

SEVENTH EDITION

POLITICS:

CANADA

□ PAUL W. FOX □

GRAHAM WHITE



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CANADA

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PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION

Once again this new edition of *Politics: Canada* has a great deal of fresh material. About half of the contents consists of items that have not appeared in previous editions. All of these selections are drawn from very recent publications or are articles prepared especially for this edition of *Politics: Canada*.

Original material seems to be a growing feature in each successive edition. This time there are eleven articles that have been prepared particularly for the new edition. I am indebted greatly to the authors for their generosity and their labours and would like to thank them warmly for their contributions. My co-editor, Graham White, and our colleague, Nelson Wiseman, have each written two articles, while William Christian and Colin Campbell, John Eichmanis, Lawrence LeDuc, Evert Lindquist, Lorna Marsden, Paul Thomas, and Joseph Wearing have contributed one each.

I would like to express my gratitude also to the authors whose work has appeared in previous editions and who have been kind enough to revise their articles and bring them up to date for this edition. No one declined to take on the task and not one failed to meet the deadline, even when it was suddenly advanced. That is a double measure of co-operation, which only an editor can truly appreciate, but which should be acknowledged publicly. I am pleased to do so here, thanking Agar Adamson, Carl Baar, Brian Land, Evert Lindquist, John McMenemy, and Desmond Morton. Peter Russell should be thanked also for being willing to take on this job, though in the end he contributed two new articles with co-authors.

I should like to thank also those authors whose work has been reprinted here with their permission or by arrangement with their publisher. The contribution of each of these more than 40 individuals is significant and appreciated. None of them, by the way, should be held responsible for the title put on his or her material when it differs from the original. On occasion, I have taken the liberty of altering original titles in order to make them fit the pattern of the chapter in which they appear or to stimulate discussion among students by posing controversial assertions or questions. The desire to provide good argumentative matter is also the reason for juxtaposing contradictory articles wherever possible.

I should add that the freedom taken in designing titles has not been extended to distorting the contents of these articles. Although many selections have been edited rigorously, I have tried very hard to maintain the integrity of the authors' arguments and evidence.

The lengthy bibliographies that follow each chapter reflect the large amount of research and publication that continues to be done in the field of Canadian government and politics. Though the bibliographies are extensive, they are by no means exhaustive. In an effort to keep them to a reasonable length, the co-editor and I have deleted most items published before 1980, except for a few classics. For material published prior to 1980, a reader should consult the bibliographies in earlier editions of *Politics: Canada*. To save space, most

bibliographical references have been entered only once, usually in the chapter where the subject matter seemed most appropriate. However, since some items deal with more than one subject, we have made liberal use of cross-references. For reasons of economy, also, the names of most publishers and periodicals have been abbreviated. Full information is provided in the list of Bibliographical Abbreviations that follows this preface. Rose Antonio deserves great thanks for typing the bibliographies so expertly.

Finally, I would like to thank my co-editor, Professor Graham White, for his invaluable assistance and hard work. He joins me in thanking Catherine O'Toole, sponsoring editor, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, for her support and encouragement. A special word of appreciation goes to Rosalyn Steiner, supervising editor, for her painstaking care in shepherding the book through publication.

Victoria College
University of Toronto

Paul Fox
July 18, 1990

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

<i>A.R.C.S.</i>	<i>American Review of Canadian Studies</i>
<i>C.B.R.</i>	<i>Canadian Bar Review</i>
<i>C.H.R.</i>	<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>
<i>C.J.E.</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Economics</i>
<i>C.J.E.P.S.</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science</i>
<i>C.J.I.S.</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Information Science</i>
<i>C.J.P.S.</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>
<i>C.J.S.</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Sociology</i>
<i>C.P.A.</i>	<i>Canadian Public Administration</i>
<i>C.P.P.</i>	<i>Canadian Public Policy</i>
<i>C.P.R.</i>	<i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>
<i>C.R.S.A.</i>	<i>Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology</i>
<i>C.T.J.</i>	<i>Canadian Tax Journal</i>
<i>D.L.R.</i>	<i>Dalhousie Law Review</i>
<i>I.J.</i>	<i>International Journal</i>
<i>J.C.S.</i>	<i>Journal of Canadian Studies</i>
<i>McG.L.J.</i>	<i>McGill Law Journal</i>
<i>M.J.P.S.</i>	<i>Midwest Journal of Political Science</i>
<i>O.</i>	<i>Optimum</i>
<i>O.H.L.J.</i>	<i>Osgoode Hall Law Journal</i>
<i>O.L.R.</i>	<i>Ottawa Law Review</i>
<i>P.O.</i>	<i>Policy Options</i>
<i>Q.L.J.</i>	<i>Queen's Law Journal</i>
<i>Q.Q.</i>	<i>Queen's Quarterly</i>
<i>S.P.E.</i>	<i>Studies in Political Economy</i>
<i>U.T.F.L.R.</i>	<i>University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review</i>
<i>U.T.L.J.</i>	<i>University of Toronto Law Journal</i>

Publishing Companies, Associations, Councils, Institutes, Foundations.

Ampersand	Ampersand Communications Services Incorporated
B. and M.	Burns and MacEachern
C.B.C.	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
C.E.L.A.	Canadian Environmental Law Association
C.I.I.A.	Canadian Institute of International Affairs
C.I.P.A.	Canadian Institute on Public Affairs
C.L.I.C.	Canadian Law Information Council
C.P.S.A.	Canadian Political Science Association

C.T.F.	Canadian Tax Foundation
C.M.H.C.	Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
C.I.S.	Centre for International Studies
C.U.C.S.	Centre for Urban and Community Studies
C.-M.	Collier-Macmillan
C.P.A.	Community Planning Association
C.C.	Copp Clark
C.U.P.	Carleton University Press
D. and G.	Deneau and Greenberg
E.C.C.	Economic Council of Canada
F. and W.	Fitzhenry and Whiteside
H.R.W.	Holt Rinehart and Winston
H.M.	Houghton Mifflin
I.C.	Information Canada
I.R.P.P.	Institute for Research on Public Policy
I.I.R.	Institute of Intergovernmental Relations
I.P.A.C.	Institute for Public Administration of Canada
I.R.C.	Industrial Relations Centre
I.U.S.	Institute of Urban Studies
J.L.S.	James, Lewis and Samuel
K.P.	King's Printer
L. & O.	Lester and Orpen
L.&O.D	Lester & Orpen Dennys
M. & S.	McClelland and Stewart
McG.-Q.U.P.	McGill-Queen's University Press
McG.-H.	McGraw-Hill
McG.-H.R.	McGraw-Hill Ryerson
O.E.C.	Ontario Economic Council
O.I.S.E.	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press
P.-H.	Prentice-Hall
P.U.L.	Les Presses de l'Université Laval
P.U.M.	Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal
P.U.Q.	Les Presses de l'Université du Québec
Q.P.	Queen's Printer
R.M.	Rand McNally
R.K.P.	Routledge, Kegan, Paul
S. and S.	Supply and Services
U.A.P.	University of Alberta Press
U.B.C.P.	University of British Columbia Press
U.O.P.	University of Ottawa Press
U.T.P.	University of Toronto Press
W.L.U.P.	Wilfrid Laurier University Press

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1

**CULTURE AND
CONSTITUTION**



1

SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES

THE ESSENTIAL POLITICAL GOODS

Ronald Manzer

From the comparative perspective of Canadian history and the experience of other political communities, the people who live in Canada today enjoy very high standards of material prosperity, physical security, and human rights. Conventional measures of socio-political development—such as average income, rates of mortality and morbidity, incidence of political and criminal violence, equality of opportunity for education, and protection of civil liberties—indicate a relatively high and historically increasing level of well-being. Only a few other political communities can claim to provide for the basic needs of their citizens at a level comparable to that attained in Canada.

None the less, Canada's high average standard of living disguises serious and persistent maldistributions. For example, a hard core of 15 per cent, perhaps more, of the population endures material poverty in the midst of affluence. Racial and sexual inequalities deny sizable numbers of Canadians secure enjoyment of their dignity and self-respect. An upper-status group possessing position, expertise, and wealth is firmly in control of economic and political power, lessening the potential for an authentically democratic polity.

In addition to serious inadequacies in the present distribution of political

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goods, Canadians face disquieting prospects for more severe shortfalls in the satisfaction of their basic needs. In one issue-area after another public policies seem to have reached an impasse. More than a decade of policy-making effort to cure weak economic growth, high unemployment, and persistent inflation has produced no convincing remedies for a stubborn "stagflation." Considerable scientific evidence and a popular awareness of the adverse impact of the industrial system on the natural environment have so far resulted only in weak and vacillating corrective regulation. A social order founded on bargaining among power élites verges on immobility when dominant organized socio-economic interests fail to agree, and veers toward injustice when agreement is obtained at the expense of weak, unorganized segments of society. The integrity of the Canadian political community is threatened by the internal strains of two linguistic-cultural communities and four or five economic regions and by the very mixed blessings of an American penetration that reinforces internal divisions and complicates their accommodation. Policies for cultural development and humanistic education that aim at the higher values of individual self-realization consistently are the last to be supported and the first to be eviscerated in disputes over collective priorities.

In the past, Canadians have benefitted from the richness of their physical resources and the general benignity of their external relationships, which have facilitated the growth of their well-being. On the whole, they also have been fortunate in the political choices they have made. A complex array of federal, provincial, and local public policies has been instrumental in achieving high levels of need satisfaction.

In the future, the challenge of remedying maldistributions of primary political goods and overcoming impasses in making essential public policies will continue to demand imaginative and sometimes difficult political choices. Making good choices will require a better core of policy knowledge, far-reaching institutional reform, and a new commitment to the principles of liberal democracy.

The challenge of public policy and political development in Canada is one involving policy knowledge and political institutions. Genuine puzzlement about the theoretical assumptions on which to base public policy inhibits the development of policies in such diverse issue-areas as economic stabilization, corrections, and public education. Grave doubts about the responsiveness and effectiveness of federal, provincial, and local political institutions cast a pall on our tentative attempts to create fresh formulations for old policy designs.

Underlying the questions of relevant policy knowledge and effective political institutions is a more basic question about the validity of contemporary political ideas and values. Ultimately, the challenge of public policy and political development in Canada is one of political principles and public purposes.

PUBLIC PURPOSE

The usual justification for government in general and for public policies in particular is the satisfaction of human needs. In their eventual outcomes,

specific programs or particular actions to implement policies usually fall far short of their initial promise to serve human needs, and often they are deliberately perverted to satisfy the wants of a few rather than the needs of many. None the less, if we are to understand and evaluate the development of public policies we must have a concept of public purpose that can relate the satisfaction of human needs to the functions of good government.

The construction of a list of human needs is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, but for purposes of policy analysis the fivefold classification of basic needs suggested by Abraham Maslow is a useful schema. First, physiological needs are the requirements for physical survival and the relief of pain. People must have clean air to breathe and adequate food, drink, sleep, and shelter. Second, safety needs are needs for order, predictability, and dependability of the environment. People vary greatly in their capacities to cope with disorder or unpredictability in their personal lives and social relationships, but there are evident limits to go beyond which results in neurosis or psychosis. Third, people have basic needs for love, affection, and a sense of belongingness. The belongingness needs represent the deep, persistent desire of people to get together, to be together, and stay together. Fourth, people need esteem and respect from other people, and they need self-esteem and self-respect. "Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability, and adequacy, of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness." Fifth, self-development needs are the needs people have to actualize their full potential as human beings, not simply to survive in safety, with friends, respected, but to achieve to the fullest extent possible what they are capable of becoming.

According to Maslow, these five sets of needs are hierarchically ordered, with higher degrees of "gratification health" being achieved as higher levels of needs are satisfied. If all needs are unsatisfied, physiological needs will predominate. When physiological needs are satisfied, a concern for predictability and dependability of the environment grows. Then, as physiological and safety needs are satisfied, needs for belongingness, esteem, and self-development successively become predominant.

Maslow is ambiguous about the points at which individual priorities change from one set of needs to another. Basic needs will obviously persist, and subtle transformations express the increasing complexity of expanding desires. Sexual desire grows into love, and love required demands mutual respect and freedom for self-development. Food and drink prepared with skill and taken with friends become a means of self-expression and affection. In spite of this ambiguity, the higher the level of needs satisfied, the healthier and closer to realizing their human potential people will be. A person who is safe, loved, and respected, for example, will be healthier and closer to full human development than a person who is safe but rejected and unloved.

Each set of basic human needs may be satisfied by planned or spontaneous individual private action, collective private action, or collective public action.