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CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

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A PRIMER ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

BROAD FACTS AND SOME INSIDE VIEWS

[THINGS YOU MAY FIND INTERESTING OR USEFUL IN THIS POLITICAL YEAR.]

The Prime Minister does not have exactly the same job as the President. The Liberal Party is not precisely like the Democratic Party. The Progressive-Conservatives are not the same as Republicans, and the New Democratic Party is not the equivalent of the Socialist Party.

The United States will have a major election this year, and Canada may have one too. *Canada Today/D'Aujourd'hui* hopes in this issue to make it possible for the American reader to understand the rules of the game when he reads about future Canadian returns — or about anything political in Canada.

First, a few broad facts about the type of government:

Canada is a federal union with a parliamentary system of government at both national and provincial levels. The federal government has three branches: the executive, the legislative (composed of an elected House of Commons and an appointed Senate) and the judicial. There is no system of checks and balances as there is in the United States.

The system is properly called a constitutional monarchy, for the executive branch is composed of the monarch and the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. Queen Elizabeth II is the Queen of Canada, and as such, she is the formal head of state. Her representative in Canada is the Governor General, who is formally appointed by the Queen on the advice of the government of Canada. The Governor General has no power to govern and acts in a formal and ceremonial manner only.

The real executive power in Canada is held by the Prime Minister and his

Cabinet. The leader of the party with the largest number of seats in the House of Commons (as determined at general elections that must take place no more than five years apart) becomes the Prime Minister. He then chooses his Cabinet from among members of his party who have won seats in the House of Commons. The cabinet ministers run the various departments of government — Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Public Works, Post Office and Transport, for example — and together they shape government policy. (See Privy Council, page six.) Generally, the cabinet members are chosen to represent the various regions and interest groups in the country.

There is no sharp distinction between the executive and legislative branches in Canada, for the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are members of the Commons, the main part of the legislative branch of government. To get laws passed, the Cab-

Election poster, 1891, for Conservative Party leader, Sir. John A. Macdonald.



inet has to present its proposals to both Houses of Parliament. The House of Commons, consisting of 264 members, is the key part of Parliament. The Commons has to approve all legislation before it can be enacted.

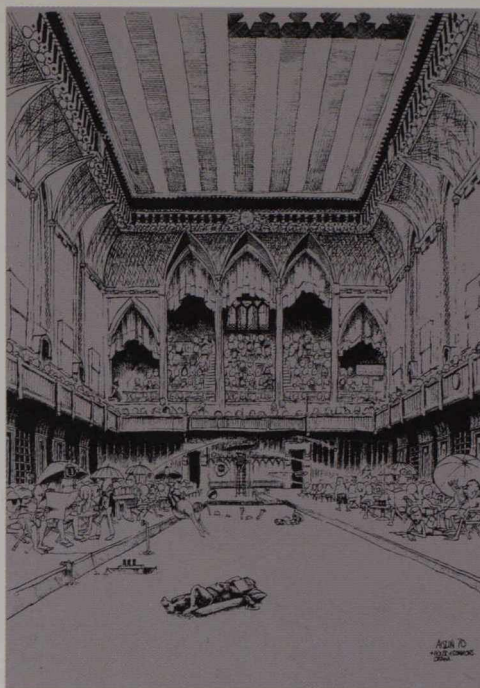
The Cabinet appoints the members of the Senate, the judges of the superior, district, and county courts, and the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces. It commands the armed forces, appoints public servants, pardons criminals, declares war, makes peace, appoints ambassadors, makes and ratifies treaties, and makes regulations within the limits set by Acts of Parliament.

The Cabinet must speak as one on all questions of government policy. A minister who cannot support that policy must resign. Each minister of a department is answerable to the House of Commons for that department, and the whole Cabinet is answerable to the House for government policy and administration generally. If the Cabinet is defeated in the House on a motion of want of confidence, it must either resign office, when the Governor-General will call on the Leader of the Opposition to form a new Cabinet or advise a fresh election — generally the latter nowadays.

Defeat of a major government bill will ordinarily be considered a vote of want of confidence and lead to the same consequences. But the Cabinet can choose to consider any such defeat not decisive. It is then open to the House to vote straight want of confidence.

Only the Cabinet can introduce bills for the raising or spending of public money. Ordinary members of the House of Commons can move to reduce proposed taxes or expenditures, but not to raise them. The rules of the House allot most of its time to Cabinet business, and nearly all legislation now comes from the Cabinet. The Cabinet also has the sole power to move closure, cutting off debate; and, if the parties fail to agree, the Cabinet can move to fix a time-table for the various stages of a bill. But the rules are careful also to provide abundant opportunity for the Opposition to question, criticize and attack. Twenty-five days of each parliamentary session are specifically allotted to the Opposition to debate any subject it pleases, and on six of those days it can move want of confidence.

The second house of Parliament is the Senate, which is similar in name only to its American counterpart. Canadian senators are not elected.



While some useful legislation is introduced in the Senate and while it increasingly conducts useful public inquiries (Senate Committee on the Mass Media, see VOL. II, ISSUE THREE), its power is limited and there is controversy as to its value. It has frequently been suggested that the Senate be abolished altogether.

Both the House of Commons and the Senate operate on the party system. Generally, votes in Parliament follow party lines and the discipline within the parties is much tighter than it is in Washington. The parliamentary system requires this tight discipline. Very rarely does a member of the Commons

break party ranks, particularly if he is a member of the party headed by the Prime Minister.

The third branch of the Canadian system of government is the judiciary. In Canada all judges are appointed. The highest court in the land is the Supreme Court, which consists of nine justices sitting in Ottawa. In the provinces all judges except those serving in the minor courts are appointed and paid by the federal government.

The Canadian system of government is, as noted, a federal system. Power to make laws is divided between the national or federal government in Ottawa and the governments of the ten provinces. Like the American colonies after the Revolution, the British North American colonies in 1867 recognized the need for unity and common action. Yet none of them was willing to give up its own existence completely. On the other hand, the Fathers of Confederation from all the colonies knew how important it was to give the new national government great power to enable it to carry out the immense task of creating a new country which could ensure prosperity for its people and withstand the pull from the United States.

Indeed, the example of the United States served to reinforce the importance of a strong government at the centre. The British North Americans had watched across the border as the United States had been torn apart and had fallen into civil war. The American states had too much power, the Canadians concluded, and the central government in Washington too little. They were determined that there would be no similar mistake in the new Canada.

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THE PARTIES

Each workday afternoon, the Prime Minister — the leader of the majority party and head of the Canadian executive — stands in the House of Commons and answers the questions of the Opposition. Questions are pointed (or are ruled out of order) and few current issues are avoided.

If this Parliamentary role has its hazards, it also provides the government — the ministers of the majority party — a solid legislative operating base since by definition this party controls the House. (On occasion the governing party is a minority one and at such times its control depends on the continued co-operation of at least one other party.) Under the rule of party discipline all party members vote with their party except on rare occasions when the party leader (in such matters of conscience as legislation on abortion) permits them to vote freely.

This makes the House of Commons profoundly different from the House of Representatives — the Government initiates most legislation. The power of the Government is not diffused by defections, temporary or permanent, within its own nominal ranks. The power of Parliament also tends to be directed in a straight line. Canada is now using committees more to expedite legislation, but there is no seniority system as in the American Congress which permits independently powerful committee chairmen to set their own tempo.

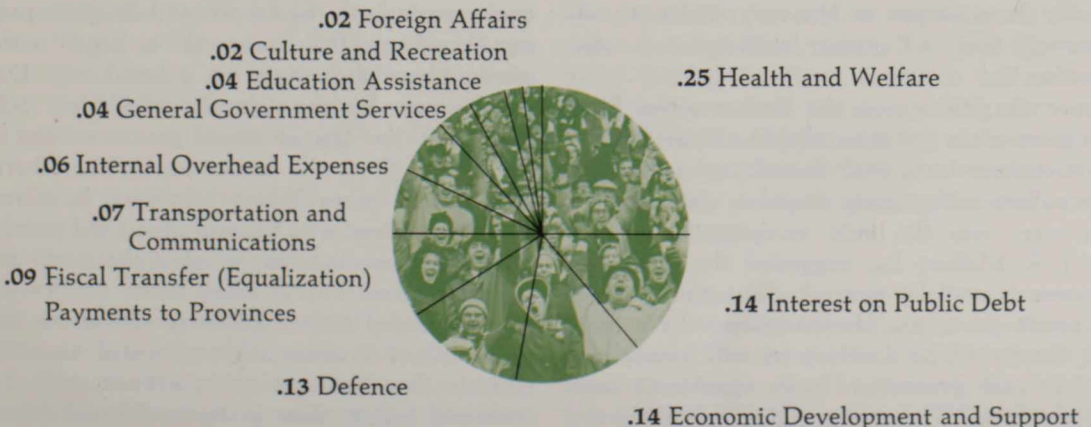
The fact of party discipline and parliamentary government make party strength and organization on a national level significant, but they also permit small Canadian parties — so-called third parties — to survive and grow strong. J. R.

Mallory says: "There are several characteristics of the Canadian system which gives a third party rather more of a fighting chance . . . there are only ten Provinces so that a party which captures one or more . . . has a better organizational base than a comparable party in the U.S. . . . there are deep political cleavages within our national life which justify a regional party as a necessary safety valve for pent-up local feeling; finally the nature of Cabinet Government gives a third party more leverage than does a Presidential system, for a third party which holds the balance of power is not excluded necessarily from a share of power."

The survival of third (or fourth and fifth) parties also reflects the independence and power of provincial governments. Distinctions can often be made between federal and provincial parties of the same name and differences of opinion can be more difficult to overcome than with opposition parties. Canada, it has been said, is richer in geography than in history — the western Provinces have been remote from the eastern ones and the farmers of the Prairies are the most prolific producers of third parties. Still, for generations Canada has been dominated by two parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives and both have tended to be centrists, neither left nor right. (The Conservatives merged with the Progressives to become the Progressive Conservatives in 1942.) Each has tended to hold within its ranks persons of the same wide range of attitudes.

Here are capsuled accounts of the most signifi-

How the Tax Dollar Is Spent



cant parties, as they are and as they have been:



Sir. John A. Macdonald

The Progressive Conservative: The Conservatives were Canada's first dominant party — emerging after the Act of Confederation in 1867 as a coalition of the followers of John A. Macdonald and Georges Etienne Cartier. As those names suggest, the combination enrolled both French and English, Protestant and Catholic.

Macdonald, easy going and imaginative, triumphed over diversity. In Thorburn's phrase, the Conservatives succeeded by "uniting business and government in the pursuit of material and national advantage." The more explicit technique was to construct a transcontinental railroad and to erect a protective tariff. The interests of the Conservatives have been said to run like the railroad, east-west, as opposed to north-south. The Conservatives remained in power from 1867 until 1896, with a five-year hiatus in the seventies. They had within their ranks, then and later, many of extreme opinions but they never adopted an extreme opinion as a national policy. Their most persistent characteristic, from Macdonald to Diefenbaker has been an advocacy of strong ties to Britain. There has been no great lasting differences between the Conservatives and the Liberals in their attitudes toward the welfare state and the role of free enterprise in the Canadian economy — they are not constitutionally attached to either. The Conservative Party's attitudes toward such things are distinctly different from those of the Republican Party of the U.S. They had, like the Republicans, the misfortune of being in office when the Great Depression of the 1930's hit its depth. R. B. Bennett was the Prime Minister and G. Horowitz writes: "Even in his orthodox days R. B. Bennett's view on the States' role in the economy was far from similar to Hoover's; Bennett's attitude was that of Canadian, not American conservatism."

Since the Depression the Conservatives have been more often out than in; John Diefenbaker's administration from 1957 to 1962, an expression of populism with strong emphasis on the common man, was the only exception to Liberal rule. J. R. Mallory has suggested that this phenomenon is actually part of a historical pattern in Canada (as in the United States): "We have been threatened by a system in which only one party in each generation seems capable of winning elections." The most striking fact about the Conservative Party from the point of view of

Americans is that it is not in any particular sense the party of "business." It has many businessmen in its ranks, but the Liberals have an equal number. From the vista of the boards of the big corporations in Canada, party affiliation is not all that important.

At the moment, the Progressive Conservative Party is the official Opposition Party in Ottawa. Robert Stanfield, former premier of Nova Scotia, is the federal party leader and the party holds seventy-two seats in the House. Provincially, there are Progressive Conservative premiers in Alberta, Ontario, and New Brunswick. (As this is written, the outcome in Newfoundland is uncertain with both Conservatives and Liberals holding an equal number of seats in the Provincial legislature.)



Sir. Wilfrid Laurier

The Liberal Party: The Liberal Party began as the opposition to the Conservatives at the dawn of the Confederation, and it first gained office in 1873, rather to its own surprise. It lost in 1878 and did not come back in until 1896. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was its first great leader and Mackenzie King its most persistent. It has been almost from its beginning a national party with a broad range of economic, racial, religious and social attitudes among its members. G. V. Ferguson has characterized both the Liberals and the Conservatives as "great nation-wide, easy going omnibus vehicles whose occupants often have difficulty in recognizing their fellow passengers or in understanding why the driver . . . let them in." It is of course no accident — Canada, to become and remain a nation, had to be held together by broad parties. In one sense the Liberal Party has been broader than its principal opposition — it has maintained and enlarged its base among both the French and English speaking Canadians. The Conservatives began with a strong French following, but it faded until Quebec became for the Liberals what the "Solid South" of the United States was once for the Democrats. Since the forties began, the Liberals have placed three Prime Ministers in power: Mackenzie King, who became almost the personification of Canada in the mind of the world during the Second World War; Lester B. Pearson, who succeeded after the Diefenbaker years; and Pierre Elliott Trudeau who succeeded him. The Liberals now hold power in Ottawa with 152 seats and are in office in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Quebec, with the situation, as

mentioned, undecided in Newfoundland.

The New Democratic Party (formerly the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation): It is startling to some Americans to find that Canada not only has a socialist party but one which has been successful enough in winning votes to become the government in two provinces. As Gad Horowitz put it, "though far from a national power (it) is a significant political force." Neither the NDP nor its farmer-oriented predecessor, the CCF has been particularly doctrinaire—they have been immediately and permanently concerned with the practical problems of the day-to-day lives of their members. The CCF began in Saskatchewan with the Regina Manifesto of 1932: "We aim to replace the present Capitalistic system . . ." It was in fact to be much more concerned with the price and distribution of wheat. It was, to a degree, inspired by the Labour Party of England. It began in a province of scattered farm villages and among very independent farmers who were used to solving their common problems through group action—through the "wheat pool" and through co-operative stores. The CCF achieved its greatest power in the forties and remained a power for a decade. It was expanded when the Canadian Labour Congress was formed in 1956 and the NDP emerged as the labour party. The NDP differed primarily from its predecessor in its resolute attempts to involve French Canadians and to



W. A. C. Bennett, Robert Thompson, Réal Caouette

achieve a still closer link with organized labour. There is a split in the NDP today with a strong, left-leaning faction calling itself the Waffle group. The Wafflers, strong economic nationalists, have been primarily concerned with U.S. investment in Canada. At the NDP leadership convention last spring, regular party member David Lewis defeated Waffle leader James Laxer to replace T. C. "Tommy" Douglas. (Lewis' 34-year-old son Stephen heads the NDP in Ontario.) Federally, the NDP holds twenty-three seats and is the government of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The Social Credit Party (Ralliement de Crediste sociale): The Social Credit Party began in Alberta with the Depression. A neo-conservative party with unique fiscal theories, it was founded by William Aberhart, a high school principal and the Dean of the Prophetic Bible School in Calgary. From the beginning it called itself a movement rather than a party, and its first platform was a demand for reform of the monetary system

and a campaign for the payment of \$25 a month to each adult (i.e. "social credit"), regardless of need. The funds thus contributed were to be spent within a certain time period, relieving the stagnation in the circulation of money which the party felt was the basic cause of the Depression. Early critics named it the "Funny Money" party because, to oversimplify, it advocated that the government print more money whenever the economy needed it.

Although its monetary proposals were vetoed by the federal government, the party continued to flourish, controlling the government of two provinces and regularly sending members to the Parliament in Ottawa. The Quebec branch, Ralliement de Crediste sociale, became a politically significant force in the sixties. The Socreds are currently in office in British Columbia where they have dominated provincial politics since the fifties. Last year the party lost its control in Alberta after thirty-six years in office. In the Federal House of Commons it holds thirteen seats.

PROVINCIAL PARTIES: The Farmers' parties, the United Farmers of Alberta in particular, became active and important in the early twenties and were the foundation and structural inspiration for later third party movements. The *Progressives* became strong about the same period (coming in second in the national election in 1926.) In 1942 the Progressive Party leaders voted

to merge with the Conservatives and most of the party's members followed suite. The *Union Nationale*, formed by dissident Conservatives and distinctly a product of Quebec, was a major factor in the Province from the thirties through the fifties. It lost ground under the "quiet revolution" of the provincial Liberal party under Jean Lesage, which put a new emphasis on French cultural and political rights. The *Parti Quebecois* today headed by Rene Levesque has taken a much more radical position, calling for sovereign status for Quebec, leading if necessary to an independent French Canadian republic. It attracted nearly a fourth of the provincial vote in the 1970 election.

CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI has drawn on many sources, primarily such political writers and scholars as Thomas A. Hockin, J. M. Beck, Gad Horowitz, Hugh G. Thorburn, J. R. Mallory, John Meisel, Denis Smith, and John Porter for the facts and interpretations here.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

IT'S AT THE HEART OF GOVERNMENT
[BUT WHAT DOES IT DO?]

Practically whenever Canada's Privy Council is mentioned in print, you will see an attempt to describe it in six words: "the coordinating secretariat for the Cabinet" or some such. It is a concept rather more potent than those words make it sound. The Cabinet is a continuing meeting of the Ministers of government; the place where policy, programs and strategy are formulated, and the way in which the Ministers of government arrive at decisions for which they are collectively responsible to Parliament. The Ministers of government — most head departments but some are "without portfolio" — form the Cabinet. Unlike the United States where the President is the executive and the Cabinet simply some of his advisers, in Canada, with its Parliamentary system, the Cabinet is the executive and it holds meetings as such. All Ministers (except the Leader of the Government in the Senate) are elected members of the House of Commons. If the Cabinet loses confidence of that House, it must resign.

For the civil servants — the "officials" of the Privy Council Office — it is a tender place to work and staff members are politically neutral on all issues. They are borrowed from various departments, and to keep them as objective as possible, an official's term at the Privy Council Office generally is limited to two to five years. The exact role of the Privy Council Office and the way the Cabinet works are unclear not only to the general public. The Prime Minister recently thought it worthwhile to have an article prepared on just what it is the Privy Council Office does and how. The article, written by Gordon Robertson, Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet, was distributed among the higher echelons of government and presented at the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada.

Mr. Robertson began his career in the Canadian government in 1941 as Third Secretary in the Department of External Affairs. He has also served as Assistant to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Secretary to the Office of the Prime Minister, Member of the Cabinet Secretariat, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Deputy Minister with the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, and was Com-

missioner of the Northwest Territories for ten years. He has been Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet since 1963.

Here follows a greatly condensed version of Mr. Robertson's analysis. For anyone who would like the whole text, a limited number of copies are available at this office.

In 1940 Mackenzie King, faced by the pressures the Second World War brought to the Cabinet, decided that Canada had to do what Britain had done in 1914: establish a Cabinet Secretariat. Perhaps Mr. King didn't really decide quite that much. As Arnold Heeny* had pointed out, Mr. King had only the vaguest idea what the Cabinet Secretariat in Britain did. What he really wanted was something to make it more possible for him, as Prime Minister, to cope with the new war-time scale of government operation. The Cabinet Secretariat was grafted onto the Privy Council Office, which had discharged largely formal and legalistic functions since Confederation, and the nature of the Office changed. With it gradually changed the operation of Cabinet government in Canada.

Though none of the fundamentals have changed, Mackenzie King would be astonished and possibly horrified to see where his decision has led. Mr. King was slow to agree even to having an agenda for Cabinet meetings and to the recording of decisions — and even to their temporary communication in writing to Ministers. He would have preferred to hold everything close to his chest to be brought out for consideration as he preferred, with his Ministers taken by surprise and at maximum disadvantage. Today he would find not only the agenda circulated well in advance, but for every meeting a thick dossier of Cabinet memoranda and reports of committees. He would be relieved to know that some of the Prime Minister's advantage had been restored through a system of briefings, to inform him of the main issues in every question, to draw his attention to any differences of view between Ministers or departments, and to suggest implications that required consideration.

* The late Mr. Heeny was the first Secretary to the Cabinet and later Ambassador to the United States.

Before the days of the secretariat, subjects to be discussed were settled by the Prime Minister with no advance notice, and after a meeting few knew precisely what had been decided. There were no minutes, no record of decisions, no advice to departments about what to do. It was a singularly inefficient way for a collective executive to reach decisions for which all would share responsibility. In March 1940 the secretariat, with agenda and prepared documents for consideration, began to be established.

Early on in the new developments, a committee system was begun — a subtle but fundamental change in the machinery of Canadian federal government. Ministers of government would meet as committees to discuss specific problems.

At the end of WW II, a number of ad hoc committees were established.

In a reorganization in 1964, Prime Minister Lester Pearson established nine Cabinet committees directed not at ad hoc problems, but at defined areas of governmental process.

In 1968 Prime Minister Trudeau tightened the system, reducing the number of committees and establishing regular meeting times — the latter being another major change. Ministers' time is committed weeks and even months in advance. With no regular schedule for the meetings of their committees, attendance had been poor.

The second important change in 1968 was to give the committees the power not simply to recommend courses of action to the Cabinet, but to take specific decisions, which would become government policy unless a Minister successfully challenged them at a cabinet meeting. All matters now go to a committee before going to the Cabinet meeting for final decision.

Of the standing Cabinet committees that now exist, five deal with areas of government activity: External Policy and Defence; Economic Policy; Social Policy; Science, Culture, and Information; and Government Operations. Four are coordinating committees: Priorities and Planning; Treasury Board; Legislation and House Planning; Federal-Provincial Relations.

All Ministers may attend any of these — even if they are not specifically members — except Priorities and Planning, which the Prime Minister wishes to keep relatively small. It is in this committee that basic decisions on the broad objectives and strategies of government are taken, for recommendation to the Cabinet.

A key difference between committee meetings and Cabinet meetings is the presence of civil servants at the former. Essential officials from interested departments are normally present. There can be, and is, probing by any Minister of the information, reasoning and views of officials serving the Minister putting a proposal forward. This

is something that never happened before 1940 and was rare, except with regard to war policy and certain specific subjects, until recent years. Ministers question and discuss with the official heads of departments other than their own. Advice is less monolithic and discussions much more real. Frequently the result is to refer a proposal back to officials or to the originating department for further work. Ministers have more influence on the shape of a policy as a whole and on its development and officials have proportionately less than they used to. This judgment is at variance with the conventional wisdom, but after thirty years in the operation of government, I feel confident it is correct.

However, the successes of these changes have had their price. One personal price for Ministers is that now, in many cases, they have to give up some share of their authority and control over specific policy areas to other Ministers while gaining a more effective part in the totality of policies. This is unpleasant, frustrating, and can cause natural resentment when the Minister thinks he sees clearly what is needed, wants to make a success of his particular portfolio and is anxious to fulfill perfectly natural ambitions. Some Ministers understandably feel their new share in the policies and programs of others is unequal compensation for the subtraction they suffer in their individual capacity to decide and act. Speed of action is certainly less in the new system and Ministers have less chance to appear individually in roles of clear and firm decision. The gain is the more real part in the total government policy for which they share responsibility.

Another resentment which Ministers must feel is that caused by the ubiquity of officials, including Privy Council officers. This, too, is a part of the price for a system that in total gives broader and more ministerial participation in policy as a whole.

A third price is in ministerial time. Among a Minister's duties are attendance in the House of Commons, executive work in his department, constituency business, general work for the party, general work for the government, consultations with non-government people and organizations, travel to and from his constituency and on departmental assignments, personal business, and finally, as part of the collective executive, reading Cabinet documents, attending committees and Cabinet. Something must suffer if more time goes into the process of collective executive decision. It is quite possible that the improvements in the Cabinet system may have been at too high a cost in the time Ministers can devote to the total political role they fill. The right balance will never be final or certain. It will change with Prime Ministers and governments.

All That Glitters . . .

[BUT SOME IS]

Canadian life has included a variety of political leaders, colourful and less colourful, some who had long, long political lives and some who came to rather abrupt ends. The obvious leaders were the Prime Ministers, chosen in the Canadian system by their own parties and raised to head of government when their parties won control of Parliament. It is an oddity that three of the first four were called Sir John. It is a further oddity that the name Mackenzie recurs in the list like a minor symphony theme: Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Mackenzie Bowell and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Not all significant leaders were Federal Prime Ministers — a provincial leader on occasion has been as significant as the head man in Ottawa.

1820-1861 *William Lyon Mackenzie*, an immigrant from Scotland, was successively a radical reform publisher, a member of Parliament, Mayor of Toronto, and leader of a "Republican" revolt in 1837. *Louis Joseph*

Papineau, leader of the French Canadian *patriotes*, first in pre-Confederation Legislative Assembly as Speaker, then in unsuccessful revolt. After years of exile in the United States, both Mackenzie and Papineau were allowed to return and both became members of the House.

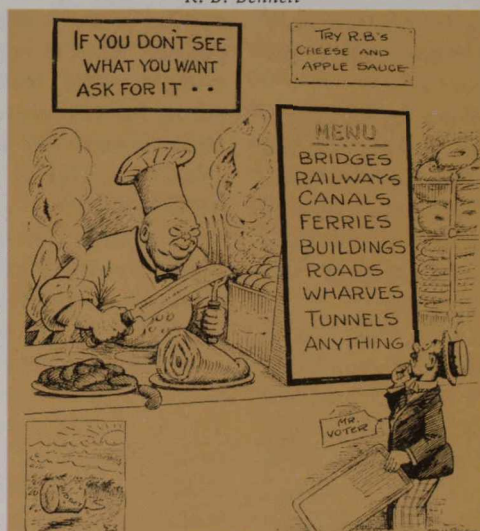
1869-1873 *Sir John A. Macdonald*, Prime Minister of the new Confederation — Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia — and prime mover of the Conservative Party, a buoyantly expansive man in a buoyantly expansive time.

1878-1896 Five Conservative Prime Ministers came and went.

1896-1911 *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, a Liberal, the first French Canadian Prime Minister, brought his party together and gave it its basic form.

1911-1920 The Conservatives were in power. In Quebec, French Canadians under *Henri Bourassa* became alienated, over the issue of the conscription of soldiers to serve abroad. The "khaki election" of 1917 split the

R. B. Bennett



Hansard

[WHEREIN IT'S ALL WRITTEN DOWN]

Hansard is roughly the counterpart of the American *Congressional Record* but it is both less and more.

It is, like the *Record*, published daily by the Government.

It is called *Hansard* because the original British parliamentary record was printed in 18th Century London by a family of that name. The Hansards never operated in Canada and the official name is the *Debates of the House of Commons*.

Unlike the *Record*, it does not include press clippings and expressions of general political philosophy inserted by the members, and the only speeches reported are those actually given on the floor of the House.

The bilingual journal reports debate, however, that is often less inhibited and more direct than that in the American Congress. In the House of Commons the critics of the Government have the daily opportunity to criticize the Government Ministers face to face — to ask them hard and substantive questions and when the answers do not satisfy, to shout as they often do, "shame, shame."

Anyone wishing to subscribe to *Hansard* may by writing the Publishing Division, Information Canada, Vanguard Building, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, enclosing a check or money order for \$3.00 payable to the Receiver General and specifying French or English.

country. The Conservatives, under *Sir Robert L. Borden*, won but were almost permanently wiped out in Quebec. These were eventful years and the first new party rumbles were heard from the West.

1920-1921 *Arthur Meighen* became Prime Minister with the Conservative coalition still in control of Parliament. The United Farmers of Alberta took over that Province in 1921 and a similar group took control of Manitoba. Out of the farmers' revolt would come three new parties; the first was the Progressives under *T. A. Crerar*.

1921-1926 *William Lyon Mackenzie King*, Liberal, grandson of *William Lyon Mackenzie*, became Prime Minister. He would have an extraordinary, long career.

A bachelor, he was intensely occupied with the family of man. He was a leader of parts; a scholar who studied at the University of Toronto, the University of Chicago and Harvard; in his youth a crusading journalist exposing sweat shop conditions in industry; a politician who designed much social legislation; and for much of his life, a student of the occult.

1926-1926 *Arthur Meighen* returned as a Conservative PM briefly — from June to September.

1926-1930 *William Lyon Mackenzie King* returned — the Progressives came in second, but declined to be the official Opposition Party.

1930-1935 *Richard Bedford Bennett*, Conservative, took office less than a year after the great market crash of 1929. He introduced the highest tariff in Canadian history in an effort to bring back prosperity. In 1935, just before leaving office, he put together what was called the "Canadian New Deal." On the Prairies three new parties were contesting the established ones, the Reconstruction Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

under *J. S. Woodsworth*, and the Social Credit Party, founded on the theories of an English engineer, *Maj. G. H. Douglas*, and led by *William "Bible Bill" Aberhart*. *Maurice Duplessis*, the leader of the *Union Nationale*, became Premier in Quebec, and within the parties the provincial leaders were showing new independence, notably *Mitchell Hepburn* in Ontario, a Liberal.

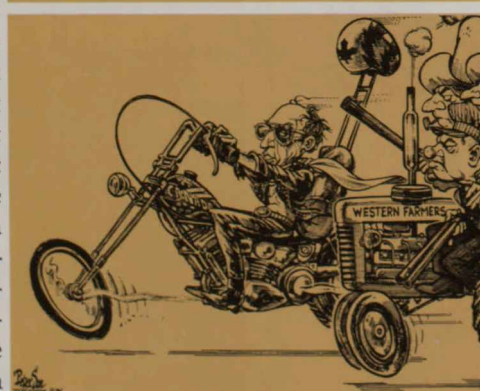
1935-1948 *William Lyon Mackenzie King* began his longest stretch in office, thirteen years and one month. Much of it would be a wartime period of growing prosperity. The Conservatives became the Progressive Conservatives when they absorbed the Progressive Party; *John Bracken* was their leader. *Maurice Duplessis* fought conscription in Quebec, and *George Drew* became the Conservative Premier of Ontario. *Lester Pearson*, a career diplomat, became Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, a first step on a path that would bring him to the Presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations, a Nobel Peace Prize for his work in the Suez Crisis, and the leadership of the country in the sixties.

1948-1957 The Liberals remained in office and Newfoundland became the tenth Province. *Joseph Smallwood*, a Liberal, ex-Boston and New York journalist, and a labour leader in his province was its first Premier. He is still in office, though the twenty-two years may now be at an end. Alberta remained the Social Credit stronghold, and British Columbia elected a Social Credit government in 1952.

1957-1963 *John George Diefenbaker*, a fiery prairie lawyer, became the first Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) Prime Minister in almost a generation. In 1958, after an active legislative year, the Conservatives called an election and won by the most overwhelming majority in history — 208 Conservatives were seated in the House of Commons, 49 Liberals and less than a handful of minor party members. In Quebec *Réal Caouette*, a hard-campaigning car dealer, led his branch of the Social Credit Party to impressive accomplishments, sending twenty-six members to Ottawa. The New Democratic Party evolved out of the CCF, and *T. C. Douglas*, an ordained Baptist minister and former Premier of Saskatchewan, was named its leader.

1963-1968 *Lester B. Pearson*, Liberal, became Prime Minister in a period of economic recession and political confusion.

1968- *Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, Liberal, succeeded Pearson as party head and as Prime Minister.



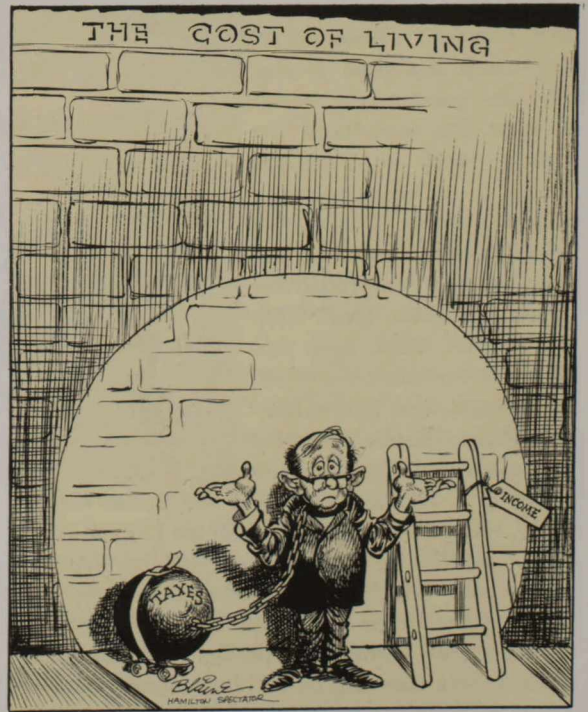
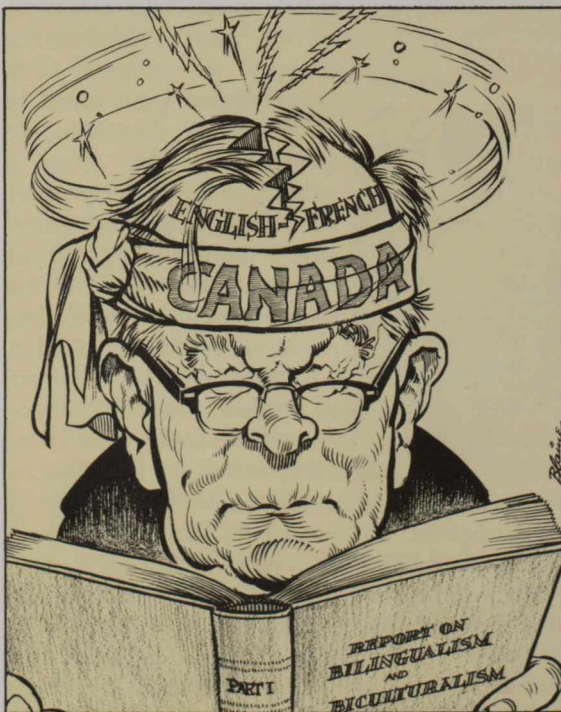
A Flourish of Wit

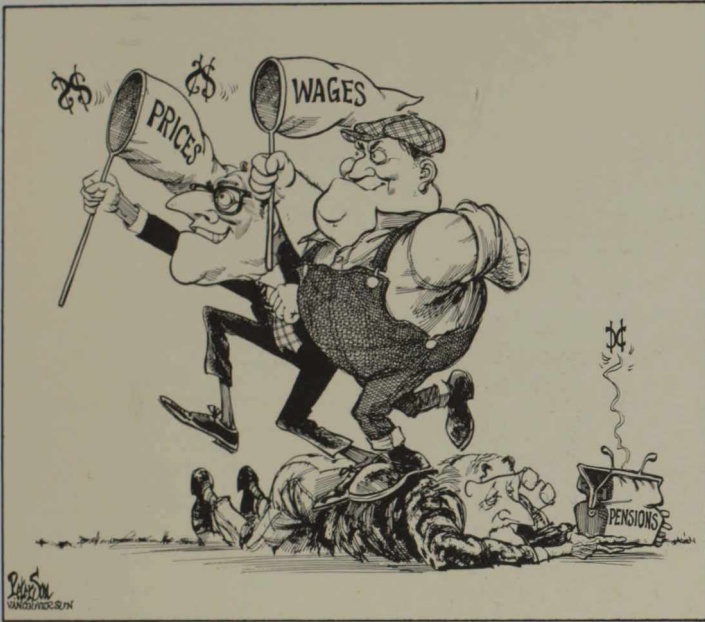
[A FEW MORE SAMPLES FROM SOME OF THE POLITICAL CARTOONISTS WHO AMUSE AND PERTURB CANADIANS]

Aislin (Terry Mosher) of the *Montreal Star* and *The Last Post*.



Blaine MacDonald of the *Hamilton Spectator*.

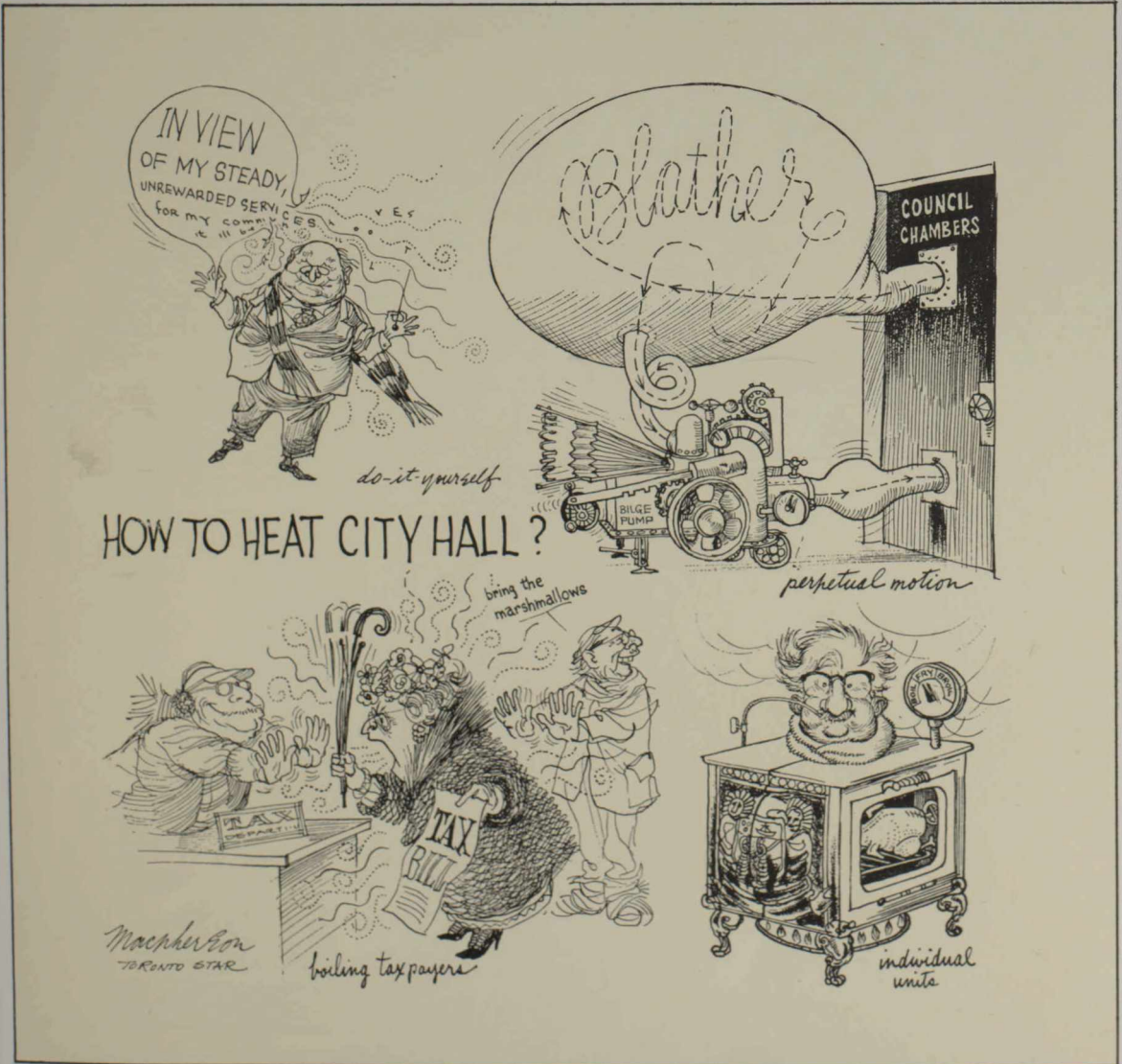




Roy Peterson is seen regularly in the *Vancouver Sun*.
Duncan Macpherson of the *Toronto Daily Star*.



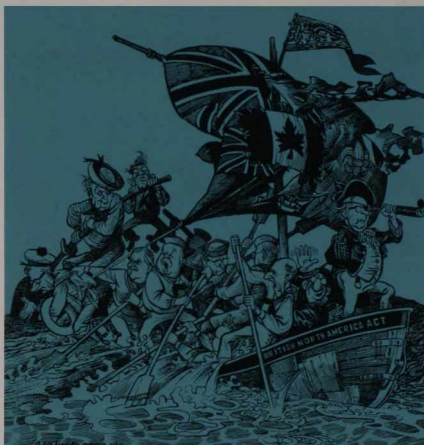
Ed Franklin is a cartoonist for the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.



continued from page two

The federal government therefore received all the great powers — such as regulation of trade and commerce, defence, the raising of money by any method of taxation, banking, interprovincial transportation, shipping, the fisheries — as well as all powers not specifically granted to the provinces. In contrast to the United States where residual powers rest with the states, the provinces were given strictly limited powers over what then seemed to be relatively minor matters such as education, property and civil rights, and municipal institutions.

Clearly the central government was to be the predominant power among the operating governments in Canada. But if this was the intention of the Fathers, it has been frustrated. In the century since 1867, a series of court decisions has done much to alter the constitution. The courts have repeatedly reached decisions which have favoured the provinces and limited the federal government's powers. More important, such functions of government as education, social welfare, and housing and highways, which lie within the powers of the provinces, have assumed far greater importance than anyone dreamed of in



1867. As a result, the provinces have become more powerful and more important in the lives of Canadians than anyone imagined in 1867.

At the same time, however, provincial incomes have not increased as much as provincial responsibilities. Today some provinces are desperately short of money to carry out their work. The federal government gives them millions each year and assists them with many programmes. Yet the hard-pressed provinces constantly demand more. By the 1960's it was clear that a major overhaul of the federal system was necessary if government in Canada was to continue to work effectively. This overhaul was made even more urgent because the French-speaking province of Quebec was demanding vastly increased powers and revenues as the price of remaining within the country. Thus began in 1968, an ongoing Constitutional Conference of federal and provincial premiers. There have been seven meetings of the Conference to review the Canadian constitution (the British North America Act) with the aim of revising it to accord with social and political changes since 1867 (see VOL. II, ISSUE TWO). The most recent meeting was in June of last year in Victoria, British Columbia.

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