

enhancing the capacity of External Affairs to exercise greater control over all the players in the Canada-U.S. relationship. Anything that weakened the centralization of power was seen as a threat to our capacity to deal effectively with the U.S.

The deep tension in our relations caused by the National Energy Program (NEP), the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) and communications policies served only to reinforce the need for External Affairs to act as a centralized agency co-ordinating Canadian strategies and responses. The spectre of linkage by Congress of separate issues (such as border broadcasting and tourism) and threats of retaliation further reinforced the principle of centralized management.

Paradoxically, at the very time when these centralizing, managerial tendencies grew stronger in Canada, decision-making in the U.S. began a precipitous flight to decentralization. Vietnam, Watergate and the decline of the presidency helped swing the pendulum of power over to Congress, which, in the meantime, began to witness the dispersal of its own power from the centre to the Committee and Sub-Committee chairmen and their staffs. Accelerated by reforms in Congress, the weakening of the seniority system, the rise of special interests and a myriad of other forces, a massive process of subinfeudation ensued. Congressional barons became the true wielders of political power in the domestic field.

The warning signals were apparent by the late 1970s. In the area of perhaps the most long-standing friction – fisheries and territorial waters – a stunning reversal occurred in Ottawa's traditional posture for dealing with the U.S. Led by an outstanding negotiator, Marcel Cadieux, Canada sought and obtained agreements for arbitrating maritime boundaries on the east coast and for creating a binational council to which both countries would delegate regulation and management of their east coast fisheries resources – the richest such resources in the world. But the Senate walked away from the treaty creating the supranational management body.

Although the negotiations therefore failed, the agreement was historic for us. It marked the first evidence of our realization that to deal effectively with these vital issues, we had to accept the