

It has been a great disappointment to me, and I am sure to all of you, that so little systematic and orderly investigation has been carried out in this field by our colleagues the political scientists. I would like to use this occasion to make an appeal for more work and early work by our colleagues.

I should like to speculate a little on the political aspects of this great national issue and to offer a few personal comments on where these speculations have led me. In its simplest form, Canadians and others who are concerned about the political consequences of extensive foreign ownership and control of a country's industries, argue that economic independence go hand in hand and that impairment of the one will lead to impairment of the other. In the context of the Canadian debate, this proposition has rarely been articulated either in theoretical or practical terms. Rather it has been stated as an obvious fact, an obiter dictum, with the addendum that many countries^{es} including highly-developed countries, have acted upon it without any apparent need to prove the proposition. Perhaps it is a self-evident truth; and perhaps this is why political scientists in Canada have not chosen to investigate this relationship.

I suspect that adherents to this viewpoint, although most of them would probably deny it, have, through some process of intellectual osmosis, been influenced by the propositions of Marxist ideology, the theories of state and of imperialism. Certainly, few of us living in a democratic society today would endorse the proposition that the owners of the means of production control the state. We know it is not so. Similarly, we would not see in the participation by foreign enterprise in our economy any sinister motivation associated with imperialistic objectives of the United States to take over Canada. It would take a vivid imagination indeed to suspect collusion or conspiracy between the thousands of individual private and corporate investors with the Government of the United States bent on absorbing us or of directing our domestic or international politics. These individuals have made investments in Canada over the extended period of time for the purpose of making profits. They are often in sharp competition with one another. Their activities have not been directed by the United States Government, which at times, such as at present, would much prefer if they decided to keep their money at home.

At the other extreme is the view that what really matters is not who controls the country's industries but rather who makes the laws. Corporations, like all other citizens, must abide by the laws of the land and it matters little whether the owners are Canadians or foreigners. This view has a certain superficial plausibility. But it appears to me unreal to separate a country's legislative process from the people and institutions that make it up. Governments are not abstractions that live in a vacuum. In any organized society, particularly in our type of democracy, there is continuous and complex interaction between government and the people in the legislative process. And it is more than a matter of legislation, it is the whole complex of attitudes and policies that together make up a country's politics. It is a simple fact that business enterprise has a powerful influence on government; and if that enterprise is controlled from outside the country, is it not likely that the attitudes and pressures emanating from it will reflect in part the interests and outlook of the people who control it.