

unnecessarily thought of as especially mysterious. In this, I think they succeed.

While five of the six pamphlets of "Foreign Policy for Canadians" were devoted to particular areas of foreign policy, no single pamphlet was devoted to Canada-U. S. A. relations as such. The problem of Canada-United States relations did, however, underlie much of the foreign policy review. Indeed, the review set out the problem in about as neat a formula as anyone is likely to find: how is Canada to live "distinct from but in harmony with the world's most powerful and dynamic nation, the United States"? This problem was identified as one of two inescapable realities, both crucial to Canada's continued existence; the other was national unity.

The foreign policy review identified the problem, and discussed a number of its important manifestations. But it did not attempt to draw all the strands together. There were good and obvious reasons for this. The relationship between Canada and the United States is massive and complex. By any number of familiar tests, it is unique in the world as a relationship between two sovereign states. The two countries share an entire continent. Each is the other's best customer. Trade between the two exceeds 20 billion dollars annually. Something like 70 million people cross the border in either direction every year. Yet the partners are notably unequal in size. The United States has ten times Canada's population. Its Gross National Product is more than ten times Canada's. Canadians invest more per capita in the United States than Americans do in Canada. But where Canadian ownership of the American economy is negligible, American investment in Canada results in 50% American control of our manufacturing industries, with much higher percentages in particular sectors. To an outsider, Canadian life in its superficial aspects is almost indistinguishable from life in the United States; only closer acquaintance reveals the differences. Most objects of mass choice and taste in both countries confirm to a single North American pattern, largely determined in the United States.

In short, as the article on Canada-U.S. relations observes, the relationship "is by far our most important external relationship, but it is more than an external relationship. It impinges on every aspect of the Canadian national interest, and thus of Canadian domestic concerns." We are simply not used to thinking of the parts of this unique international phenomenon in relation to the whole. Many might even question whether it makes much sense to try to put together all the pieces of so vast and complex a jig-saw puzzle. Yet Canadians have begun to worry increasingly about where the combination of economic and cultural pressures may be leading. This questioning became particularly intense with the announcement of President Nixon's new economic policy in August, 1971.

It is in this mood of questioning and examination that my article on Canada-U.S. relations was prepared. Its subject is the whole relationship; it tries to look on it from a single point of vantage. In an undertaking of this sort, it is hard to avoid confusing complication on the one hand and distorting simplicity on the other. The article, I hope, manages to avoid either pitfall. It examines the integrating forces that are at work in North America. It endeavours to assess the impact of these forces on Canada in the light of