials at EAITC in 1983 had quietly resolved that the Third Option was dead and that new options had to be developed to re-invigorate Canada's relations with Western Europe.<sup>34</sup> But it was only in 1987 - after a delay of four years, and coming after what some would call an anachronistic Defence White Paper that was strong on Cold War rhetoric - that EAITC produced a comprehensive review of Canada's relations with Western Europe. This review recommended a more integrated and proactive policy approach; detailed discussion of EC-Canadian relations, however, seems to have been sidelined by the emphasis on Canada's security commitment. It took another two years, until a second comprehensive review in 1989 (undertaken by the Policy Planning Staff at EAITC) that coincided with the political revolutions in Eastern Europe, for any sustained attention at the political level to be brought to Canada's relations with Europe in general and the Community in particular. Picking up where the 1987 report left off, this review attached great importance to establishing a policy framework and, most important, a programme of action for Canada-Europe relations in the 1990s.<sup>35</sup> Canadian officials were particularly concerned about the risk of an inward-looking Europe or marginalization by a series of bilateral relationships such as Europe-USSR, USA-USSR, or US-Europe. The recommendation to the SSEA from his senior officials at EAITC was that for both domestic (i.e., large number of Canadians of European extraction) and international reasons (Canada as a 'responsible' member of the world community), Canada had to participate in the evolution of a new European architecture.

The demise of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the progress towards the Single European Market (known popularly as "Europe 1992") left an indelible mark; they forced Europe onto the Canadian public policy agenda. Although some Canadian academics have characterized Canada's approach to the Community in the 1980s as one of 'benign neglect', the geo-political changes in Europe in 1989 coupled with the completion of the Canada-US free trade agreement, ensured that developments in Europe, specifically issues of security but also including the progress of European economic integration, became a priority for the Conservative Government.

Not wanting to be seen as out of step with the dramatic changes unfolding in Europe, Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark made public the Conservative Government's new policy approach to Europe in a speech at McGill University on