

- 6 To a maximum of \$413 a week in 1998.
- 7 Including social assistance, social services, the enforcement of child support, and health services.
- 8 Defined differently by each province, but generally including persons with disabilities or illnesses who are unable to work, and mothers with infants or preschool children.
- 9 Couples on social assistance with two children, for example, would receive only 48% of poverty line income if they lived in New Brunswick in 1996, but close to 69% in Prince Edward Island or Ontario.
- 10 Such as Alberta and Ontario, with Conservative governments.
- 11 This term was used by Esping-Andersen (1990) for nations that base social provision mainly on means-tested benefits for those in need, rather than universal benefits based on citizenship or selective benefits based on labour force participation.
- 12 Alberta expects welfare mothers to find paid work when the youngest child is 6 months old, and Québec and the Yukon have lowered the age to 2 years (Freiler & Cerny 1998).
- 13 Canadian figures cover only lone mothers.
- 14 With pressure from the New Democratic Party and its predecessors.

REVIEWS

J.L.Granatstein. *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957*. University of Toronto Press, 1998, 333pp.

Granatstein's book is not only just about the Canadian civil service, it highlights the developing role of the Canadian state both domestically and internationally during the pre, actual and post-second world war period. It is important to start with this observation because it acknowledges the breath of this enjoyable book which focuses on perhaps the major Canadian mandarins of the twentieth century. The period under examination was the 'era of the mandarins' and the author succeeds in historically projecting the image of a time when Canadian public servants were working hand in hand with their political masters to enable Canada to develop into a modern state within both the old and new world orders. The mandarins' major achievement was to centralise power in Ottawa and the author examines the advantages and disadvantages of this policy. The civil servants were both nationalists and internationalists in their views and outlook. Granatstein highlights examples concerning domestic social policies and the diplomatic movement toward greater Canadian involvement within international relations. The book focuses on five Canadian governmental departments and institutions: the Department of External Affairs (DoEA); the Department of Finance (DoF); Bank of Canada (BoC); Privy Council Office/Prime Minister's Office; Department of Trade and Commerce (DoTC). The roles and characters of the major civil servants are

emphasised, who in different cases created, developed and shaped Canadian policy-making within the state executive.

The author gives the reader a wonderfully balanced analysis of the major protagonists in the story of the development of Canadian bureaucracy. Each civil servant's background is introduced by the author, with the public school/university education predominating as the normal avenue of male recruitment into the Canadian civil service. Indeed, Skelton (DoEA) recommended that appointments come from the top Canadian universities, as he himself had taught at the Department of Political Economy at Queen's University, Kingston. Skelton is the individual who develops the role of the DoEA and increases civil servant involvement within the Canadian state. The beginnings of a Canadian formal bureaucratic network is Skelton's legacy, but Granatstein gives the reader a fascinating insight into the creation of The Five Lakes Fishing Club, founded by Clark (DoEA), which provided a more informal environment where the select few could relax in spartan conditions around the lakes surrounding Ottawa to discuss political strategy. The author also gives a sense of Canada's history with the involvement of several senior figures in the Great War. Towers (BoC), Pearson and Wrong (both DoEA) had experiences of e.g. the '... lice and mud of the trenches.'(112) This influenced their consequent views and opinions during the inter war period. Those views became increasingly nationalist during the 1930s with Canadian interests being expressed over both domestic and foreign concerns. Mackintosh (DoF) was influential in helping King's liberal government to introduce unemployment benefit, new housing policies and national health insurance with regard to post-war reconstruction. The aim of the DoF was to keep a high and stable level of employment and income for government policy. This was how social policies were sold gradually to the politicians, especially King, a cagey, wily, reluctant politician who seemed to be admired and despised by different bureaucrats. This nationwide focus greatly increased Canada's sense of identity both internally and externally within foreign relations. The international arena is comprehensively examined in the book. Wilgress (DoTC) is an interesting example of someone who changed and modified his ideas. He spent most of his career in the Soviet Union, as well as time in both London and Washington. Wilgress criticised his colleagues for the hardline approach toward Russian issues during the second world war, which probably damaged his promotion prospects within the Canadian state executive. But he was ultimately disappointed by the delaying tactics and politics of Russian diplomacy at the United Nation's conference on International Organisation in 1945. On the other hand, Reid (DoEA) was '... brilliant, hard-working [but] difficult to get on with.'(237) Reid was an anti-Soviet hardliner but was also aware of the dangers of American domination, cooperation and absorption that the post-war era could bring to Canada. He was concerned with the balance of power between the new super powers and strongly influenced the debates that led to the creation of NATO.

The author addresses criticisms in the introduction to this updated edition of the book. Granatstein has been questioned with regard to the selection process he employed to examine Canadian civil servants. He underlines his thoughts on this,

mentioning the difficulty of access to qualitative sources. However, his bibliography of major primary sources is impressive and he uses documentary analysis and interviews very well. Thirty-nine pages of notes and references highlight the detailed research which has gone into the book. He makes the bureaucratic institution come alive and the insights into the civil servants increases our understanding of the nature of the civil service. This raises the second criticism concerning the exploration of the relationship between politician and civil servant. This is an incredible revelation, as I believe the author covers this throughout the book, after all, the ideal role of the civil servant is to provide advice for their political masters and implement political policies. The authors knowledge of Mackenzie King, having already published a book on his politics, is invaluable here and the interactions between Prime Minister and civil servant e.g. King on Robertson and Pearson (DoEA) that '...young men were all always in a hurry ...'(106) is significant in underlying where real power resides in the state executive. King in relation to Heeney (Privy Council Office) suggested he was more concerned about his '... appearance and career ...'(202) then about policy implications. These are two of many examples and there are also the reverse views of civil servants on Prime Ministers King, St. Laurent and Diefenbaker. The author is also not afraid to challenge the perceived roles of both politician and civil servant.

Pickersgill (Prime Minister's Office) is an interesting example of a civil servant who perhaps overstepped the line with regard to civil servant neutrality in policy advice. Pickersgill himself entered the Liberal Party in the 1950s and was opposed by both the Conservative Party and press in Canada. The Liberal bias of the civil service in the creation of policy after twenty years of Liberal government is an interesting argument. Pickersgill is an example of a civil servant who had difficulty keeping an objective distance from his political counterparts. On the other hand, Heeney resisted '...the tug of the party to keep his public servants role.'(225) Ultimately, the author wonders whether the mandarins exerted too much influence on the policy-making process and turned ministers into puppets. The book highlights the influence of both bureaucrat and politician within the state executive. Both partners in the relationship needed each other, in some cases, for political advice and in others, career advancement. The interactions between Canadian minister and civil servant, which were far from congenial in many cases, underline the complexity of the policy-making.

The Ottawa Men is a fine book concerning the individual and collective character of the Canadian civil service. The bureaucrats are put under the microscope and their qualities and faults, as well as their achievements are analysed. The bigger picture of Canadian society and culture is also examined. The difficulty of integrating the English and French speaking provinces is a theme which is returned to many times in the text. Recruitment into the service tended to favour those who spoke English and Quebec opposed this cultural bias constantly. The civil service were certainly aware of the problem but did little for general equality with regard to recruitment policy. The author highlights the difficulty of this multi-dimensional aspect of Canadian culture, the DoEA had to be diplomatically competent with regard

to the Vichy government and De Gaulle's Free French movement, both with French speaking Canadians and the English speaking allies during the second world war. Granatstein also raises the gender question, in relation to the state executive during this golden time for male civil servants several times in the book. Women are mentioned as wives, divorcees, supportive of their husbands but critical of the nature the job which seems to be slightly patronising in tone. This highlights the male preserve of the bureaucratic institution which has changed little in global contemporary culture. However, the nature of the subject should not take anything away from the author's achievement. He has to be praised for addressing criticisms of the first edition and raising these difficult but very relevant issues for Canadian society. Granatstein's skill is using history as a tool to analyse the civil service and the consequences bureaucrats had on issues that are very much alive for both Canadians and researchers into the state executive relationship between civil servants and politicians today.

Richard Race, Nottingham University

Christopher Moore, "1867 and all that", or 1867 How the Fathers Made a Deal. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., The Canadian Publishers, 1997, pp. xv, 279

This book on Canada's birth begins with a quotation, 'On all great subjects, much remains to be said' by Walter Bagehot, author of the classic *The English Constitution*, published coincidentally in 1867, the same year as 'Confederation' in Canada. Moore likes Bagehot, and for good reason, because we still need to read Bagehot as Bagehot explains much, but not everything, about Canada's (and Australia's) system of governments today.

Just as Canada's constitution is not England's, nor is it aborigines', nor France's nor America's. Canada's Father of '1867 and all that' operated Responsible Government before, up to, and ever since 1867, or what the British were already calling Cabinet Government. Clearly, this British and Canadian practice was, and is in sharp contrast to American Presidential or Congressional Government. Canadians were the first to win Responsible Government within the British empire, starting in Nova Scotia in 1848. It then began to operate in the Australasian colonies in 1855.

Moore's book is very good within his chosen discipline of history. He reminds us not only what Canada's (and Australia's) Fathers did, but also what they did not do. Moore then misconstrues today's system of governments in Canada (and in Australia) by wandering into political studies where his 1990s comparative analysis with '1867 and all that' becomes unstuck.

1867 *How the Fathers Made a Deal* describes the processes of how Canada was created more than 130 years ago, which makes our constitution older,

and, as shall be demonstrated, markedly different from federal America's. Another way of understanding Canada's system of governments is to recall federal America had a civil war starting about 70 years after it began over whether the Confederate States of America or federal America would prevail. In simple mathematical terms, Canada's system of governments is twice as successful historically and theoretically as federal America's, because we have creatively negotiated solutions to our questions (as likewise in Australia).

Moore was one of Donald Creighton's graduate students and remains an admirer of his book *The Road to Confederation*. In his day, a generation ago, Creighton was English speaking Canada's pre-eminent historian. Moore was struck how our Fathers from both government and opposition parties participated in the Charlottetown 1864, Quebec 1864 and London 1866-67 conferences. These conferences politically created the first new country uniting, but not unifying, geographically separated British North American colonies since the confederalised Americans left Britain's empire in 1783 under their confederally created Articles of Confederation. And so we are drawn into Moore's re-examination how Canada (Australia) was born inside Britain's empire — and what he thinks Canada's (Australia's) system of governments has become today.

There is the maxim every generation writes its own political history, but what kind of Canadian (Australian) history is a matter of debate. New interpretations are acceptable, but facts remain facts. Moore, being an historian, unintentionally makes some errors in definition best avoided by our political studies community. Is it necessary to say in the context of Moore's book, history and political studies are part of Canadian Studies/Etudes Canadiennes (Australian studies) writ large?

This book's weaknesses, if corrected, would make Moore's study even more widely read than now by professors and students of public administration, political studies, history, Canadian Studies (Australian studies) et aussi études Québécoises (and also Quebec studies). Moore describes the heart and climax of the processes leading up to 1867 in the conferences held at Charlottetown, Quebec and London — processes not experienced in federal America's birth. The London Conference 1866-67 met under the umbrella of Britain's imperial government which enacted the British North America Act 1867, a British statute, and Canada's constitution. Similar conference processes were followed in the run up to the Commonwealth of Australia's constitution in 1901 as enacted by Britain's parliament inside Britain's empire.

Moore's interest lies in the procedures followed in Canada's so-called 'Confederation' Conferences. He uses well-known articles, documents and books. A professional scholar like Moore of '1867 and all that' knows both the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences have been reconstructed from the documents. He used the well-known P. B. Waite's *The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864-1867* (Toronto, 1962) for his analysis of the Charlottetown Conference 1864.

And then he overlooked two crucial sources on the Quebec Conference, the most important conference, where all the fundamental principles and institutions

were debated, negotiated and agreed upon. These are the essays by W. M. Whitelaw, author of 'Reconstructing the Quebec Conference' *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1938, and of 'The Quebec Conference', *Centennial Historical Booklet No. 20*, published by the Canadian Historical Association, 1966.

C. Moore, who used French-Canadian and/or Québécois studies, would also benefit from two works by Jean-Charles Bonenfant, Société Royale du Canada (Royal Society of Canada), 'Les Canadiens Français et la Naissance de la Confédération' ('French Canadians and the Birth of Confederation'), *Canadian Historical Association Booklet, No. 21*, and *La Naissance de la Confédération* ('The Birth of Confederation') Les Editions Leméac, 1969, to balance his anglo-admiration of Creighton's *The Road to Confederation*, published 1964.

The unknown editor, or McClelland and Stewart Inc., the Canadian Publishers, should have been more careful with the terms 'Confederation', perversely a Canadianism, and confederation, because both words, used indiscriminately and repeatedly throughout the book with the same small 'c', suggest to the reader they have one and the same meaning. Moore correctly quotes Antoine-Aimé Dorion in the 1865 Debates wanting '... a *real* confederation, giving the largest powers to the local governments and merely a delegated authority to the general government - In that respect differing in toto from the one proposed' (148). This is fundamental in the debate over the definitive character of Canada's system of governments set in train in 1867, and how it evolved afterwards.

The first American system of governments, the confederal United States of America, was a confederacy under its Articles of confederation starting 1781. This confederation was transformed into a federation by the confederal 1787 Philadelphia Congress. America's federation, fully operating by 1789, and still functioning by 1867, was known to Canada's Fathers of so-called 'Confederation', and is the American federal system the world (and Australia) knows today. Our Fathers of '1867 and all that' were also knowledgeable of the Confederate States of America 1861-65 which engaged in a civil war with that American federation.

John A. Macdonald, participant in the Charlottetown, Quebec and London Conferences, while chair of the London Conference, and consequently Canada's first Prime Minister, understood the distinctions between a confederation and a federation, and then chose a federation over what he really preferred, a legislative union, or a unitary state. George-Etienne Cartier was Lower Canada's (today's Quebec) leading proponent for federalism. Moore, like most Canadians (and maybe Australians), confuses confederation and federation as systems of governments, thus making his book less valuable to students and scholars comparing the American and Canadian (Australian) systems of governments, which systems entwine politics and history, in both theory and practice.

Moore openly prefers the agreement making methods of the 1860s, where opposition parties also participated in Canada's so-called 'Confederation' Conferences, over those of today. Only heads of governments, or first ministers (Premiers in Australia), constitute today's First Ministers' Conference (Australia's

Premiers' Conference), which has never had any equivalent in federal America. Moore uses first minister's conference (38) and executive federalism (62), institutions and terms which did not then exist in the 1860s, which only came into existence and parlance more than a century later. I write as a student of comparative Canadian and Australian studies, in addition to history as in Moore's book. Professional and popular historians like Moore should be careful with terms if they want their books to be used in disciplines even like history, such as in Canadian and Australian Studies.

Moore refers repeatedly to Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution*, published in 1867, to criticise today's processes of conferences and agreements among governments, i.e. Canada's First Ministers' Conferences (Australia's Premiers' Conferences). Since Moore prefers the processes of the 1860s to today's, he should read R.H.S. Crossman's 1963 'Introduction' to Bagehot's classic. Crossman, a senior minister in Britain's government 1964-70, demonstrates the Responsible or Cabinet Government Moore favours for today's Canada (and also in inference Australia), has long since been replaced by Prime Ministerial Government, or one person government, in Britain.

It is Prime Ministerial Government, or one leader per government, operating both centrally and provincially in Canada, as in Australia's central and state governments, that functions in today's First Ministers' Conference and Australia's Premiers' Conference. Moore cannot, by historical and theoretical definitions, compare '1867 and all that' with conditions more than a century later, because Canada's system of governments created by, and starting in 1867, did *not* then have the First Ministers' Conference which is today an integral institution and process. Canada cannot today do without its First Ministers' Conference, which, to emphasize, did not then exist, was not provided for in 1867, and was not intended to exist after 1867. A similar analysis applies to Australia's Premiers' Conference.

The Canadian system of central and provincial governments, intended to be federal in 1867 after the American model, is now markedly different from today's federal America because of our First Minister's Conference (Australia's Premiers' Conference). Federal America has never, ever, even once had what Moore calls first ministers' conferences. Furthermore, federal America has historically, theoretically and practically remained a system of federal and state governments fundamentally unchanged since it was created, compared to Canada's developing and increasingly complex system of governments with its First Ministers' Conference inter-connecting the central and provincial governments. (Australia's Premiers' Conference plays the same roles between Canberra and the states, and vice versa).

In addition, Canada's Provincial Premier's Conference (Australia's State Premiers' Conference), meeting annually since 1960, and quasi-confederal in character, is another institution totally unknown in today's federal America and to Moore's concept of what our Father of so-called 'Confederation' created in '1867 and all that'.

Allen R. Kear

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Mitchell A. Sherr is an Associate Professor at Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne (United States) and teaches law courses. He specialises in labour and personnel law.

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Maureen Baker is a Professor at the University of Auckland. Her teaching areas are families, labour and love. Her research interests include family trends, feminist policy issues, gendered work and comparative social policy.

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BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEWING

The following books are available for reviewing.

Please Contact Hart Cohen if any of these titles are of interest.

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Alia, Valerie. 1994. *Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy; Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity*. Fernwood Publishing: Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.

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8. Authors are requested to submit an abstract of about 150 words with their manuscript.
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Journal Article: [Authors]. [Year]. [Article Title]. [Journal Title] [Volume] (issue):[pages]. Use issue numbers only with journals not continuously paginated. Use caps and lower case, but no quotation marks, for article titles.

Examples

Dictionary of Aboriginal English. 1985-. Editor-in-chief Arthur H. Onslow. Brisbane: Queensland University Press.

Pilgill, Neville, and Edith Jayne. 1985. *Inuit English: A Guide to Varieties of Standard English in the far North of Quebec*. 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold.

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Peterson, Neville. 1988. Untitled article. *Sydney Morning Herald*. 14 November: 11-12.

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Follow normal Australian style in punctuation and spelling.

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