

element), and the bureaucratic size of state governments and their organizational capacity to deal with these relations.

### Organization and techniques

Aside from the state/provincial arrangements that have been concluded, there are two interesting questions regarding general state/provincial relations: How are state bureaucracies organized to deal with the provinces and how do state and provincial officials actually interact? The most common method of state organization in handling Canadian matters is the pragmatic approach. In a general sense, there appears to be no special concern on the part of the U.S. governors to encourage, discourage or centrally co-ordinate relations with the Canadian provinces. Those state officials who become involved are not specifically assigned the responsibility for dealing with Canadian matters or for liaison with Canadian provincial officials. Nonetheless, they feel it necessary to deal with the provinces in their everyday work and do so, often without the knowledge of the governor or the state commissioners.

For some states, however, this pragmatic organizational arrangement is insufficient. They therefore assign to individuals or organizational units in the state bureaucracies the specific responsibility for handling aspects of provincial relations such as conservation, economic and cultural matters. For example, Vermont's Agency of Development and Community Affairs has an International Industrial Development Representative who is the Agency's "liaison" with Quebec on economic matters. Another technique is the highly-innovative organizational arrangement whereby the state establishes an office within its bureaucracy that is responsible for Canadian "relations" in general, with a monitoring function similar to that of the U.S. State Department's Office of Canadian Affairs. The State of Maine has pioneered this new type of organizational arrangement, with the Governor establishing an Office of Canadian Relations and appointing a full-time Special Assistant for Canadian Relations as a part of his executive office. Finally, there is the technique of creating state-affiliated organizations, also employed by Maine, to develop and strengthen relations with the Canadian provinces. For example, a Quebec/Maritime Advisory Commission exists consisting of 12 leading Maine citizens outside the state government.

It might be useful at this point to explore the manner in which state officials actually deal with their Canadian counterparts. In addition to the use of correspon-

dence and telephone, eight trans-techniques are used. First, and most common, are bureaucratic *ad hoc* meetings. These consist of any number of state/provincial officials at all levels, and for several purposes: the exchange of information, the discussion of common projects and the development of joint projects. The second trans-border technique used by states is that of direct representation in the Canadian provinces. This occurs either through the establishment of a "state office" in the province or the appointment of Canadian public relations firms to serve as the state representatives in the provinces. At least eight states have employed this technique. These offices — which are most often located in Montreal, followed by Toronto — are primarily designed to promote trade and tourism and to encourage economic development.

### "Summit diplomacy"

The third technique used by states in dealing with the provinces is summit diplomacy; it involves the use of a "summit diplomacy" by state governors and provincial premiers. Within the last three years, about a dozen governors have been involved in summit exchanges with their provincial counterparts at least five times. Examples of such meetings include the governors and premiers of Washington and British Columbia, Louisiana and Quebec, Michigan and Ontario, New Jersey and Ontario, Massachusetts and New Brunswick, and Maine and Quebec in the Atlantic Provinces. An interesting variant of this state/provincial "summit" is the multilateral and institutionalized one. It seems to be taking. For example, the six-member New England Governors' Conference held a historic meeting with five Eastern Canadian premiers in Brudenell, Prince Edward Island in August 1973. This was followed by a meeting in Vermont, and a 1975 meeting in New Brunswick.

The fourth trans-border technique used by state officials involves legislative exchanges whereby state and provincial legislators meet for purposes of familiarization and the exchange of information. Unlike the federal-level U.S. Canadian Interparliamentary Group meetings, for example, both Maine and Washington States have used this technique with their respective provincial counterparts. The fifth technique is the establishment of state/provincial joint organizations, usually in the form of joint committees, to attempt to deal with specific functional areas. Two examples are the New Eng-

*Innovative arrangement of new offices responsible for Canadian relations*