

What this book is really about is the struggle for power between Haig and the men around Reagan in the White House, Reagan's old California friends. It is about "access" to Reagan, and Haig did not have it. What an ironic twist of fate. It was Haig who had access to Nixon during his years on Kissinger's staff and even more when he was Nixon's Chief of Staff. Then he controlled the access of others.

Haig's problems started early. He had obtained verbal agreement from Reagan that he would be Reagan's "Vicar" in the foreign policy field (an unfortunate term as Haig admits). To define his mandate as Secretary of State he drew up National Security Decision Direction 1 (NSDD1) which upon signature by the President would define the responsibilities of all those who had a major impact on foreign policy, with Haig as the principal spokesman. NSDD1 was never signed. This was the key to Haig's problem.

But was it really? There was much more than this. There was the "As of now, I am in control" controversy in the aftermath of the attempted assassination of President Reagan on March 30, 1981. While Haig's account appears logical and reasonable, the intent being to bring order and calm to a very unsettled situation, great hostility must have been created by Haig's actions, especially between him and Secretary of Defense Weinberger. It was this atmosphere that was reflected in the press to Haig's disadvantage and dismay.

Haig's involvement in various foreign policy issues is discussed in covering such problem areas as Central America, Lebanon, Israel and the Middle East, China, Poland, Saudi Arabia, the Falkland Islands war, the Paris Summit Conference as well as nuclear issues. There is no in-depth treatment but rather each foreign policy issue is used as a vehicle to describe the problem Haig encountered in trying to develop "balance, consistence and credulity" in the formulation and execution of US foreign policy.

Richard Allen, Reagan's first National Security Adviser, resigned in January 1982. He was replaced by William Clark who had been Number 2 to Haig in the State Department. Relations soon deteriorated between Haig and Clark as well as with other members of the administration such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the UN. In early April Haig attempted to mediate in the Falkland Islands war. His attempts were unsuccessful although he claims a victory of sorts since he believed that his efforts at mediation provided time for UK public opinion to rally strongly behind Mrs. Thatcher and the war efforts of her government. He fully expected that it might prove to be his Waterloo if he failed.

The real break with Reagan came in May 1982 right after the Paris Summit Conference and during the crisis in Lebanon. Philip Habib was in the Middle East trying to mediate and arrange a cease-fire. He needed new instructions immediately. Haig prepared these and tried to get Reagan's approval. This was on a weekend. When Haig called Clark to try to get the President to approve the instructions he was told that the President had decided to wait until Monday. Haig called the President and explained the urgency and was told not to worry. Reagan had not in fact seen the instructions or been asked to approve them. Haig sent the instructions to Habib without the President's approval.

On the following Monday Haig arranged a meeting with the President who was very upset at Haig's action. Haig then said that he could not continue as Secretary of State under the circumstances. His formal resignation and Reagan's acceptance followed. (In fact Reagan gave Haig a letter accepting his resignation before Haig had formally submitted one to him.)

Haig cites many examples of the way his authority as Secretary of State was undermined by statements by members of the White House staff or others in the administration. While he accepted, and participated in, such actions while working for Kissinger, he found them unacceptable when on the receiving end himself.

Why did Haig write this book at this time? Certainly not for political gain. Certainly not merely for the reasons stated in the preface. Perhaps the book is a genuine *cri de coeur* to try to point out to the American public the dangers inherent in the formulation of US foreign policy by the "many voices" surrounding the President. At least we can give General Haig the benefit of the doubt. Let us hope his next books are less plaintive than this one.

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Helping till it hurts

by Alexander Craig

Canadian Development Assistance to Haiti. An Independent Study by E. Philip English. Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1984, 167 pages, \$8.50.

Haiti is the poorest country in the world. Its searing poverty imprints itself not only on the minds of most visitors but also, apparently, on those who decide where Canada's aid should go. In only five years after it started in 1973 CIDA's program in Haiti became the largest in all of Latin America and the Caribbean.

But just how helpful has this aid managed to be? For a long time Haiti has been a byword for corruption and misgovernment. It has been some years since the Encyclopaedia Britannica *Book of the Year* called it "probably the worst governed country in the world." The savage, indeed incredible excesses of Papa Doc, highlighted in Graham Greene's *The Comedians* and elsewhere, have given way to the more modern blandishments of Bébé Doc, his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, whom "Papa" thoughtfully installed as president for life not long before he himself died. Systems and habits remain, however, and it has to be feared that probably less aid money filters down to the people in Haiti than anywhere else.

A suitable case for treatment, then, by the North-South Institute. By the terms of its mandate, the Institute is