

ordinate and centralize provincial decision-making. Evidence of such a trend can be seen in the appearance of departments of intergovernmental affairs — in Quebec (1967), Ontario (April 1972) and Alberta (June 1972). Smaller intergovernmental-affairs units now exist in all the other provinces. Regardless of size, these agencies are all closely related to the premiers' offices by virtue of either origins or present status, and they all perform a common function — the monitoring and co-ordination of their respective governments' interactions with other governments in North America and overseas. They have also tended to have at least one common effect — to augment further the extent of provincial activity.

*Federal-provincial  
discussions  
have increased  
since 1950*

Many observers have noted the substantial increase in federal-provincial discussions, meetings and debates during the 1950s and 1960s. Although data are not yet readily available on meetings exclusively or largely concerned with "foreign" policy or with Canadian-American issues, it is reasonable to assume that the pattern here has been a similar one. However, data are becoming available that clearly show increasing activity by the provinces *vis-à-vis* the American states. An early study by Leach, Walker and Levy showed that, of 47 provincial "contacts" that could be pinpointed by date, no fewer than 29, or 62 per cent, were products of the 1960-71 period. Our analysis of data collected in a more recent study by Roger Swanson, sponsored by the U.S. State Department, which focused in a similar way on the 50 states, confirms the earlier finding. While contacts by states with provinces increased little, if at all, between 1920 and 1945, they have increased dramatically over the period of the late 1950s and the 1960s.

#### **Lower-level impulse**

State and provincial governments clearly see an increasing need to interact and cooperate with each other. Generally, the impulse to collaboration has come from the lower levels of provincial and state bureaucracies. The individuals involved on both sides have been disinclined to view their interactions as "foreign relations" and have seldom undertaken their mutual activities with a view to scoring constitutional points — as distinct from political points — within their respective federal systems. In short, province-state interactions have traditionally been carried on in a business-like, friendly and informal manner, and stem in good measure from what is perceived to be administrative necessity. For example, if the 60 sub-national jurisdictions in the North American

continent made no attempt to have their highway and motor-transportation there would be serious impediments to interstate, interprovincial and cross-border commerce.

At the same time, of course, such actions that have the effect of removing such impediments can, in cumulative effect, be of major consequence. While a vast majority of province-state interactions are *informal*, our analysis of the data indicates that there has been a considerable increase during 1970-74 in province-state agreements in commerce and industry, energy, environmental protection, transportation and general relations. Semi-formal relations have increased in commerce and industry, education and culture, energy, human services, natural resources and transportation. It can be argued that such informal contact, even without formal institutional support, may well facilitate the integration of national policies, even if such a result is not consciously pursued. There is an oft-claimed tendency for informal contact to lead, under certain conditions, to the creation of more formal channels.

Another aspect of provincial participation is the recent participation of head provincial and state governments and elected officials in province-state meetings. In August 1973, the premiers and governors of the five Eastern provinces and six New England states met together in Brudenell, Prince Edward Island for the first time to discuss closer environmental transportation co-operation as well as cross-border commerce. They met again for follow-up talks in Warren, Maine, in June 1974 and held a third meeting in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in June 1975. Concurrent with these governors meetings, elected members of 11 legislative assemblies met in Bangor, Maine, in August 1974 to discuss environmental topics. In September 1974, Premier Barrett of B.C. and Governor DeLoach of Washington presided over a joint meeting of their respective legislatures in Bellingham, Washington. Moreover, since the contacts are merely provincial, in early 1974, the State Department sent officials from the ten premier's offices to a conference in Washington. DeLoach's protest through diplomatic channels, the State Department subsequently sponsored a second such meeting.

Politicization is present in the form as well — that of permanent representation and political visitation. The number of provincial offices abroad in the United States increased from six in 1960 to 31 in 1970, and reached a peak