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report that "the general Canadian attitude toward the United States is immature." Professional students of Canada-U.S. relations, moreover, have been complaining for some years of the lamentably awkward and embarrassingly public handling of the continental relationship by Canadian politicians with an electoral interest in firing off verbal pot-shots at American expense – a temptation to which they have succumbed even when they have been perfectly aware that their doing so can serve no useful Canadian purpose, much less exert a constructive influence on American behaviour.

But these are surface political phenomena – self-indulgent, perhaps, and certainly unhelpful, but also clearly at odds with the substantive underlying realities of the bilateral relationship. On the whole, and with only occasional exceptions, our dealings with the United States are driven by interests that are both material and direct – interests, in fact, that monopolize the attentions of the most influential elites in both our governing and private sectors. Obeisance is certainly paid from time to time by those in high elective office to the desire of Canadians at large to strengthen their sense of dignity by differentiating themselves from their American neighbours. Our political leaders try as well to distance our performances abroad from the sometimes-disruptive behaviours that emanate readily enough – even understandably enough – from a nervously competitive superpower. Such rhetorical gildings of the Canadian lily to American disadvantage aside, however, on bilateral matters of serious practical import it seems to me that those in Ottawa who have to deal with the substance, as opposed to the mere colouration, of the Canada-U.S. relationship routinely do their calculations with impressive intellectual discipline and care. In particular, they weigh the tactical pros and cons with a clear eye on the costs and benefits of the available alternatives. Even when they contemplate general ideas of the larger sort – ambitious 'big bang' models of integrated North American economic and security arrangements, for example – their focus is primarily on the instrumental, and their preoccupation is with the reliable preservation and enhancement of substantive rewards for Canadians as a whole. Greater wealth. Greater security. Consistently and reliably. And for as long as possible.

It could be argued that this is the domain of Canada's *real* foreign policy, and notwithstanding the chatterings of the chattering classes, we actually talk about it surprisingly little, even (and perhaps especially) in our governmental policy statements and other official pronouncements on