

Contents

FOREWORD by Robert Spencer ix

PREFACE xi

1 / North America: Two, three, or one? 3

2 / From pawns to players 18

3 / British Empire and insular North America 41

4 / The North American-ness of North America 57

5 / Limited partnership for peace and security 79

6 / Prudence, morality, and the range of
North American choice 112

7 / Working together: Predicament and opportunity 144

NOTES 149

INDEX 179

Index

- Acheson, Dean 102
Adams, John 9, 36, 40, 62
Adams, John Quincy 9, 40
Adams, Samuel 9, 36
Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of
(1748) 26
Alaska, purchase of (1867) 38,
156
Anglo-American societies com-
pared 59–60; folk heroes in:
Canada vs U.S. and Austra-
lia 60; Canadian sensitivity and
American insensitivity to
differences 61
Anglo-Atlantic system 7; 'North
Atlantic triangle' 7, 58; em-
pire as ellipse with two
foci 18; treaty of Washington
(1871) 39, 42–3; Bismarck on
importance of Americans
speaking English 40; improved
Anglo-American relations after
1871 43–4; British perception
of German threat 44, 54;
'Anglo-Atlanticity' vs 'North
American-ness' 57–8; pro-
posed 'United States of the
English-speaking world' 175
n 16
Anglo-French rivalry in colonial
North America: French and
Indian War (Seven Years'
War) 4, 22, 24–6, 28; Second
Hundred Years' War 26; Can-
ada vs Guadeloupe controversy
(1759–63) 26–7, 153–4 n 23
annexationist pressures and non-
annexation of Canada by U.S.;
see Incorporation of Canada
into U.S., proposed
anti-Americanism in Canada : *see*
Identity problem in Canada
ANZUS 12
Articles of Confederation 29
Atlantic Council 12
autonomy, Canadian quest for:
'informal imperialism' and
'structural violence' 35, 86–8,
114; National Policy of Sir
John A. Macdonald 81, 116;
National Energy Program
(NEP) 85, 93; branch-plant phe-
nomenon and Diefenbaker-
Eisenhower agreement

- (1958) 92, 166; Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) 93; as high-priority foreign-policy goal 96; vis-à-vis Britain: *see* Imperial defense schemes; *see also* Parallel action
- Bennett, R.B. 20, 48, 100
- Berger, Carl 68, 71
- Bismarck, Otto von 40
- Bissell, Claude T. 59, 162 n 35
- Boorstin, Daniel J. 95
- Borden, Sir Robert 47, 48, 50
- border incidents: Confederate raid on St Alban's, Vermont (1864) 37; Fenian raids 38
- boundary, Canada-U.S.: in Paris peace negotiations (1782) 30; Oregon controversy settled (1846) 41; an 'old' boundary 72-4; Alaskan-Canadian boundary dispute 72, 164 n 4; Point Roberts 72; in 'exclusive economic zones' 162 n 34
- Bradley, General Omar 104
- Brebner, J. Bartlet 38, 58, 150-1 n 14
- Britain and eighteenth-century North America 18-19, 22-30; colonies, king, and Parliament 19; short life of first British North America (1763-83) 22-3, 27; proposals for colonial representation in Parliament and for separate American kingdom 26, 28; capture of Louisbourg and exchange for Madras 26; western lands and colonial grievances 27-30; Quebec Act (1774) 28-9
- British North America, nineteenth century: indifference to expected evolution toward independence 35, 42; annexation threat as spur to Confederation 39; British North America Act (1867) 39, 42; failure to protect by creating North American regional balance of power 41; Durham report (1840) 41; recall of British garrisons 42-3, 157 n 5
- Brown, Edmund G., Jr 10
- Bryce, James (Lord) 113
- Brezhnev, Leonid 126
- Canada: as middle power 4-5; 'tyranny of proximity' to U.S. 5; in Pacific-East Asia theater of world politics 8; as privileged sanctuary 13, 120-1; and Anglo-Japanese alliance 44, 50; and foreign policy of the British Empire 50; freedom of foreign-policy choice 50-2, 99, 145; North American-ness of 61-4; autonomy as priority goal of 96; status sensitivity of 99-100, 111; initiatives taken before U.S. is ready to act 107; methods of avoiding direct confrontations with U.S. 108; as alternate producer

- of North American-type goods and services 109; as exemplar of 'North American' values 109; threats to cohesiveness of 109; as 'loyal opposition' in making policy for North America 121, and examples: Pierre Trudeau's Notre Dame University speech (1982) 106, and Lester Pearson's Temple University speech (1965) 107, 122; vulnerable location 121; *see also* Canada-U.S. relationship, French-speaking North America, Functional principle in conduct of Canadian foreign affairs, 'Third options'
- Canada-United States relationship: chill and thaw in (1981-4) xiii, 80-1; unequal power in 5, 85; de facto security union 13, 104-20; travel 'along parallel roads' 59; atypicality among grossly unequal neighboring states 68-9; 'disparate dyad' relationships 69, 153 n 13; role of coercive power in 70; mutual forbearance in 90-4; Canadian sensitivity to American insensitivity 94; slow U.S. response to Canada's status sensitivities 101-2; informal access and full consultation 103, 106; economic diplomacy in 113-14; Charles Doran on asserted demise of special relationship 164 n 4; Peyton Lyon on special characteristics of 164 n 6; *see also* Integration of U.S. and Canada, Non-linkage in Canadian-American relations, Peace in North America, Security of North America
- Cancun conference (1981) 109
- Canning, George 40
- Chamberlain, Joseph 46
- Chesterton, G.K. 33
- Christie, Loring 50
- collective defense and collective security 118-19; Article 51 170 n 39; *see also* North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Security in North America
- Continental Congress 29
- Contractual Agreement 108
- Coolidge, Calvin 127
- Dafoe, John W. 47-8
- Declaration of Independence 29
- Dehio, Ludwig 18, 29, 153
- Deutsch, Karl 63
- Diefenbaker, John 64
- Diefenbaker-Eisenhower agreement (1958) 92
- domestic affairs as challenge to primacy of foreign affairs: 'our domestic situation first' (MacKenzie King) 115; constraints on defense budget 116-17, 125; conscription issue 121; social demands vs claims of world citizenship 130-2; 141-2; *see*

- also* French-speaking North America
- Doran, Charles F. xii, 164, 175
- Dulles, John Foster 93
- Dundonald, Lord 13
- Durham report (1840) 41
- Eayrs, James 63, 130
- economics of national security 127
- Elizabeth II 11
- environmental international relations: acid-rain problem 87; U.S. as bad neighbor 91; Arctic pollution control 108
- Europe and North America: North America's reinvolverment in Europe's wars and threats of war 6, 118–19; colonies as counterweights in European balance 18, 24, 121; North America's safety and Europe's strife 18, 40, 128; Canning's evocation of New World to balance the Old 40; isolationism and internationalism as reactions to Europe's 'unclean' power politics 49; unstable European balance vs North America's stable imbalance 52; bad Europe, good North America 62–3; North American (and British) philosophy of choice in foreign affairs vs continental European doctrines of necessity 62, 161 n 14
- European Economic Community (EEC) 82–3, 96
- Evatt, Herbert 101
- Fenian raids 38
- forecasts of North American futures: eighteenth century: Thomas Pownall 153, and Adam Smith 154–5 n 31; U.S.: Alexis de Tocqueville 21, and Thomas Jefferson 32; Canada: Lord Carnarvon 39, Sir Wilfrid Laurier 112, and George M. Wrong 112
- Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) 93, 167
- Foulkes, General Charles 104
- Franklin, Benjamin 26–7
- French-speaking North America: Canada in American Revolution and 1782 peace negotiations 22, 28–30; 'French fact' and Canadian immobilism in foreign affairs 62; conscription issue 116, 121
- Friedrich, Carl 18
- functional principle in conduct of Canadian foreign affairs 106, 139, 177 n 30; Canadian pragmatism vs U.S. sense of world mission 96–7; recognition of larger U.S. role in providing for North American security 98, 106; active role in conference diplomacy and international organizations 107–8; Pierre Trudeau and reassessment of Canada's role in world affairs 123, 174–5 n 9, 175 n 12; selectivity and comple-

- mentarity in setting priorities 133–5, 138; mixed-motive activism 135–6; *see also* King, William Lyon Mackenzie
- Gelber, Lionel 44, 158
- George III 8, 29
- Ghent, treaty of (1815) 23, 32
- Gotlieb, Alan 70
- Hakluyt, Richard 24
- Halifax, Lord 102
- Hankey, Lord (Sir Maurice) 19–20, 117
- Harding, Warren G. 59, 67, 165 n 7
- Helsinki Accords 94
- hemisphere defense: quartersphere defense 15; limits of Western Hemisphere for defense purposes 16; insufficiency of for security against Old World hegemonic power 159 n 28
- Henrikson, Alan 7, 95, 150, 152
- historic entitlement vs exemplary goodness and international distributive justice 129, 142–3
- Hoffmann, Stanley 63
- Holmes, John W. 48, 70, 95, 96, 108, 138–9, 168, 169
- Hoover, Herbert 64, 137
- Hopkins, Harry 102
- Hughes, William Morris (Billy) 120, 159
- human rights, promotion of 139–40, 142; Universal Declaration of Human Rights 137; U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 140
- identity problem in Canada 58, 64, 70–1, 75, 77; anti-continentalist perspectives xiii, 19, 89, 166 n 13; Canadians as ‘gringos from the far north’ 10; anti-Americanism 58, 76, 86, 91; North American-ness and 71–2; cultural nationalism and public policy 89; threat of North American cultural homogeneity 115; North American-ness as dilution of Canadian-ness 170–1 n 43; *see also* Domestic affairs, French-speaking North America
- imperial defense schemes and quest for imperial unity: Committee of Imperial Defence and 19–20, 47, 48, 50; Canada and defense of Britain and the Commonwealth: Lord Hankey 19–20, Lord Halifax 102, 170 n 39, and W.M. Hughes 120; Canada and the Commonwealth in a tripolar world 23, 47, 134; Canadian rejection of imperial defense schemes 45–9, 114, 158 n 13; colonial conferences 46; Britain as ‘weary Titan’ 46
- incorporation of Canada into the United States, proposed: Adams family and 9, 36; overtures of Puritan New England and Articles of Confederation

- (Article XI) 29; as American objective in Paris peace negotiations (1782) 30; Manifest Destiny and northward expansion 36; post-Civil War pressures for annexation: William H. Seward and 37-8, 156 n 40, termination of trade reciprocity treaty and 37, U.S. purchase of Alaska and 38, Fenian raids and Taylor Bill 38; Warren G. Harding's Vancouver speech (1923) 59, 165 n 7
- 'informal imperialism': *see* Autonomy, Canadian quest for, and Integration of U.S. and Canada
- insular attitudes and isolationist policies: 'no prior commitment' as U.S. and Canadian policies 48-9, 65, 70, 118; isolationism and internationalism as insular attitudes 49; Canada and Article 10 of League of Nations Covenant 49, 102; loss of insularity: *see* Security of North America
- integration of U.S. and Canada: mutual interpenetration of pluralistic societies xi-xii; trade between Quebec and North American interior in Paris peace negotiations (1782) 30; Jay's Treaty (1794) and U.S. vs Karnuth (1928) 30, 154 n 29; open borders and reduced pressure for annexation 35; Marcy-Elgin treaty of trade reciprocity 37; high degree of informal integration 90; aversion to formal integration 96, 111; lessened integration in 1970s 164 n 4; special characteristics of bilateral relationship 164-5 n 6; *see also* Identity problem in Canada, North American political order, Parallel action
- International Joint Commission: *see* Parallel action, Peace in North America
- Jackson-Vanik resolution 93
- Jebb, Richard 158
- Jefferson, Thomas 32
- King, William Lyon Mackenzie 12, 13, 57, 63, 67, 99, 115, 116, 128, 163; on role of great powers and other powers 5-6; on Canada's role in regulating Europe's wars 65
- Laurier, Sir Wilfrid 13, 46, 47, 48, 112, 116
- Lippmann, Walter 7, 40, 156
- Lipset, Seymour 60, 61
- Louisiana territory, cession of 4, 39
- Lower, A.R.M. 58
- Lyon, Peyton V. 164 n 6
- McCarthy, Joseph 138
- Macdonald, James A. 66
- Macdonald, Sir John A. 46, 81

- Mackinder, Sir Halford: World Island and separated North America 6; Eurocentric geopolitics 7; land power vs sea power 54
- Manifest Destiny 36
- Marcy-Elgin treaty of trade reciprocity (1854) 37, 155
- Massey, Charles Vincent 59
- Meighen, Arthur 50
- 'mental maps' of North America 6-9
- Monroe Doctrine, Canada and 13, 15, 40, 114
- Morgenthau, Hans 96
- Mulroney, Brian xiii, 80-1
- National Energy Program 85, 93, 165, 167
- 'Nixon shock' 164
- non-events in North American history 33
- non-linkage in Canadian-American relations 90-3, 145
- North America: geopolitical vs geographic North America 3-4, 9; separateness from Europe 6, 59, 62; facing Old World across three oceans 7; of the Two, Three or One? 8-12; 'south-western' visual image of 10; as second or 'fresh-start' Europe 21-2, 24; as 'asylum for mankind' 24, 128; insularity and its loss 53-4; North Americans: how different from whom? 57-8; North Americans' opportunity to be virtuous 58, 61-2; moral certitude of politicians and crusade mentality 65-7; as 'fortunate continent' 128; as zone of peace: *see* Peace in North America; *see also* Europe and North America, Historic entitlement, Integration of U.S. and Canada, Power in North America, Security in North America
- North American Accord, Reagan proposal for (1979) 11
- North American age in world politics 118-20
- North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) 110
- North American political order: nineteenth-century 'equilibrium of weakness' 34; stable imbalance 34, 40, 42, 52-3, 81, 91, 146; no feasible alternative constitutional arrangements 82-3; non-state actors and balancing process 86-9; satisfactions for Canada in existing order 94; North American 'civic order' 103; Pierre Trudeau on Canada's looking-glass function 106, 148; Lester Pearson's Temple University speech (1965) 107, 122; Canada's burden in maintaining 111; Canada as 'loyal opposition' 121; *see also* Canada-U.S. relationship, Parallel action, Peace in North America
- North Atlantic Treaty and North

- Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 103, 117, 123, 172 n 51
- Ogdensburg declaration (1940) 14–16, 52, 159 n 28, 173 n 55
- Oglesby, J.C.M. 10
- Organization of American States 12
- Paine, Thomas 24, 39, 64, 128
- parallel action in foreign-policy making: vis-à-vis Britain in two world wars 46, and Jebb's 'autonomous vision' 158 n 16; formula for U.S.-Canada collaboration 59; bilateral institutions as vehicles for: International Joint Commission 67, 109, and Permanent Joint Board on Defense 109–10; as Canada's 'first option' 147
- Paris peace conference (1919) 49
- 'peace dividend' 53, 128, 130, 142, 147
- peace in North America: 'century of peace' 22, 63, 66, 79–80; post-War of 1812 'equilibrium of weakness' 31–4; 'myth of undefended frontier' 33; North American peace as example for the world? 66–8, 77–8; International Joint Commission as 'New World's answer' 67; 'right' and 'wrong' lessons from unbreakability of 79–80
- peace research and 'positive peace' 86
- Pearson, Lester B. 99, 107, 122, 123, 135, 170
- Permanent Joint Board on Defense 14, 109, 173 n 55
- power in North America: super-power–middle-power continent 4–5, 16; technology and emergence of huge states in North America 4, 72–3; measurement of power and Canada's rank 5–6, 149 n 4; U.S. and Canada 'peripheral powers' of rapid growth 42–3, 119; power-politics theorizing and North American international relations 52–3, 114–17; forms and distribution of power 83–4; scope for superior U.S. coercive power in Canadian-American relations 84–6; asserted decline in power vis-à-vis rest of world 119–20; economics of national security and future power potential 127; *see also* Europe and North America, Forecasts of North American futures, Hemisphere defense
- Pownall, Thomas 26, 153
- Preston, Richard A. 33, 46
- Quebec: *see* Britain and eighteenth-century North America, French-speaking North America

- Radford, Admiral Arthur 104
 Rashish, Myer 93
 Reagan, Ronald 10, 11, 80, 131, 164
 regional subsystem in international relations 149 n 1; U.S. and Canada as xiii; separateness of U.S.-Canada and inter-American subsystems 102
 rimland and rimland powers 7; Nicholas J. Spykman and independence of 54, 150 n 9
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 12, 14, 57, 65, 138
 Roosevelt, Theodore 113, 138
 Root, Elihu 113
 Royal Canadian Mounted Police 60
- St Alban's, Vermont, raid on 37
 St-Laurent, Louis 55, 123
 Savelle, Max 23
 Schurmann, Franz 133, 138
 security of North America: over-the-pole threat to 8, 123; de facto security union 13, 94; defense perimeter of North America 15-16; lost insularity and reinvolverment in Europe's wars and threats of war 53; peacetime preparedness, need for military and coalition war planning 55; prudent partnership for 80; determinants of Canada's share in decisions and sacrifice 96, 104, 121, 123; absence of decoupling problem with respect to 124; *see also* Canada-U.S. relationship, Ogdensburg declaration
 Sharp, Mitchell 108
 Shotwell, James T. 68
 sideshow wars, Canadian aversion to 124
 Smith, Adam 155
 Spykman, Nicholas J. 54, 150, 159
 stable imbalance in North America: *see* North American political order
- Taylor Bill (1866) 38
 'third options' (and fourth), in conduct of Canadian foreign affairs 108-11, 147-8
 Tocqueville, Alexis de 21
 Towe, Peter 11
 Trudeau, Pierre Elliott 61, 93, 99, 106, 107, 108, 109, 124, 126, 138, 167, 168, 169, 171
 Truman, Harry 127, 131
- United Nations, Charter of (Articles 44 and 51) 49, 103, 132, 170 n 39
 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) 101, 137
 United States: westward expansion of 4; as guarantor of Canada's security: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Chatauqua and Kingston speeches (1936, 1938) and Mackenzie King's

- response 12-13; unneutral neutrality in Second World War 19; disunited states of Europe as godparents of 29; as world's 'first new nation' 39, 62; separation of powers and U.S. foreign affairs 62; 'bad-neighbor' environment policies 91; 'hyperopia' in conduct of foreign relations 94; 'global isolationism' and sense of world mission 96, 133, 138, 141-2; anti-colonialism and informal imperialism 114; asserted decline in power of 119-20; *see also* Ogdensburg declaration
 United States-Canada relationship: *see* Canada-United States relationship
- Vereeniging, Peace of (1902) 47
 Versailles, treaty of (1919) 48
 Vietnam war 119
 Viner, Jacob 165
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 117
 War of 1812 31-3
 Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament 50-1
 Washington, treaty of (1871): *see* Anglo-Atlantic system
 Whitman, Walt 59
 Wilson, Woodrow 58, 138
 Wrong, George M. 112
 Wrong, Hume 61

KNIHOVNA KATEDRY

anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Filozofické fakulty

Masarykovy univerzity

BRNO, Arna Nováka 1