

and to companies controlled by non-residents in Canadian companies listed on Canadian stock exchanges.” This was interpreted by the White House as an “egregiously anti-American piece of legislation” (55). Yet the result was that Americans did not retaliate by limiting Canadian access to capital.

The focus of chapter three is the Trudeau years. Ironically, American policy makers heralded Trudeau as a refreshing antidote to the “failures” of the Diefenbaker-Pearson years (93). Nonetheless, during the Trudeau/Nixon years we saw the relations between the two countries deteriorate, and Muirhead provides evidence of American dominance over Canada. While it has been well documented that Nixon and Trudeau did not have the rapport of previous heads of government, Muirhead does not link this interpersonal division as a cause for the policy division. Indeed, he takes great pains to provide the context of the economic conditions that seemed influence the Americans far more than personality.

In the second half of the book three case studies are provided, chapter four is on the wheat economy, chapter five on Britain and Canada moving apart and chapter six on the GATT and the EEC.

While Muirhead faithfully provides the economic history of the relations between the two countries, the book does not have an explanatory theory to help make sense of the shifts in policy over time. In terms of readability, while Muirhead for the most part makes dull policy negotiations interesting and informative with his extensive research, more analysis and linking of the events would be helpful to a general reader. One may be taken aback by how little analysis is provided between chapters or even in the conclusion. At the very least it would have been helpful to know why the book was organized the way it is. At the end of reading chapter three, one had the impression that the book was over since he concludes that chapter with the 1974 election. The reader is not provided the rationale as to why it should now focus on wheat in chapter four, which takes the reader back to the beginning of the trade in wheat since 1879.

The book will no doubt prove to be invaluable for the economic history of trade relations between Canada and the US, but it lacks the theoretical and analytical perspective to provide any insights into why events turned out the way they did.

LYDIA MILJAN *University of Windsor*

**Not this Time: Canadians, Public Policy and the Marijuana Question, 1961–1975**

Marcel Martel

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. x, 277

doi: 10.1017/S000842390808030X

It is said of the 1960s, “If you can remember them, you weren’t really there.” For those who need a refresher course, this book is an alternative to time travel. For the younger, post-1970s generation who literally were not there, this book tells them all they ever need to know about the history of Canada’s marijuana laws and why they have been so resistant to change. Considering that nearly three quarters of this current crop of young adults has tried marijuana, according to the Canadian Addiction Survey of 2004, perhaps they should be asking why the drug of choice for so many is still illegal. Martel’s detailed snapshot of this crucial 15-year period sets out the actors, forces and political pressures that are still very much a part of the ongoing and unresolved debate on drug policy reform in Canada.

Perhaps if Canada had actually moved ahead on the various reform bills that have been discussed and discarded since 1975, up to the demise in 2003 of Bill C-85

(that would have removed the possibility of criminal records for cannabis possession), this book would seem like a quaint anachronism. However, the spirit of the war on drugs is alive and well and currently reincarnated in the Harper's governments plan for an "anti-drug strategy." Martel's book encourages us to examine the key interest groups of this earlier era—students, police, the medical community and the pharmaceutical industry—when legislative change to reduce penalties seemed possible and ask what new players and influences have emerged to account for the current return to a more punitive approach.

Martel covers this formative period meticulously, providing a wealth of detail about how the "reefer madness" image of cannabis inherited from the 1930s was contested in the media, in Parliament, across provinces and between generations, to emerge as a somewhat more benign "recreational" drug. He first reviews the journalistic reporting of drug use in the media, noting that the exaggeration of scares (e.g., injuries, suicides) attributed to LSD and marijuana helped to create a moral panic over an emergent social problem. He also details the rise of the drug surveys which provided, for the first time, scientific evidence of the nature and scope of the new epidemic of drug use among young people. The not-always-welcome findings, that tobacco and alcohol still predominated and led to the most harm, helped to place the issue in broader context. The media, and politicians, also began to take notice of the potential widespread social harms that could result from labelling many young persons with a criminal record for the use of cannabis.

With the advent of the Commission on the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (1969–1973), a channel was opened to the government of the day, Pierre Trudeau's Liberal party. It quickly became crowded, however, with contradictory advice and interpretations of both the harms of marijuana and the deterrent effects of the legislation. University students demonstrated for legal pot and were told by the Prime Minister, "If you have a joint for your own use, you shouldn't be hassled." The police and especially the RCMP cautioned against liberalization of the laws with variants of the "it will open the floodgates" argument. The Canadian Medical Association could not agree on a policy recommendation, and a new body, the Council on Drug Abuse, jumped on the bandwagon of the "insidious threat to youth" posed by these illicit substances, an argument familiar to drug policy historians. No one was neutral, and the outcome, despite a majority report from the Le Dain Commission advocating repeal of the marijuana possession offence, was that the law did not change, then or in the next 30 years. Many of these themes recur in current debates.

The analysis of the differences evident among the provinces in how to respond to drug issues also resonates today. Although the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over the criminal law, health and education are provincial matters. All are grist for the drug policy mill, and Martel shows, for example, how the more tolerant political culture of Quebec contrasted with the more hard-line approach in PEI. The Ontario government worked closely with the federal health bodies, while the BC government partnered more closely with the RCMP in opposing marijuana liberalization. The latter is an interesting contrast to the current standoff between the Harper government's distaste for the Vancouver Safer Injection Site and desire among the mainly united front posed by the BC provincial government, local policy officials, scientists, health professionals and community groups for the continuation of this harm reduction program.

Martel concludes by raising many contemporary issues that have further complicated the marijuana issue, including the medicinal use of cannabis, international treaties, US influence, the Canadian Senate report in 2002 recommending legalization, proliferation of grow-ops and widespread use. In sum, this book offers a wealth of detail to the student of Canadian drug policy and its politics, and to the social historian who wishes to understand how some of our "disreputable pleasures" become

legal while others do not. It is to be hoped that someone, perhaps Professor Martel himself, will pick up where this story leaves off, and continue to analyze this ongoing saga. Perhaps, some day, there will be a “this time.”

PATRICIA G. ERICKSON *University of Toronto*

**The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Economic Policies in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States**

Monica Prasad

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006 pp. 328, ix.

doi: 10.1017/S0008423908080311

Following the Second World War many western democracies embarked on an expansion of their respective welfare states. This effort would be effectively stopped, even reversed, with the development of neoliberal policies within established parties of the right. In other states, neoliberalism was effectively blocked from affecting public policy. Monica Prasad's book is an effort to explain the success or failure of neoliberalism in western democracies.

Prasad looks at four states: France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Two of these states (the UK and the US) saw the emergence of powerful political movements on the right determined to introduce neoliberal public policy and reduce the size of the state. In France and Germany, such movements were muted and, ultimately, neoliberal policy prescriptions were not implemented. What can account for these differences in policy?

Prasad considers alternative explanations and rejects cultural or society-centred ones in favour of structural conditions that encouraged or discouraged adversarial politics in the four states. Prasad slays sacred cows by arguing that American exceptionalism is exaggerated and that the success of neoliberal policies in the UK and US are a result of the relative *strength* of the left in these two countries. The left brought the New Deal to America and the National Health Service to Britain. In both states, innovation (in the form of a critique of the welfare state) was made possible by extended periods in opposition, in the case of the British Conservative party, and by entrepreneurial politicians in the US who sought a public profile by adopting populist positions on tax cuts. This is contrasted with the more centralized institutional structures of France (where the right governed from 1958–1981) and federalist Germany, where the right held office from 1949–1969.

The comparison examines the period from the oil crisis of 1973 until German unification. The period chosen reflects the divergence in policy paths experienced by the four states. In each state, Prasad looks at three types of public policy usually associated with neoliberalism: tax, industrial and welfare state policy respectively. Prasad selects particular policies and legislation and explains why these policies either succeeded or failed. Over the course of the analysis, Prasad very ably dismantles the seeming consensus about national characters which are said to explain policy outcomes.

In the US, gains by the left generated an adversarial politics that generated populist movements against big government. The spark that ignited the Reagan Revolution was California's Proposition 13, a 1978 ballot initiative to amend California's constitution and limit property tax. The great popularity of this initiative led national political entrepreneurs, with the decline of party power and resources, in need of a public profile to embrace new ideas that would raise their political profile and fan the flames of populism. The primary legacy of the Reagan era is environmental deregulation (brought with a Trojan horse of deregulation generally), middle-class tax cuts