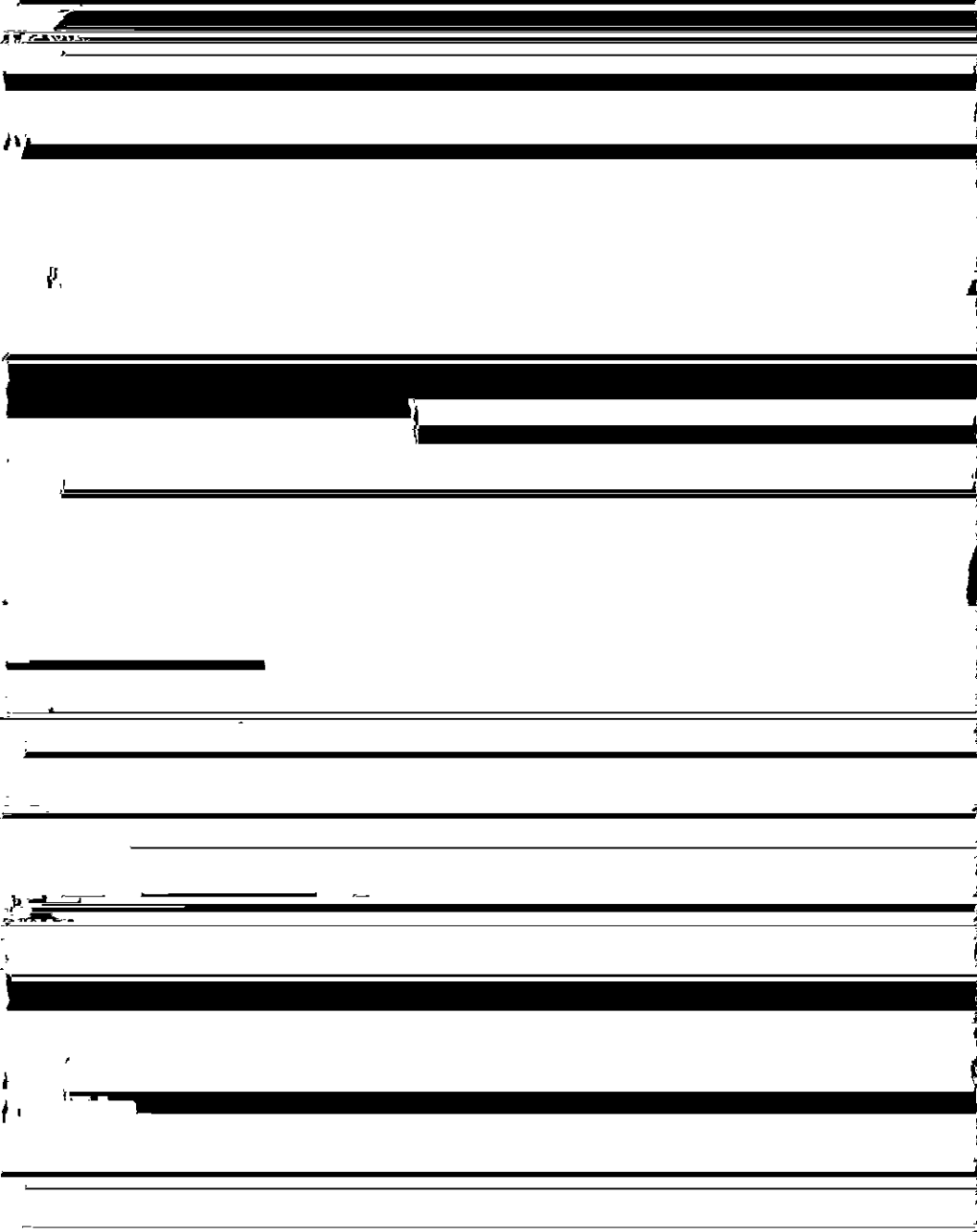


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The National Library of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada



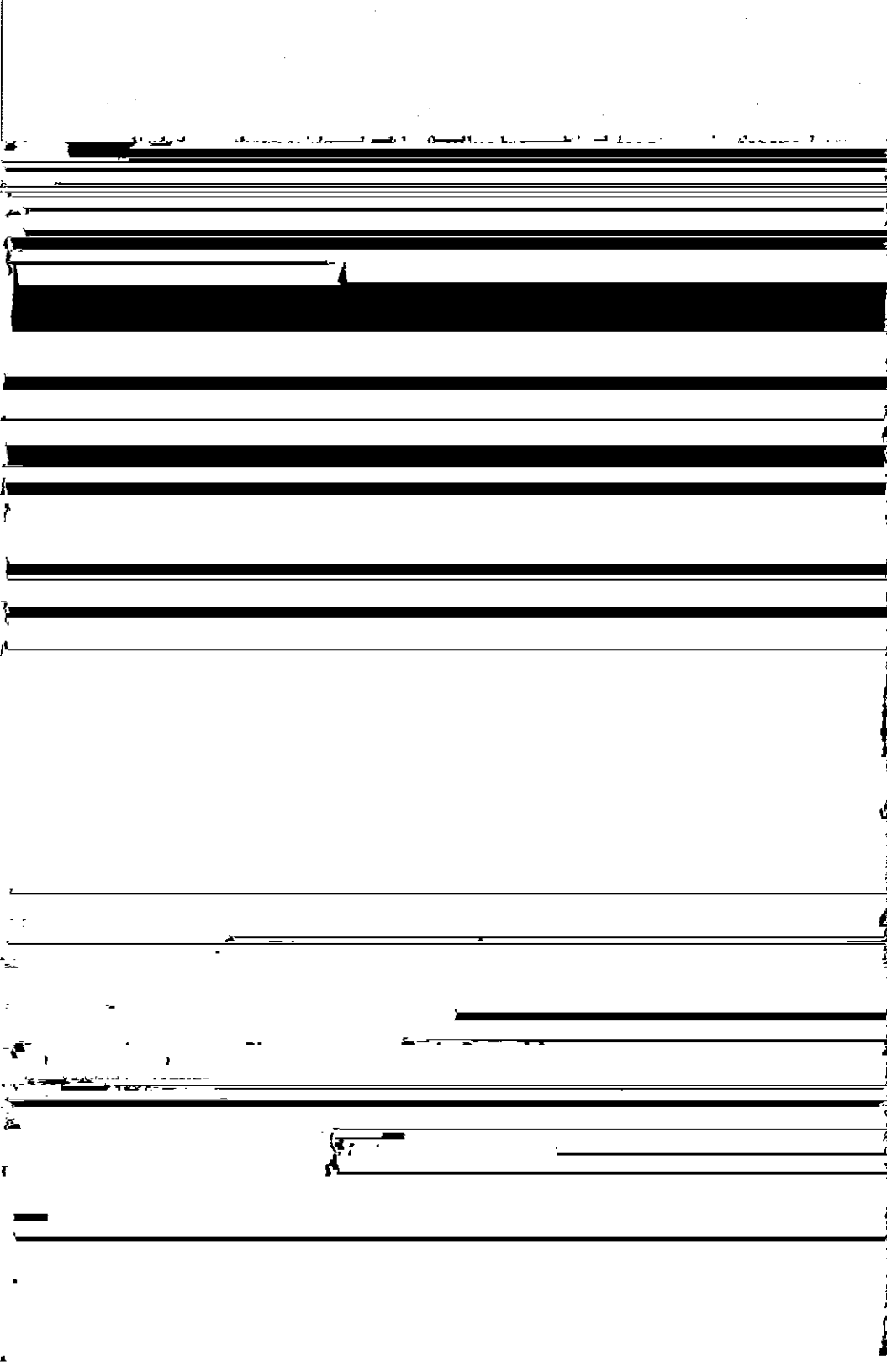
CONTENTS

I Overview

Ideology or Continuity?

FOREWORD

This year's *Canada: The State of the Federation* examines the shifts in Cana-



Harvey Lazar is Director of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University.

Michael Lusztig is Associate Professor of Political Science at Southern Methodist University.

Michael Lusztig is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Southern Methodist University.

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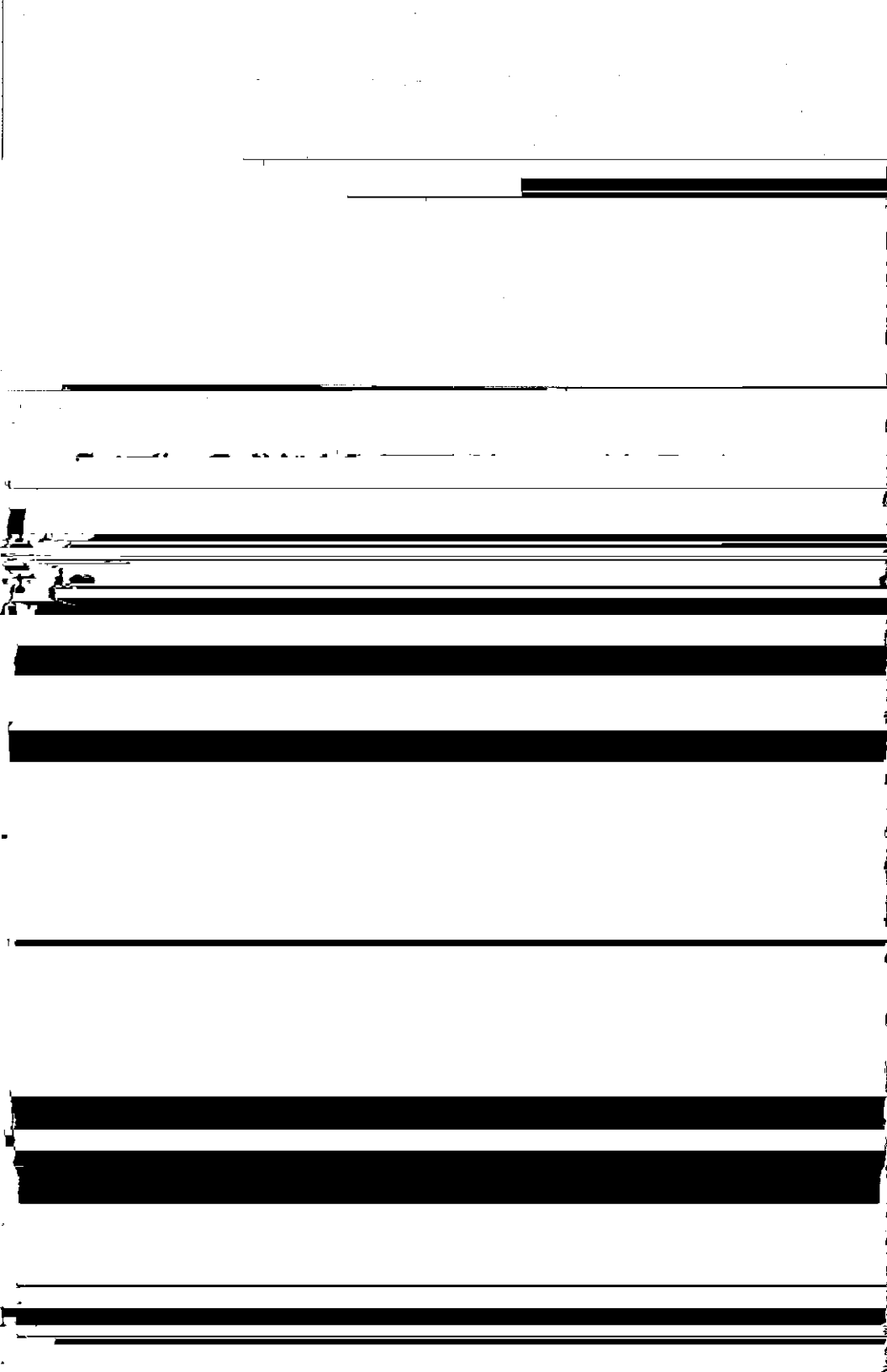
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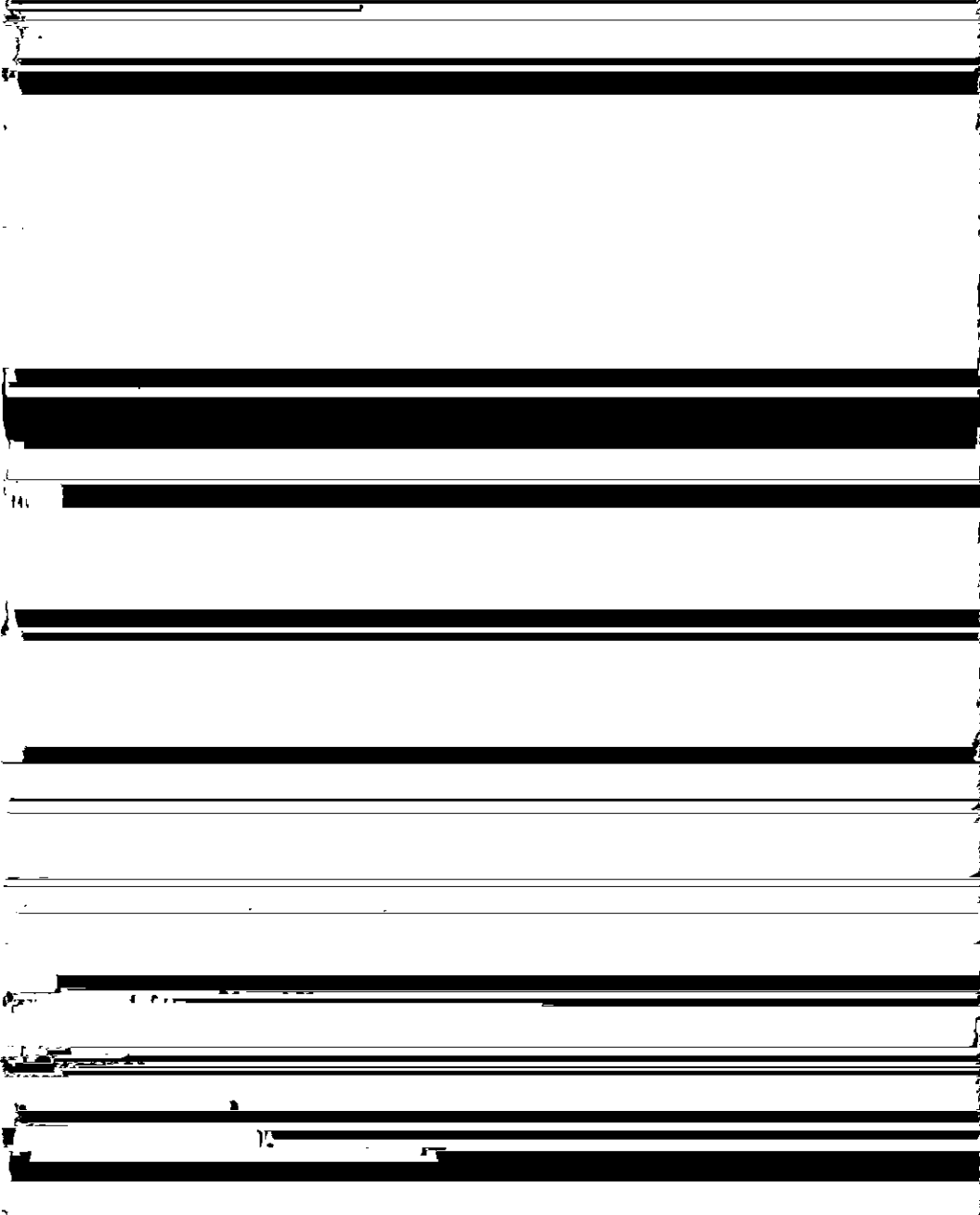
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Overview



WHAT IS POLITICAL CULTURE?

The main objective of this volume is to provide a comprehensive and critical analysis of the concept of political culture.



R

Manuscript of the Defence Document which the Applicant has submitted to the Tribunal.

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and taming public debt had become a growing part of the rhetoric of governments.

A second source was the concern that government programs were also having unintended consequences. A relatively generous federal system of

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and Aboriginal people on reserves had not yet obtained the right to vote in

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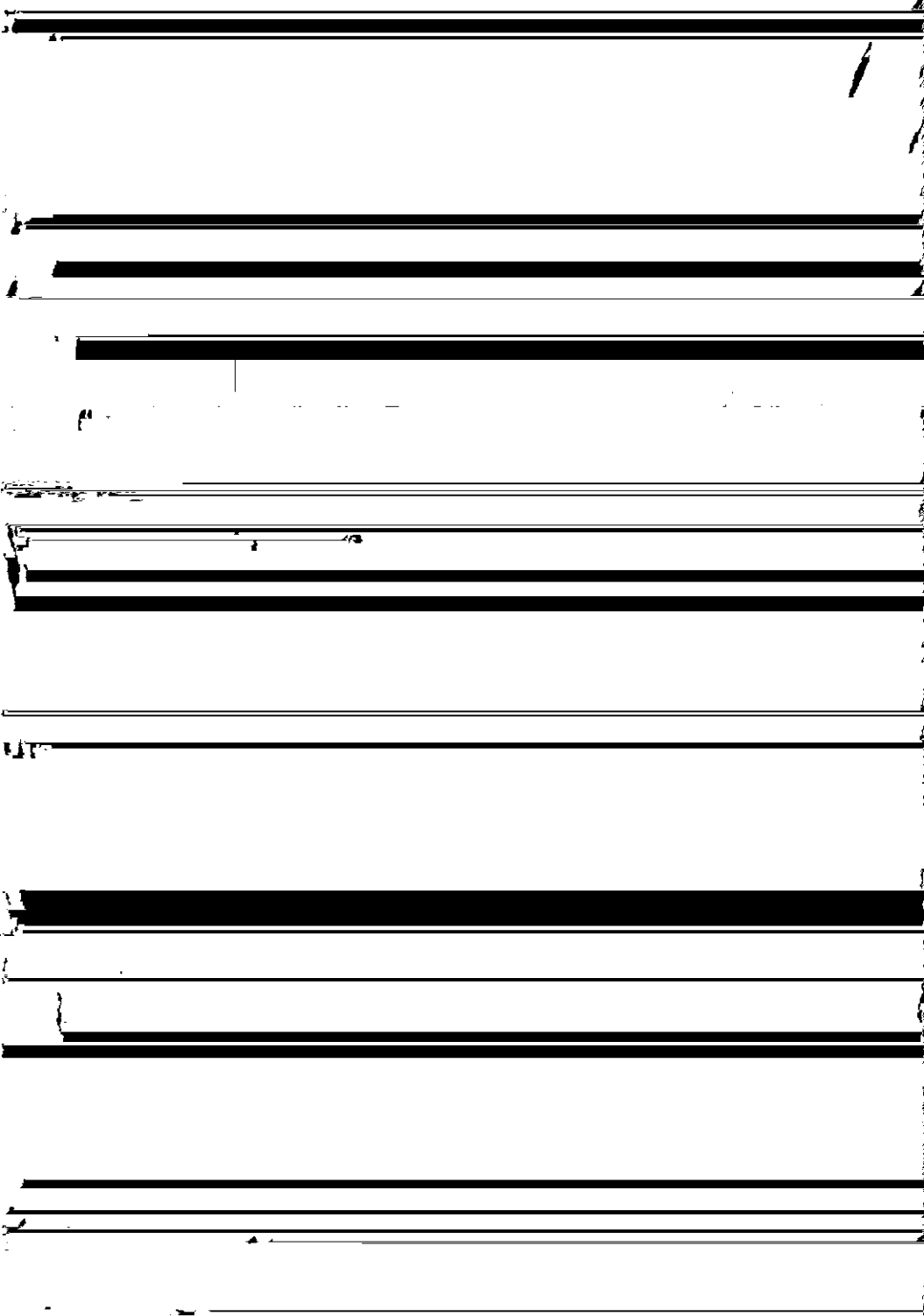


table. In the five case-studies noted just above, four were multilateral. They

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- 14 Richard Simeon and David Elkins "Regional Political Cultures in Canada"

[The page contains several lines of text that are almost entirely obscured by thick black horizontal bars. Only a few faint characters and lines are visible.]

40 Anthony Birch. *Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Aus-*



II

Federal Politics

The Liberal Chameleon:
From Red Tories to Blue Grits

Reg Whitaker

Le gouvernement libéral de Jean Chrétien projette une image vraiment floue de sa

but closely behind, rather than dangerously in front of, developing public opinion. By examining the Liberal record in the context both of history and of the

... although there is evidence that the provisions had actually made

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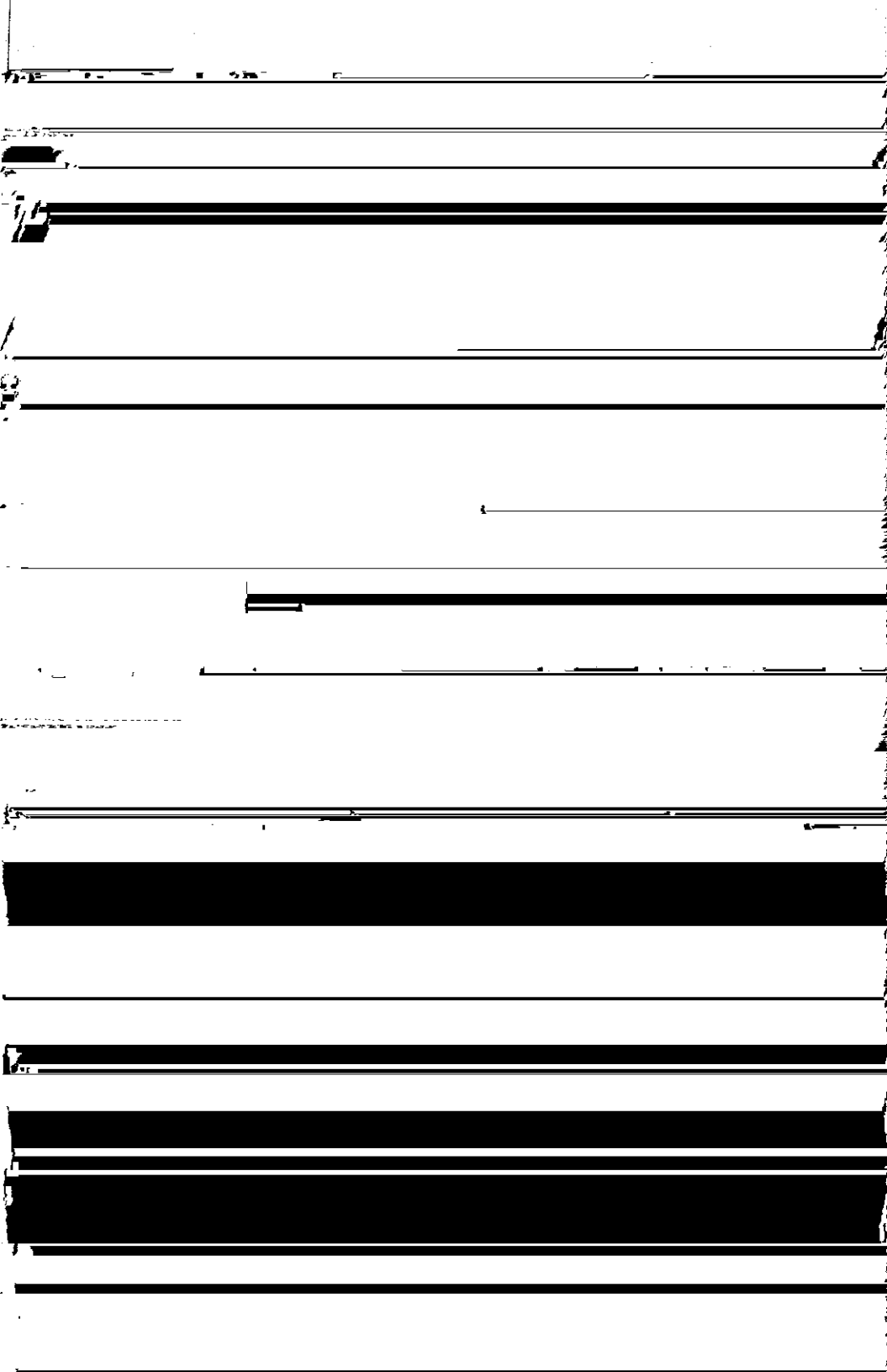
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standards almost entirely in protecting the public purse against slanders. Law

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for the "innovative" sector.¹⁰ This is the new Liberal model of how govern-

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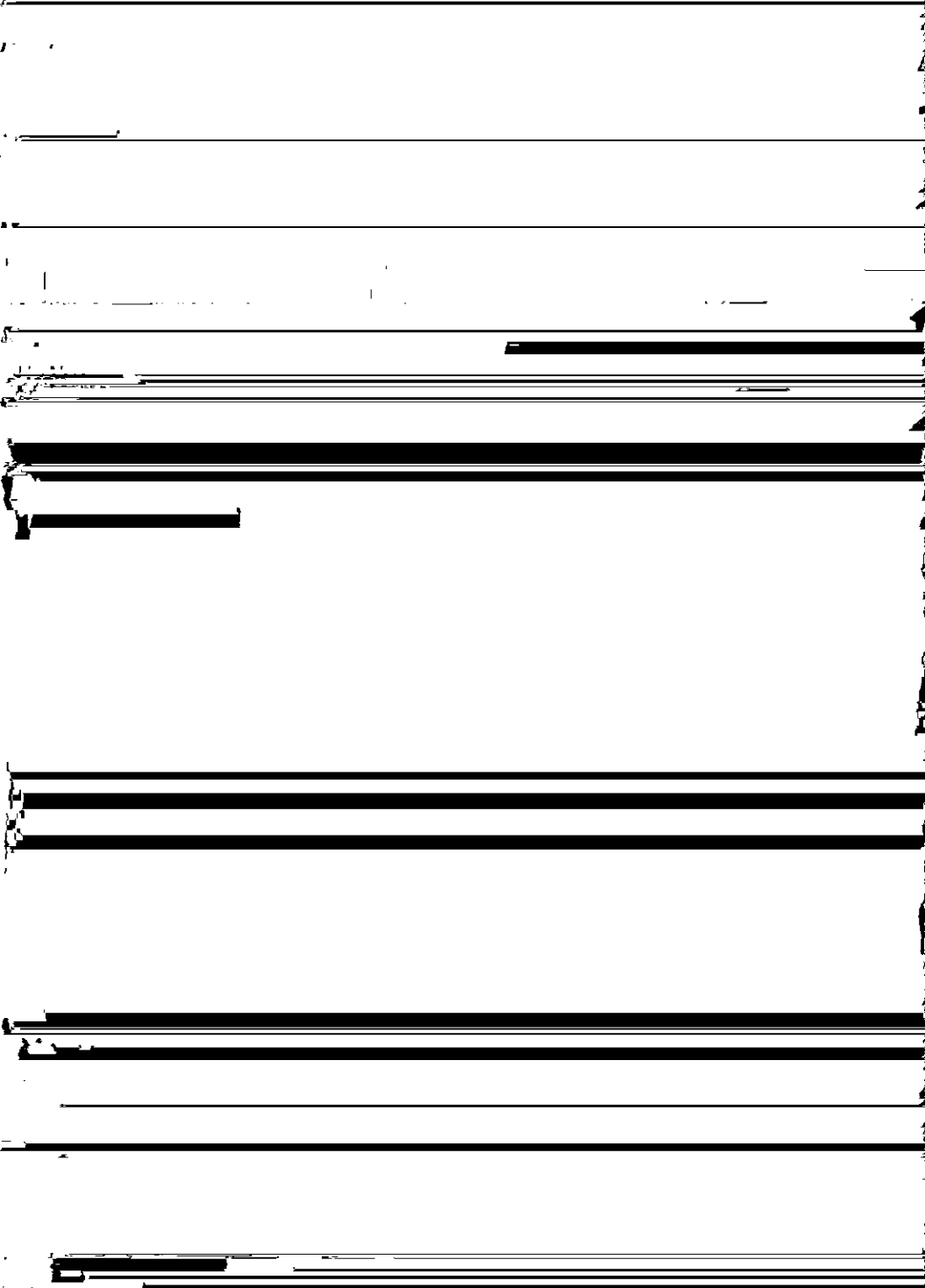
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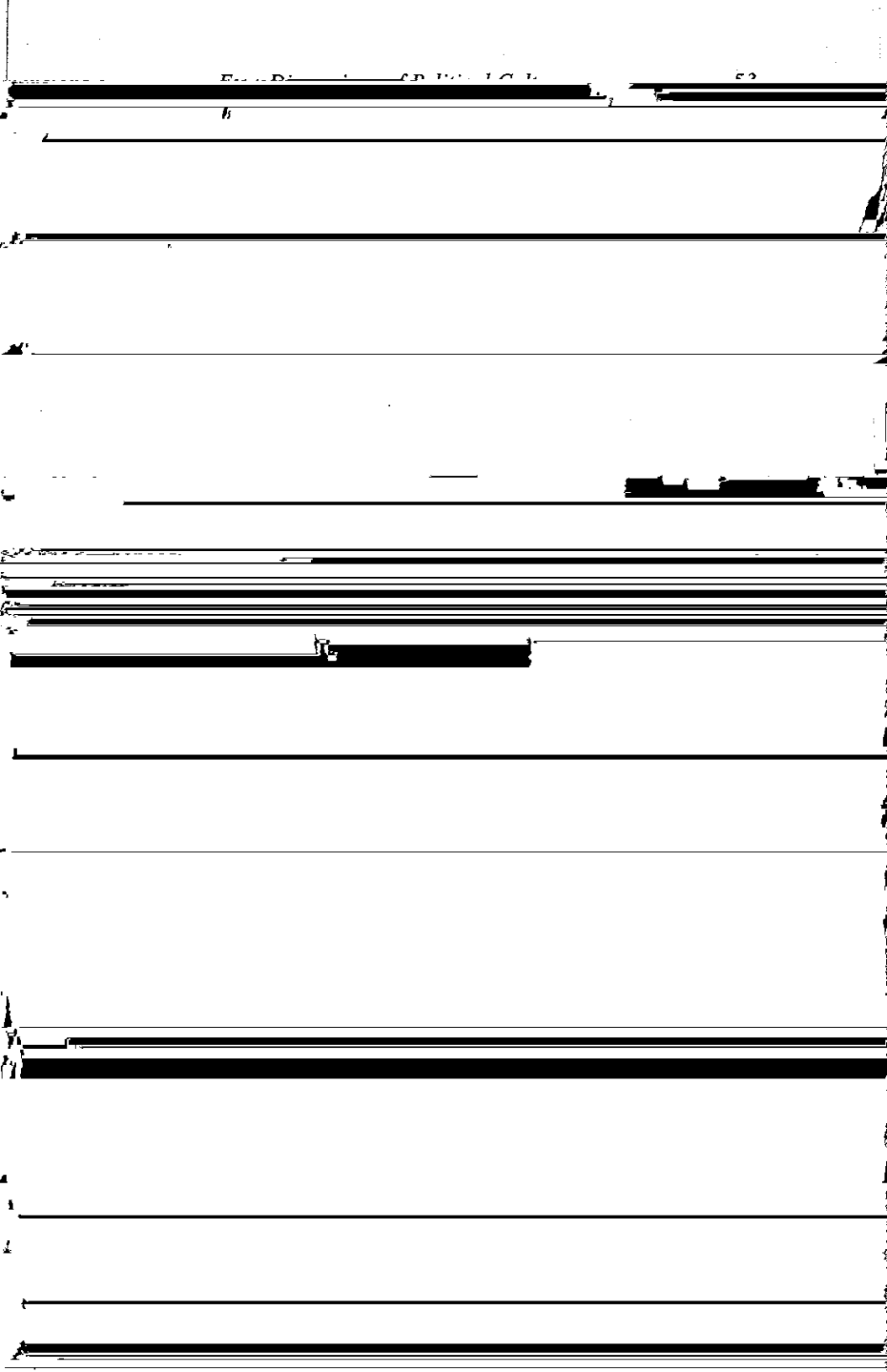
Here, the Liberals can draw on long traditions of governance in times of national security crisis: World War Two, much of the Cold War, and the October

1973

Text: 1990-2000? Working Paper No. 10 / Kingston, Queen's University School

It is generally believed that an important element of Canadian political culture, historically, has been support for compromise. Canada's most serious

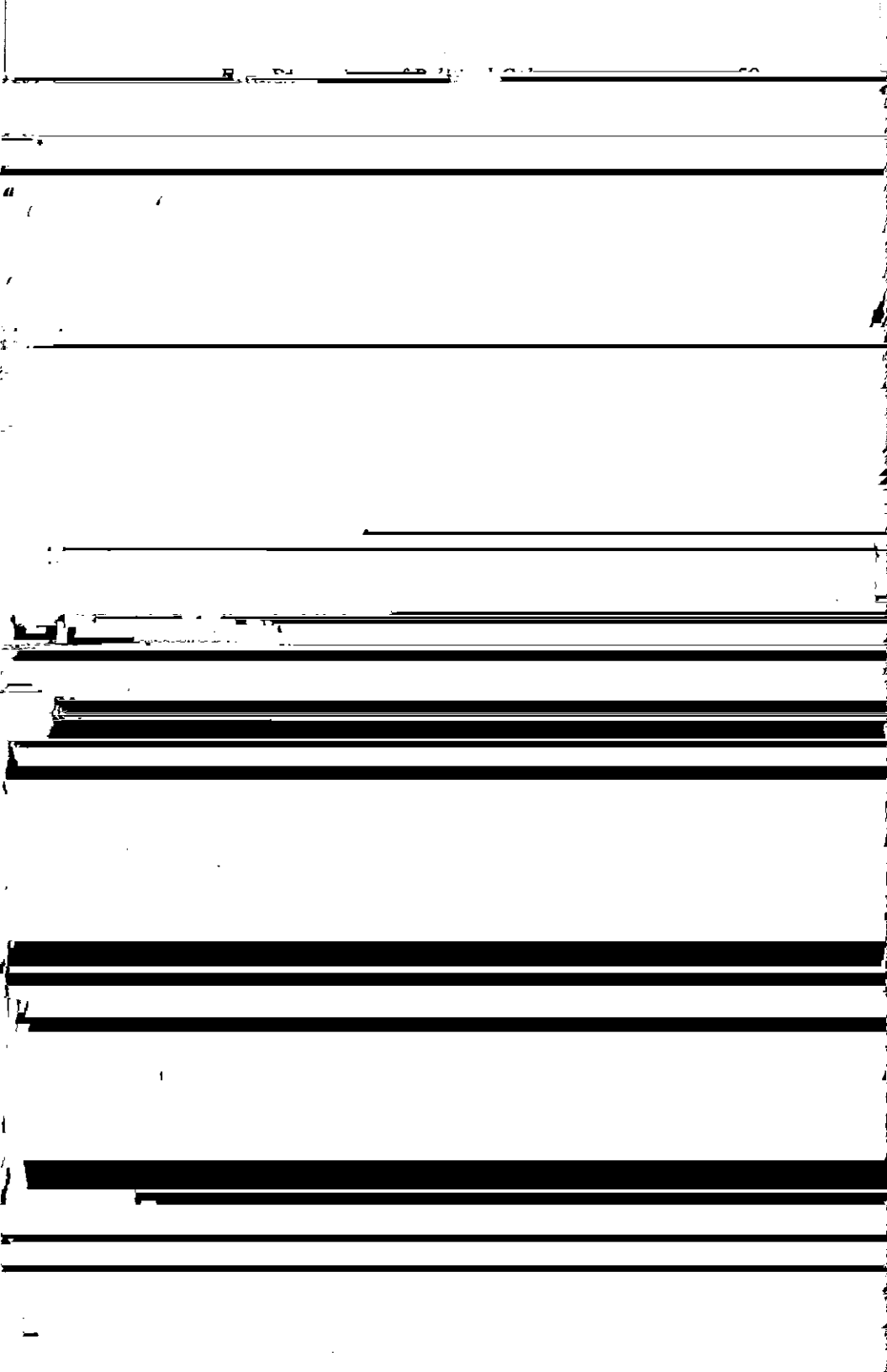
6



Information on the Title: 1. It is a study of the effects of the...

any second brokerage party must be to articulate a vision that appeals to both

come together in a disagreement over the strength of the federal government



appeal of their main rivals, some have confused its recent incarnation for a traditional brokerage party. This confusion is also a product of the fact that on

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EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

The best way to resolve the question of how many dimensions of conflict
exists is through empirical investigation. This must begin with correlation and

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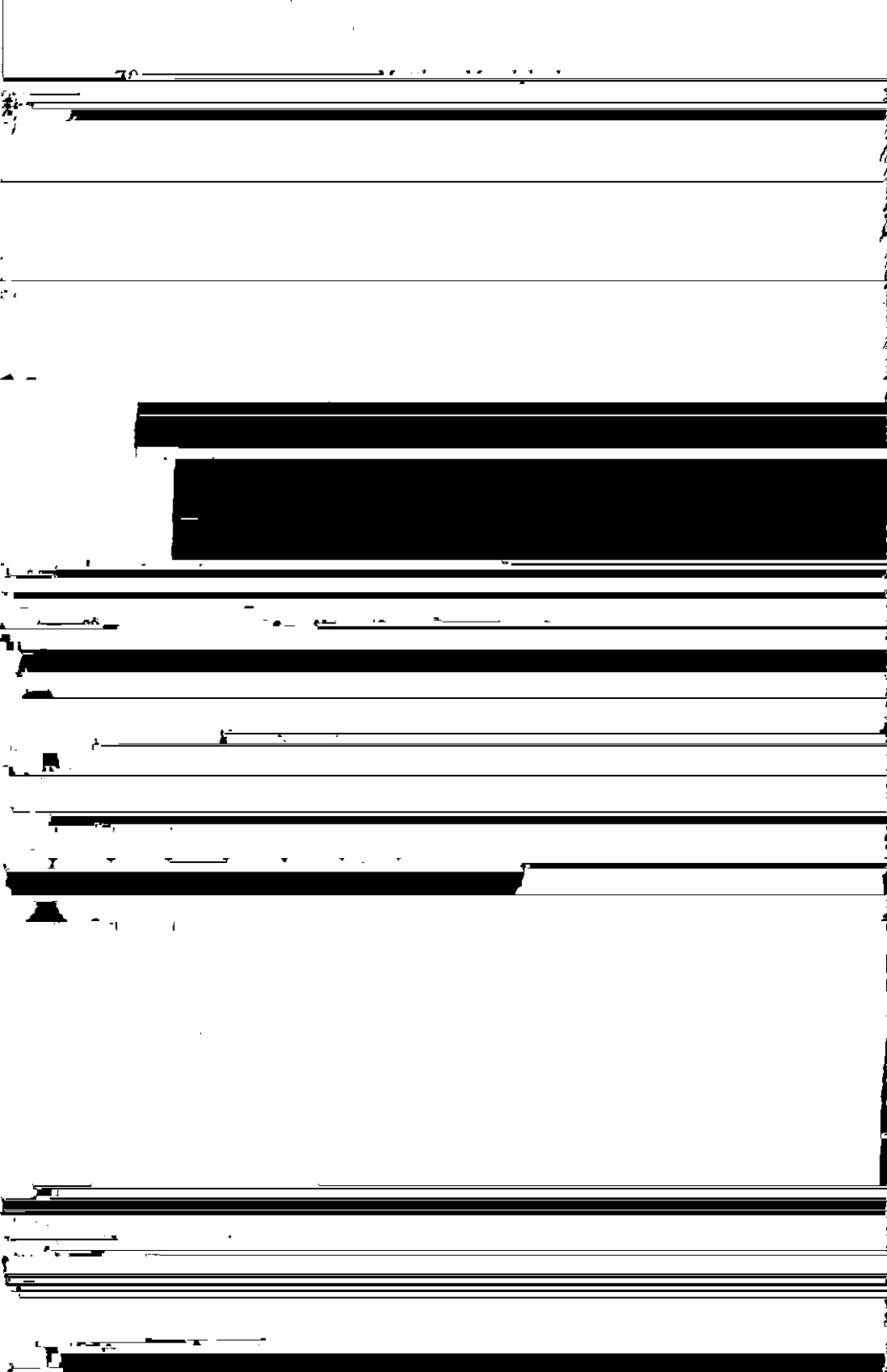
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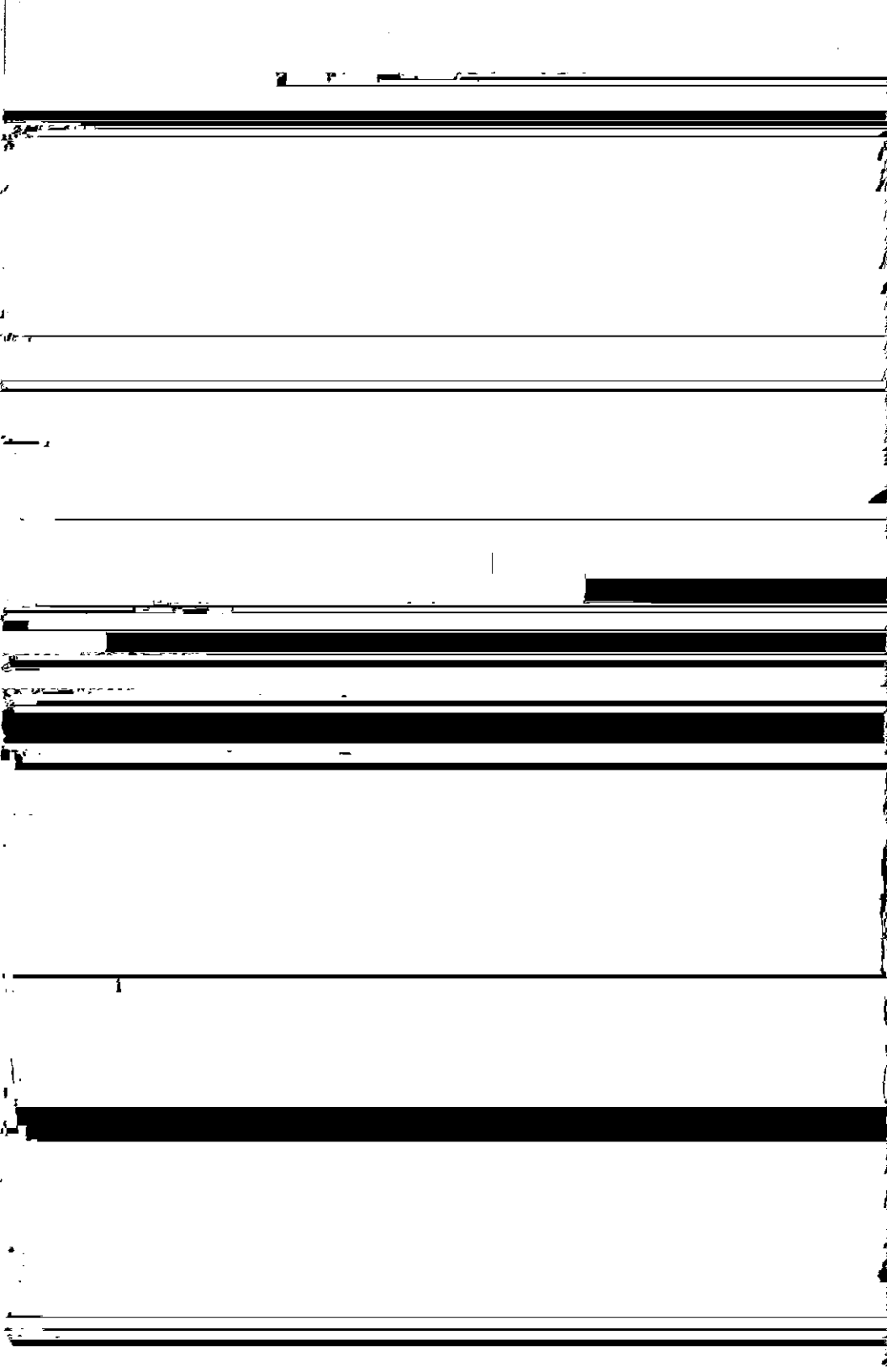
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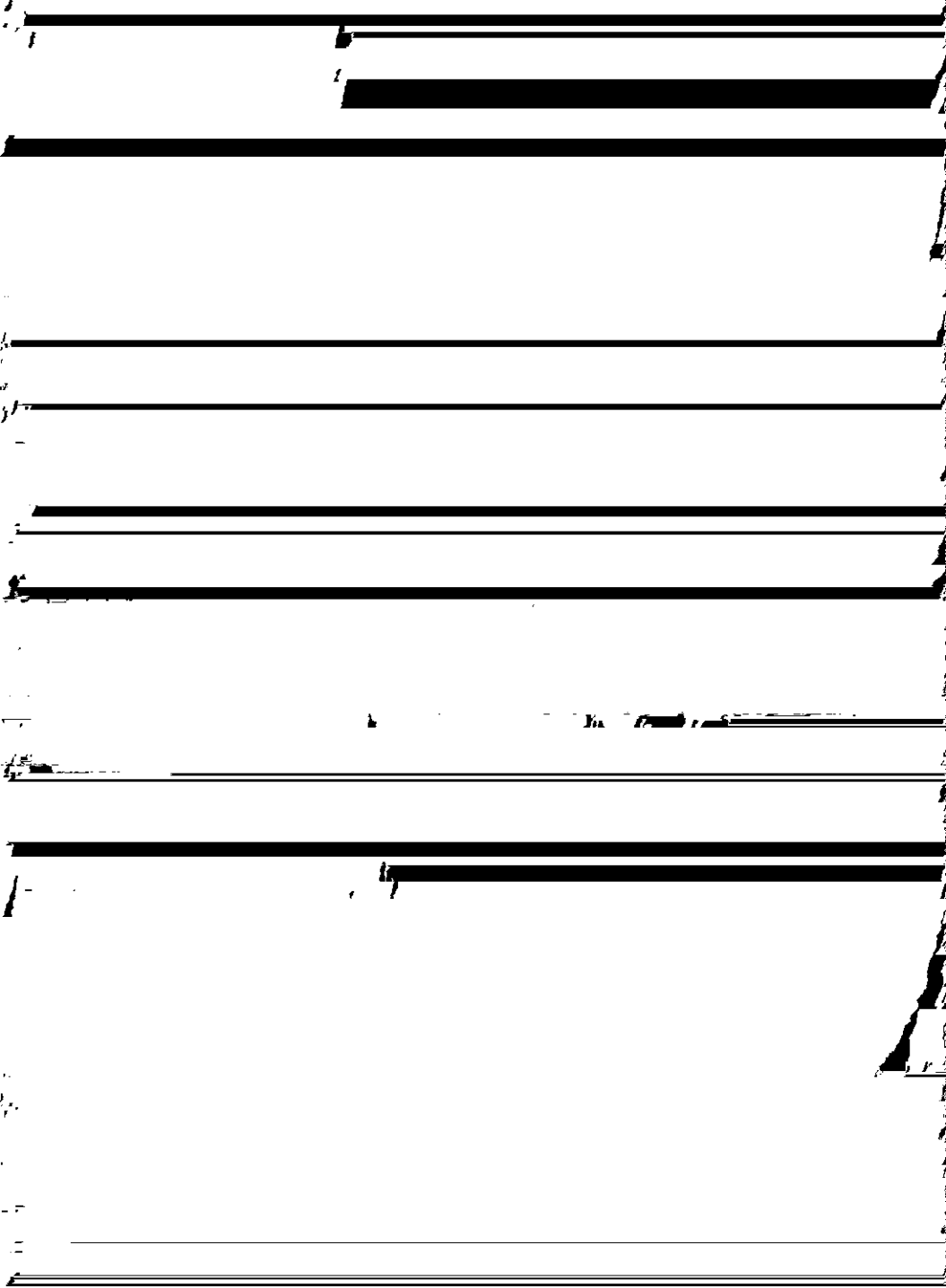




<i>Conservative</i>
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-0.06 (0.19)
0.98 (0.34) ^b
0.36 (0.21)
0.34 (0.16) ^a
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-0.09 (0.29)
1.10 (0.46) ^a
-5.70 (1.10) ^a
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2000.

Figure 1. A Rough Mapping of Economic and Social Policies in



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Graduate outside Quebec to ...

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breaks down in part because it loses key allies, but also because it appears to

NOTES


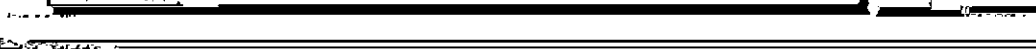





I thank John Meisel for his very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and Jon Clancy for his research assistance. I am indebted to the editors, Fred Cutler, and the anonymous referees who provided comments and suggestions.



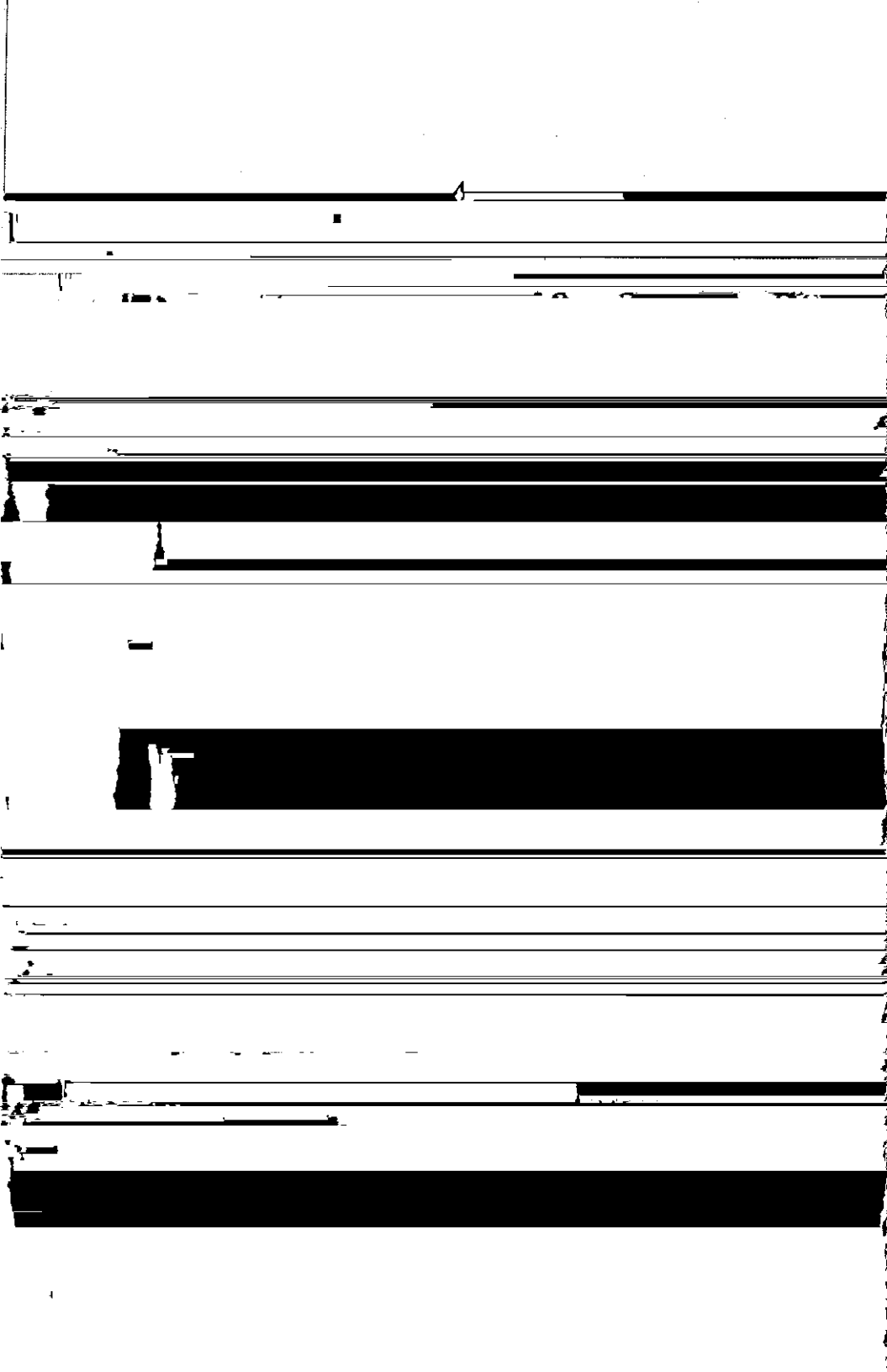
15. Johnston, Blais, Gidengil and Neviite, *The Challenge of Direct Democracy*.

15. JOHNSTON, BLAIS, GIDENGIL AND NEVIITE, *The Challenge of Direct Democracy*, 1910

35. One should also note that CRIC did not ask a question that measured social



APPENDIX



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resources, this is nested within a larger imperative to maintain systemic sta-

THESE ARE THE ONLY TWO DOCUMENTS FROM THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION

...for unemployment insurance and federal leadership continued.

This multiplication of programs and interventions entailed a sufficiently large increase in public spending to speak of a qualitative change. Indeed, while gov-

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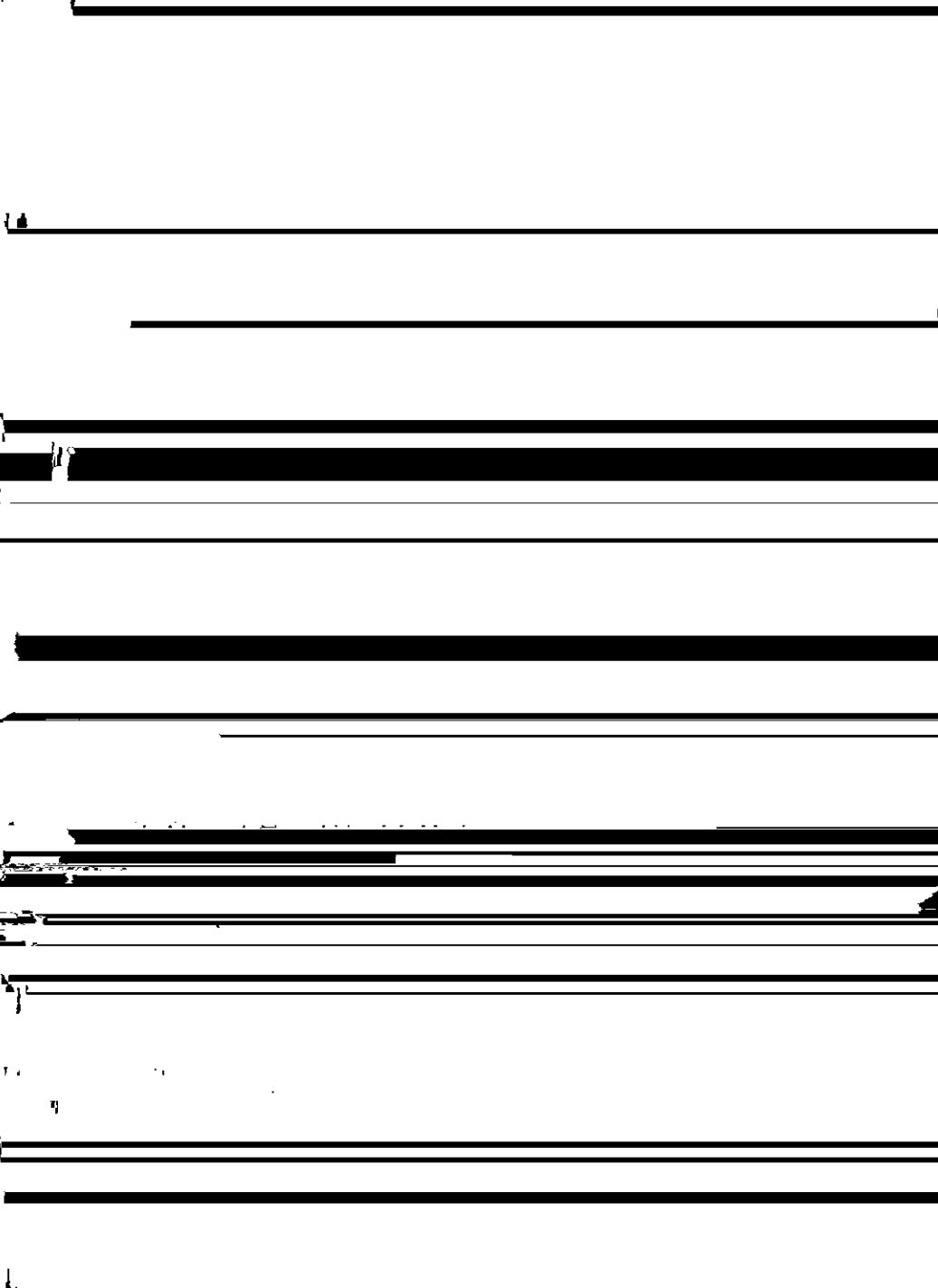
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new framework for social program spending in Canada. SUFA, which con-

seem to cast doubt on the idea of a brain drain. Aside from that study, which focuses on aggregate numbers, the evidence is very much in the opposite di-

Decentralizing operational authority forces local agencies and localities to use



What, then, are the implications of this study? Decades of overspending have not produced a higher degree of national integration.⁹⁴ Instead, as might be expected, provincial and federal governments are at odds over how to deal with the fallout from long-term supraoptimal provision of various public goods.

5. Jane Jenson, "Reading the SUFA Through Policies for Children: Towards a New Citizenship Regime," *Policy Options* (May 2000):48-50.

6. Stephen Smith, "Dartu Government, Representation and National Identity,"

TABLE 1. *Estimated probabilities of a child's educational attainment with the conditional probabilities of*

Parental Education	Child's Education	Probability
High School	High School	0.85
High School	Some College	0.10
High School	Bachelor's Degree	0.05
Some College	High School	0.05
Some College	Some College	0.75
Some College	Bachelor's Degree	0.20
Bachelor's Degree	High School	0.02
Bachelor's Degree	Some College	0.10
Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree	0.88





for an application to Canadian constitutional politics see Michael Lusztig, "Constitutional Decisions: Why Canadian Constitutional Initiatives are Doomed to

200-01-D-13-1 (M) - Department of State, Metropolitan Court Proceedings



The Reform Party/Canadian Alliance and
Canada's Flirtation with Republicanism

Henrich Taft



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leaves part of the past behind it cannot develop the future ideologies which need the continued presence of the past in order to come into being. In escaping the past, the fragment escapes the future."⁴ In short, "the ideology of the founders is thus frozen, congealed at the point of origin." Horowitz contends that the founding ideology largely determines the political culture of the new society.

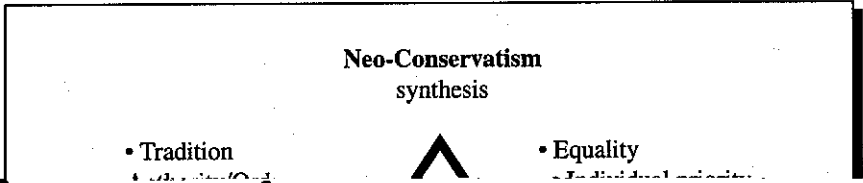
100

Ideological Traditions

THE NEW REPUBLICAN CRITIQUE OF THE HOROWITZ THESIS

government bills and regulations be accompanied by a family impact

Figure 2: A Revised Interpretation of Canadian Ideological Traditions



POPULISM IN THE REFORM PARTY/CANADIAN ALLIANCE

131

...constitute the essence of ... 1963 ... D. f. ... D. ...

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Miss J. Abigail Charlotte ...

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Mosses, circles, understanding of the data

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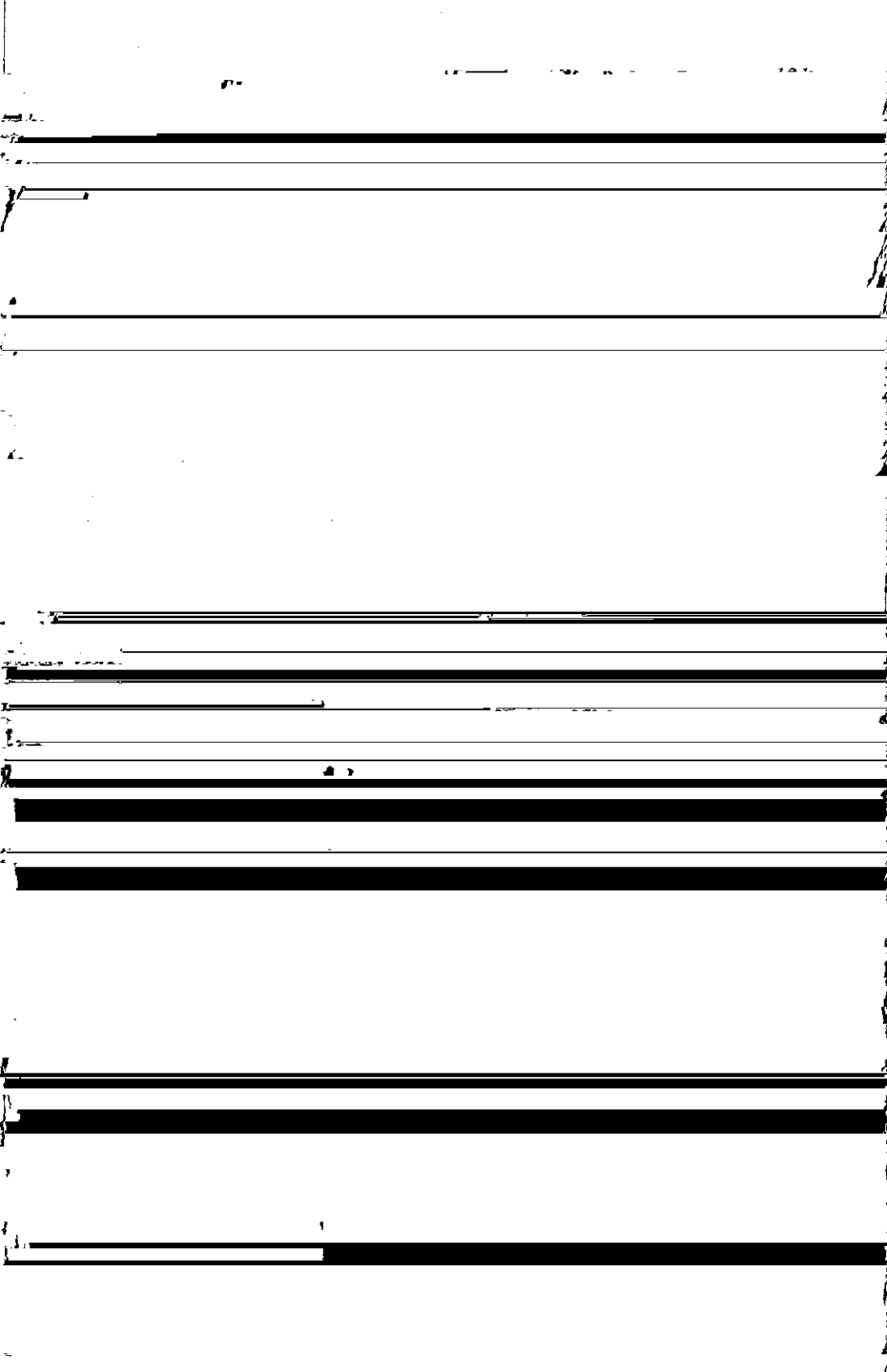
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After his stunning first ballot victory, Stephen Harper met with Conservative leader Joe Clark to discuss possible strategies of inter-party cooperation.

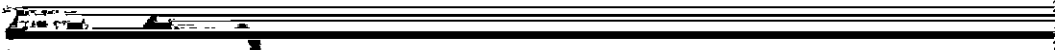
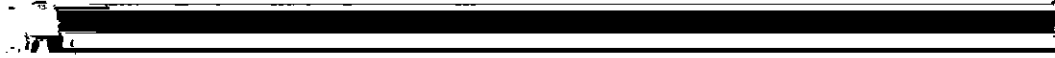
Journal of the American Academy of Religion 1999, 67, 133-144

47. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Deacon Manning: The New Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1902), p. 105

f





III

Regional Perspectives

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Canada is region-based. In 1867 there were three regions — Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime provinces — each assigned 24 seats. The Maritime region, initially comprised of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was meant to include

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1900-1901

1900-1901

1900-1901

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1900-1901

erosion of interregional differences in political culture, in other words, within

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of government. The Conservatives also promised to cut taxes, and made that promise the central plank of their campaign. But the issue did not work for

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The ~~line~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~one~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~1999-2000~~

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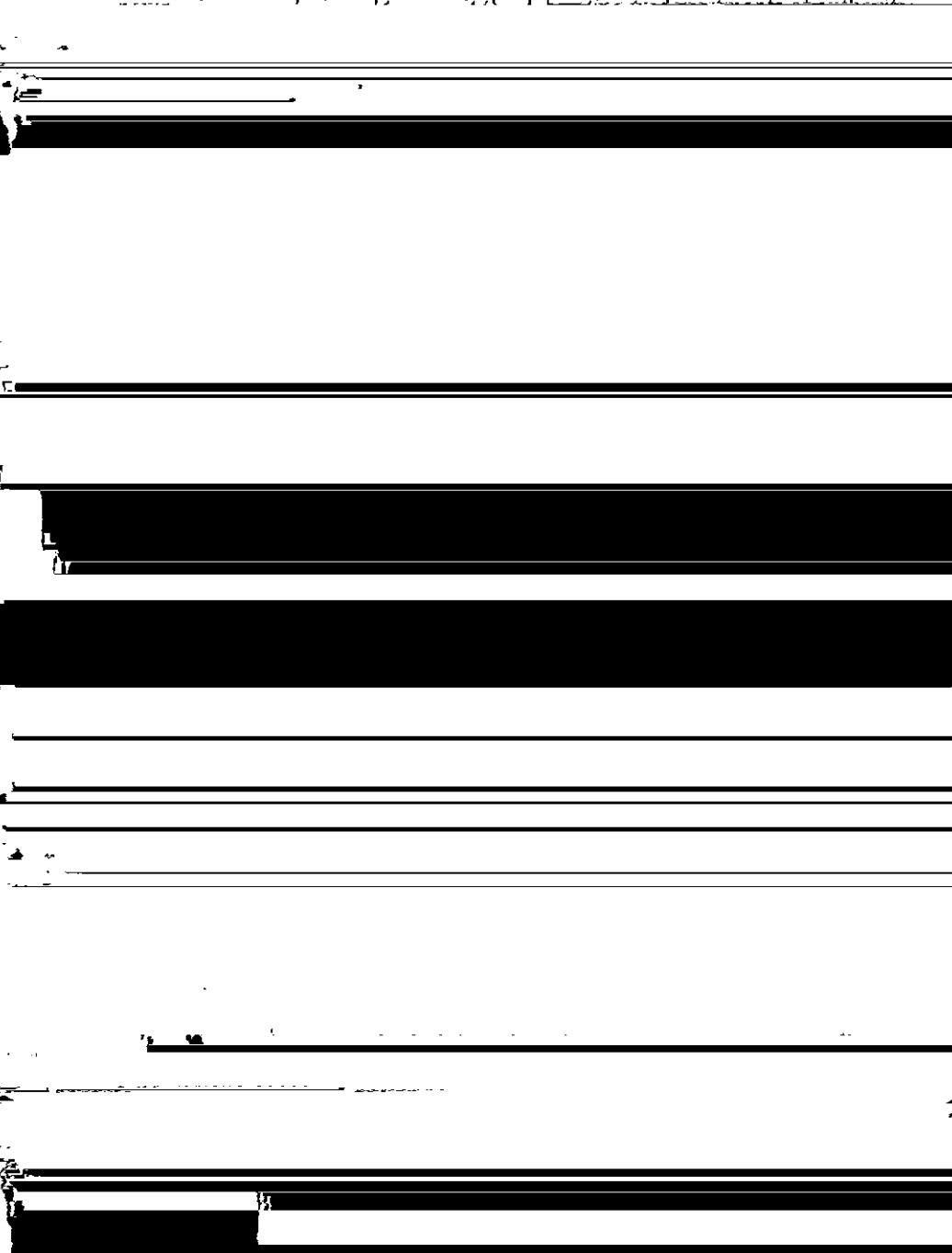
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GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES

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... The effects made to ... the objective range from

the expressed need to protect appointments from political interference, the



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16. M. J. M. [redacted] "All House Democrats Criticizing Atlantic Spending"

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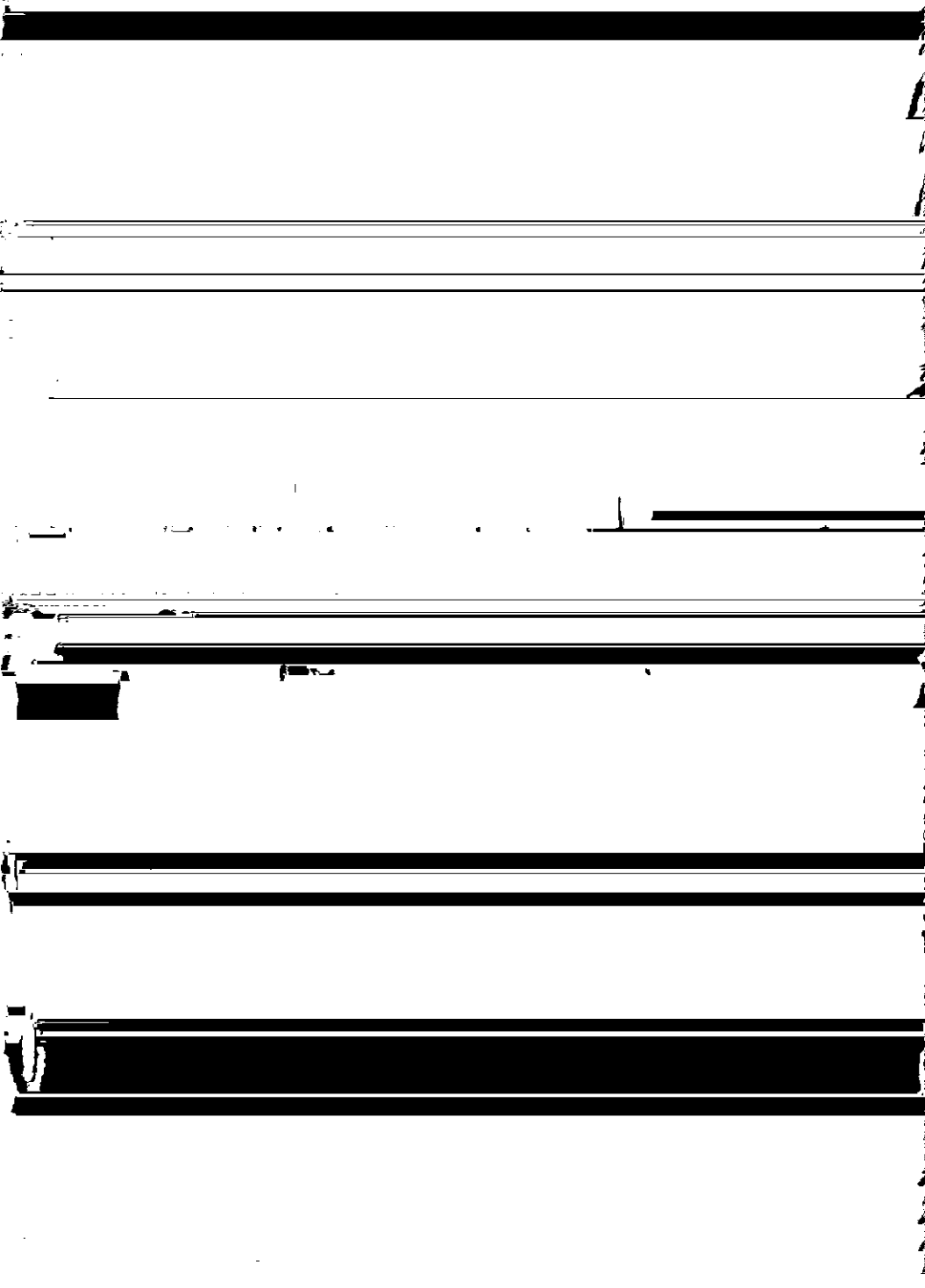
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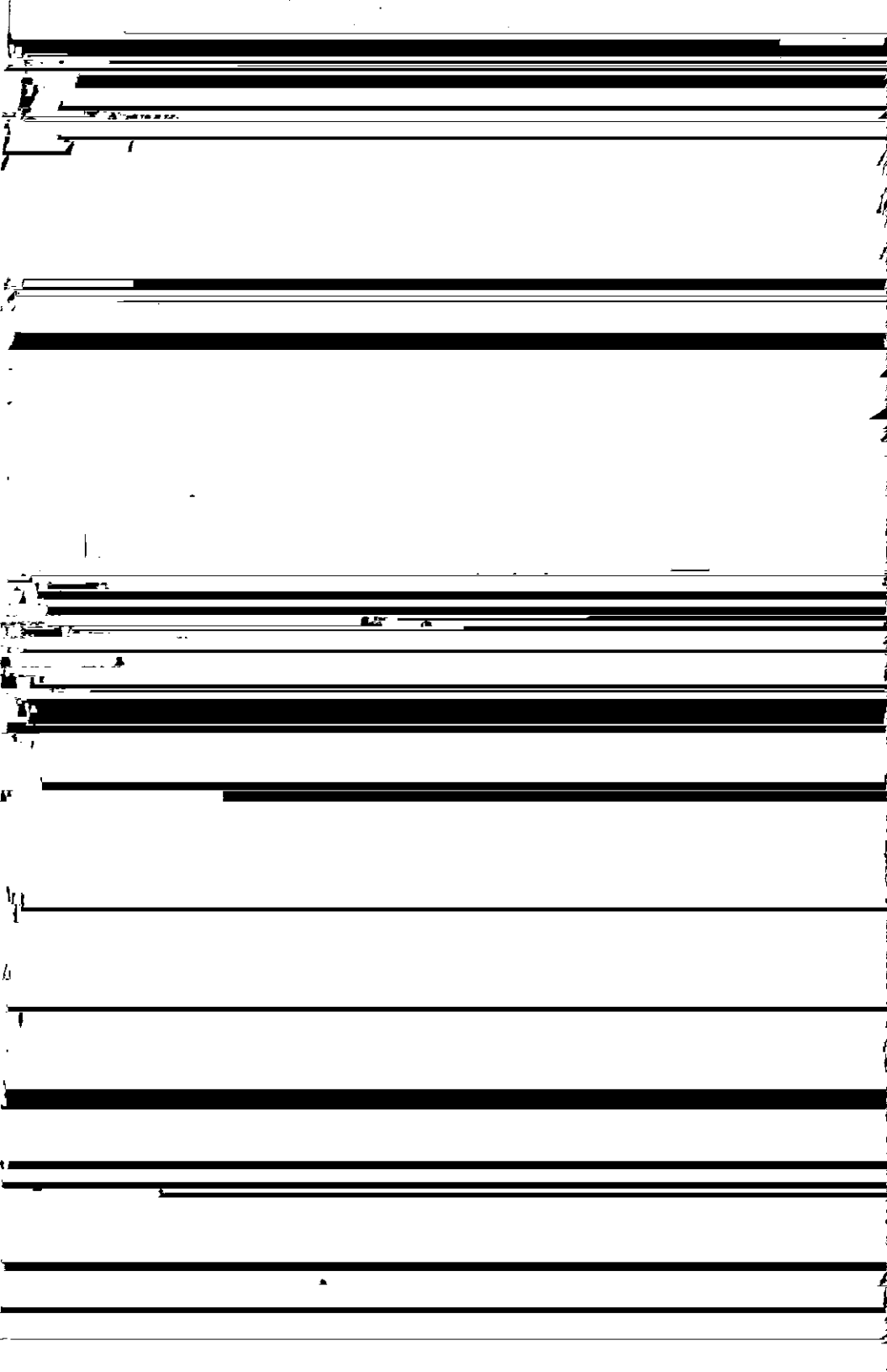
61

have felt compelled to uphold the virtues of nationalism, stress its liberal nature, ~~in part as its own inherent attraction and in part out its openness to diversity.~~



French Canadian woes (as pre-modern and early modern Quebec nationalists

~~of the 19th century) as being ineffective and futile by the 1990s~~



against the Anglo-Canadian "annexation": the very work in fact that limited

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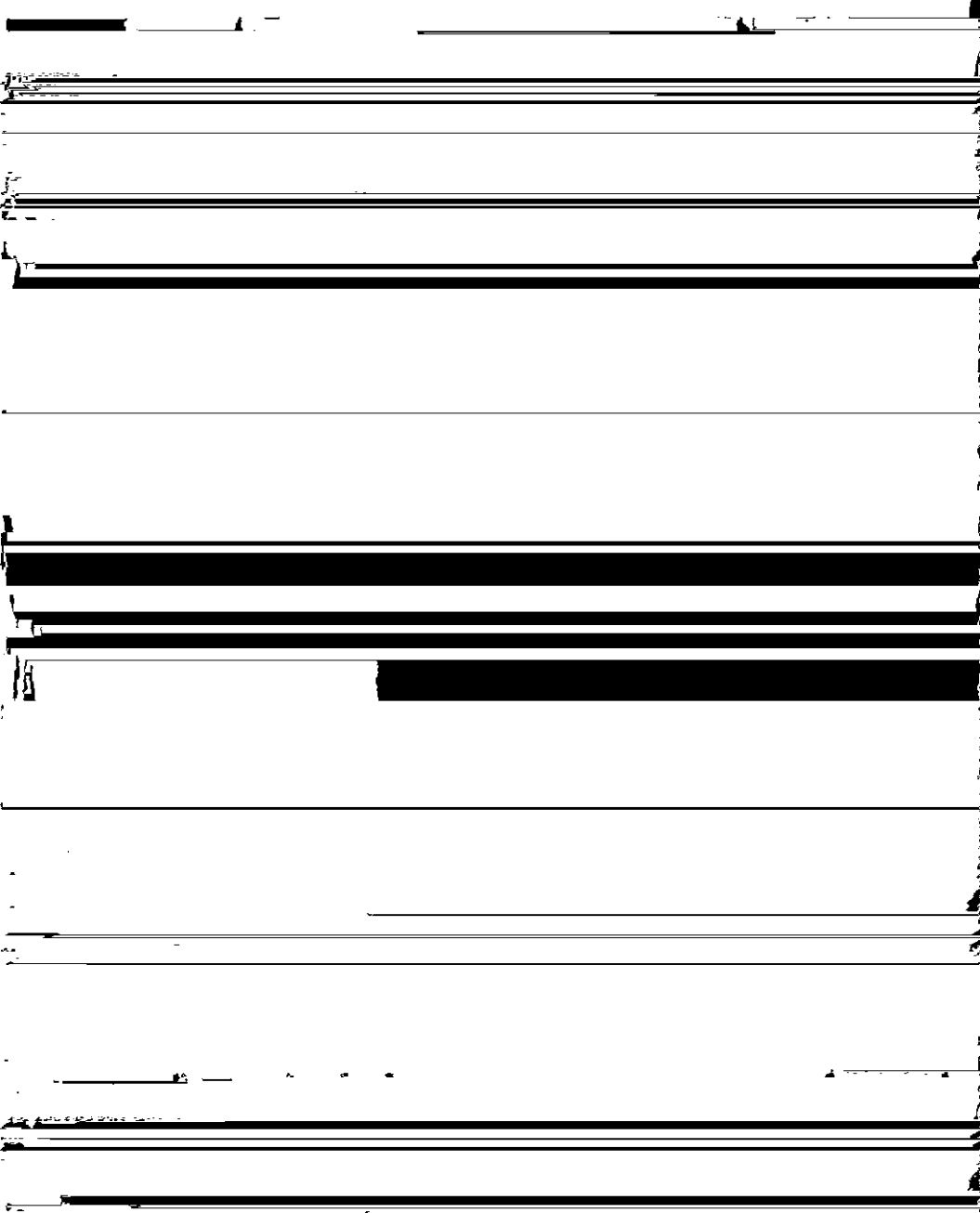
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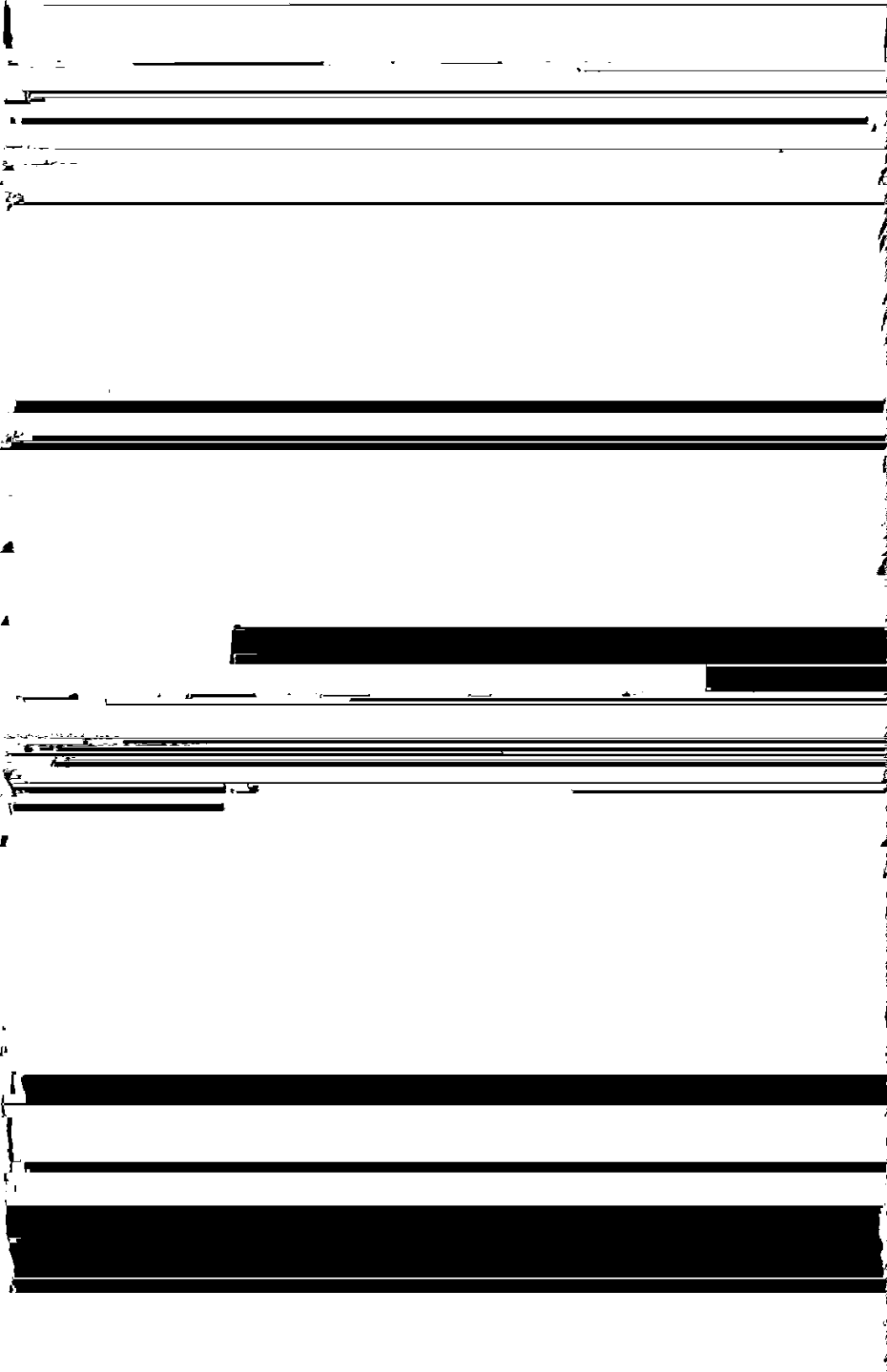


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of the Canadian state prevent Quebecers from developing fully and jeopard-

rests on prudent analyses and qualified evaluations of the situation. It often

many occasions weighed his own reputation to create as wide a coalition of



... of liberalization brings much less or reducing international competi

disadvantaged classes. Some still believe that it is the case of the P.A.D. for

significantly different outcome. Challenged by failing popular support

nationalists could even well beat the nationalist drum with added vigour in a

[The body of the page contains several lines of text that have been almost entirely obscured by heavy black redaction bars. Only a few faint characters and line structures are visible.]

9. Citizenship in this context is taken in its generic sense. As a provincial jurisdiction of the Canadian state, Quebec cannot formally deliver citizenship status

grand-régit collectif des Québécois" *Revue française de science politique* 42.

5(1992):765-85.

[REDACTED]

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nearly twice the general average. The same can be said for members of racialized

Québec d'accueillir de nouveaux immigrants en 1995, 1996, 1997 (Québec)

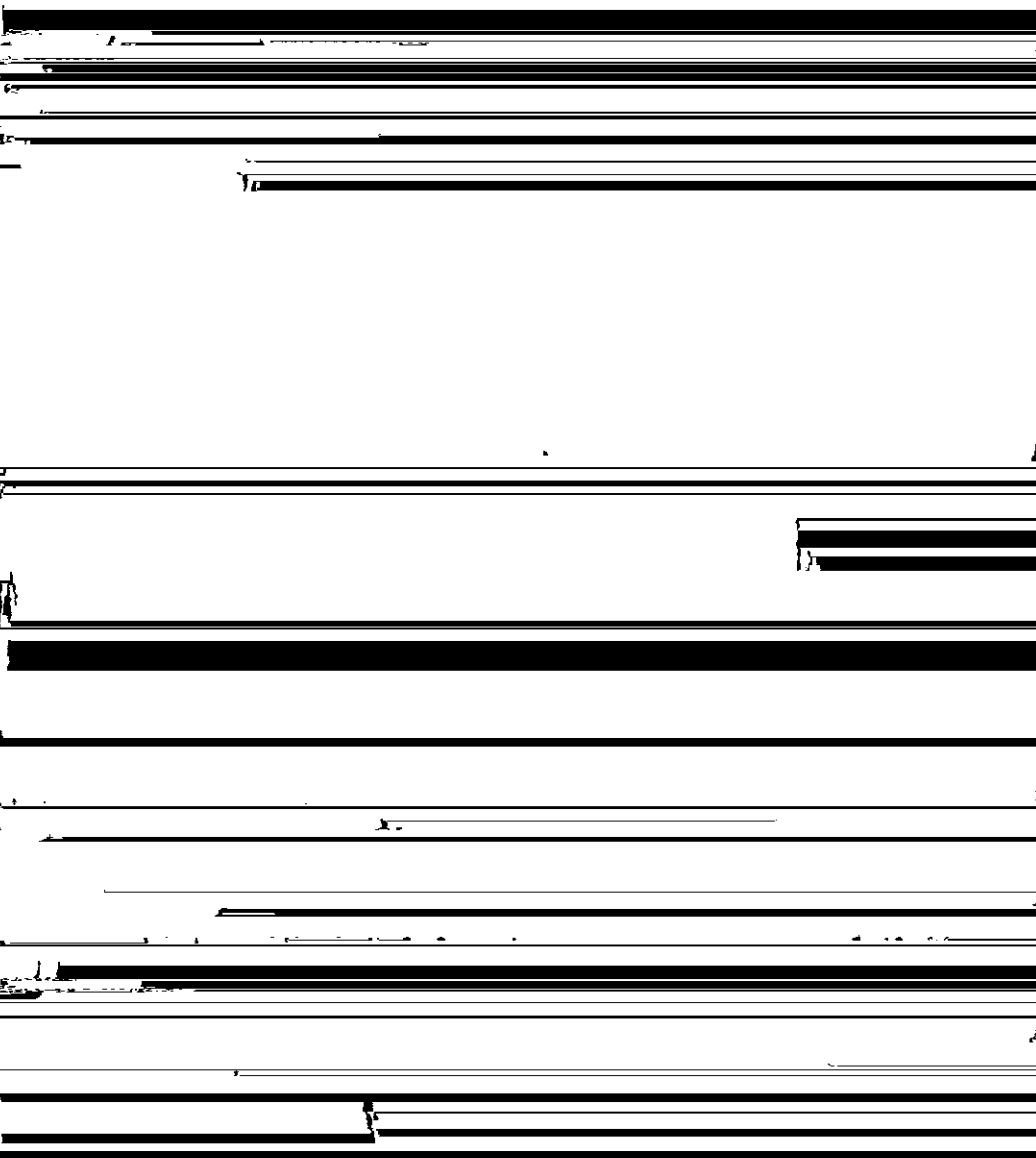
politicians and public intellectuals such as Senator and former Cabinet minister Claude Castonguay, *La Presse's* Editor Alain Dubuc and columnist Claude Picher, and a few others who essentially argued that the current way of doing things was

claimed that there is no such thing as a Quebec model, that Quebec is no differ

The Evolution of Ontario's Confederal Stance in
~~the Nineteenth-Century Confederation~~

Hugh Scott

governed during times that were as economically expansive as those in the



New Democrats 1974-84. *McGill Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11 (1974): 1-15.

Q. Did you receive ~~55~~ percent of Canada's immigrants while receiving

~~in 20 percent of total funding~~

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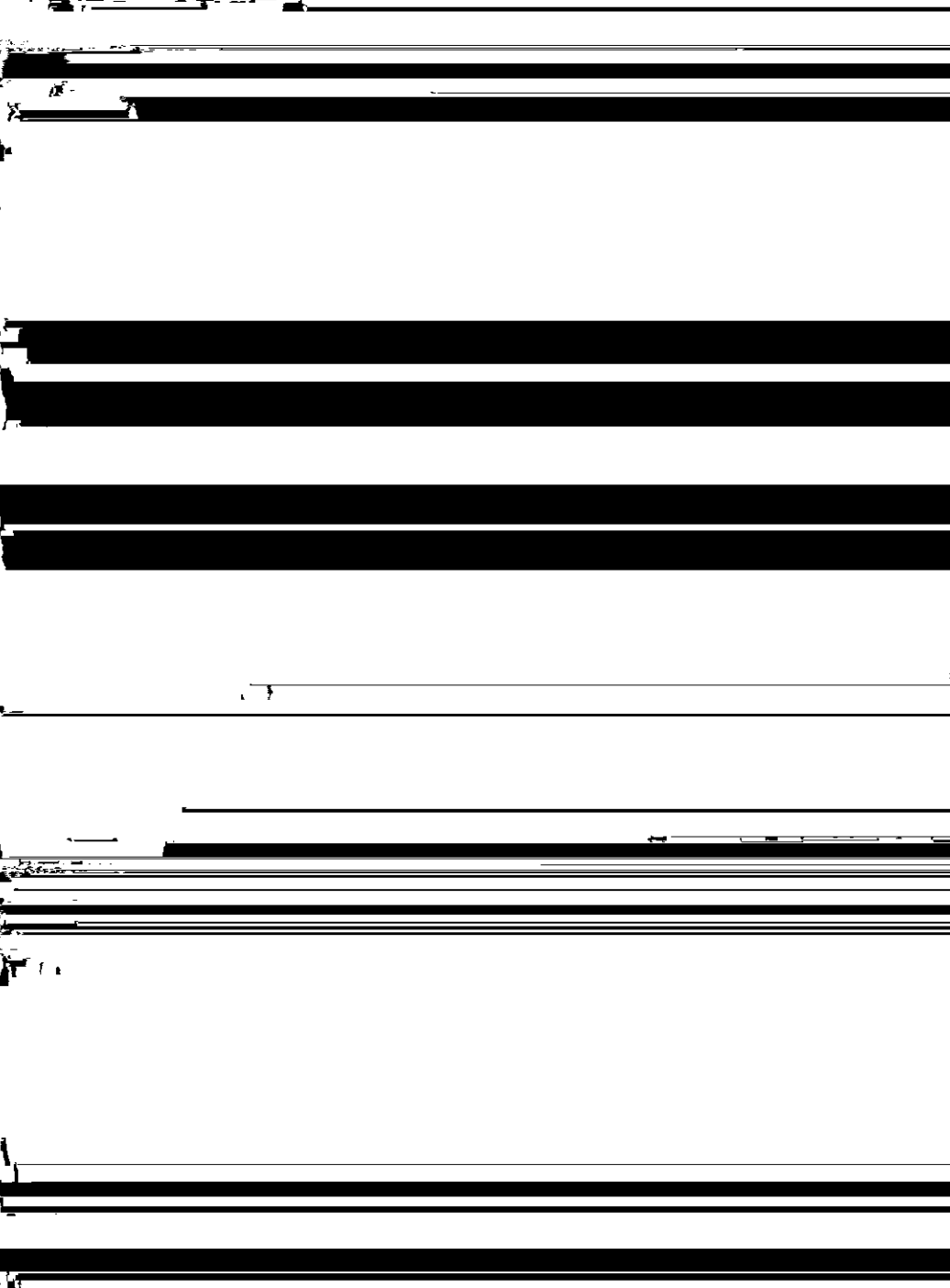
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unavoidable.

Agreed against the backdrop of Ontario's political culture, Premier Peo's

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We've learned from other countries. We've learned from Canadian premiers.



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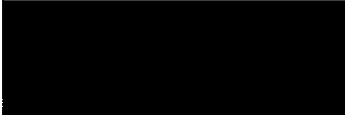
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the federalist cause in Ontario during the 1990s

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Social Democracy in a Neo-Conservative Age:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



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and inflationary monetary theories were ...

As the 1930s progressed, cooperation died off its partisan social demo-

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visionary objectives and feed neo-conservatism's momentum. But social demo-

of federal municipal cooperation. This would require organized labor and busi-



Evidence of partisan convergence came in the aftermath of Saskatchewan's

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100 million people in the world? The Association of Medical Science 43

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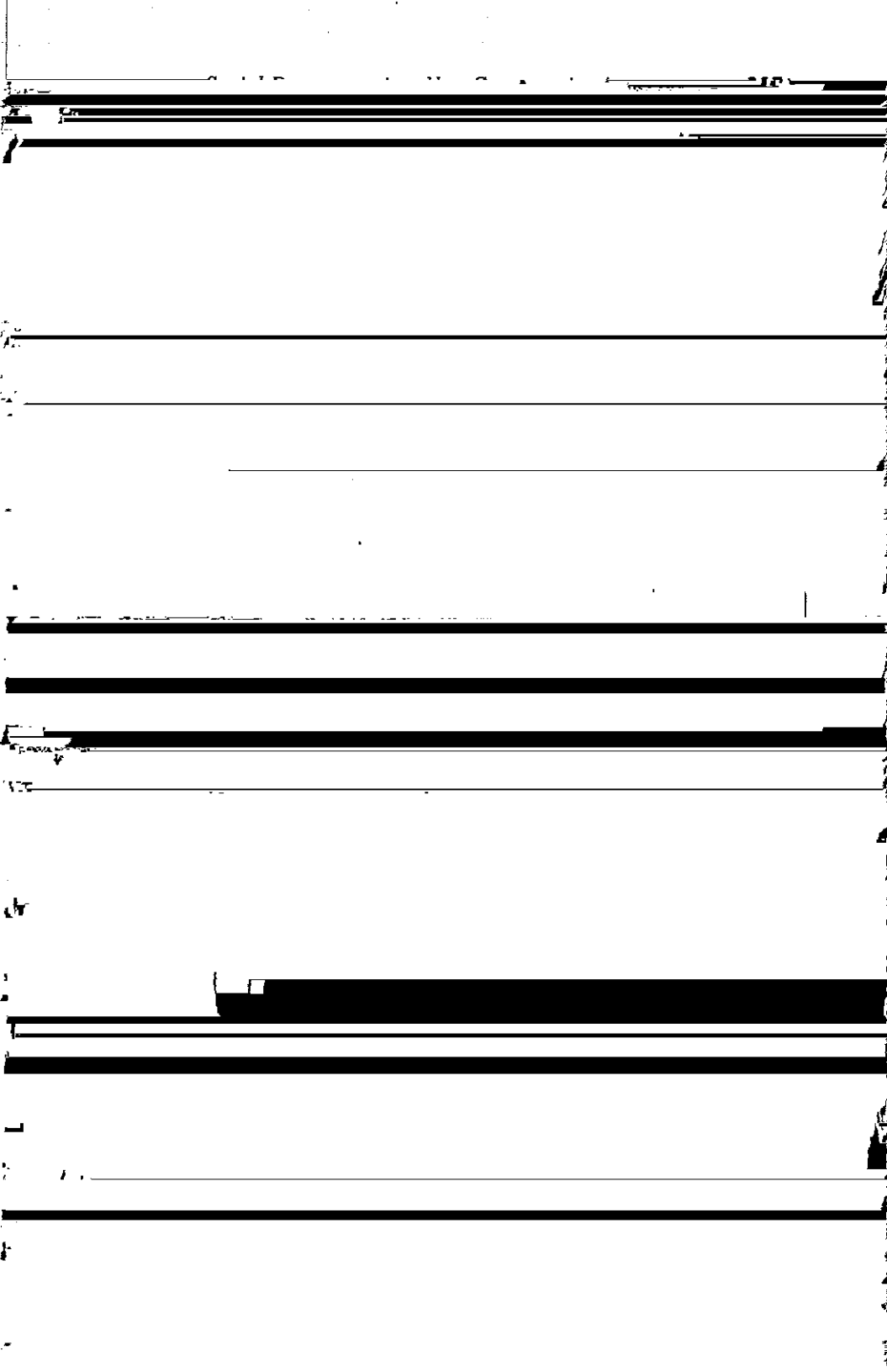
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of "free enterprise." On the policy front, Albertans have looked more posi-

2. C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*





b



54. Canada West Foundation, "The West and Globalization: How Should the West

British Columbia: Affordable Resentment,
Growing Ontions. Diverging Interests

traditional parties. The two more durable influences were also spawned on

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to the federation — the extraction of taxes — the central government had all the powers it required with no local cooperation required.

CHANGING UNDERLYING REALITIES

But alas, even measured in terms of purchasing power parity (a far gentler

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76°

Condon, Oregon

with Quebec and the Atlantic in mind. Agricultural programming is designed for the Prairies and Central Canada. Industrial development, cultural devel-

technically and grammatically possible states have been discovered that