

# DEMOCRACY

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ocracy there is no good that is not a human good—good is that which enhances human life, which develops and enriches life, which leads to human progress and happiness. The good state is one in which men live noble and worthwhile lives, in which women are intelligent, unselfish and beautiful and in which healthy and happy children develop into a full maturity of capacities.

In his last public utterance as Prime Minister Lord Baldwin expressed this ideal in these words: "The Christian church declares the person to be supreme. The servile state denies this. Every compromise with the infinite value of the human soul leads straight back to savagery and to the jungles. Expel this truth from our religion and what follows—the insolence of dominion and the cruelty of despotism."

Now the totalitarian state denies this truth. It finds a value in the State over and above all purvey human or personal values. The state is the end for them and the individual is the means; the state is absolute whereas the individual or the group is relative and the state is all-inclusive. Outside the state no human or spiritual values exist yet the state is racial and national and so excludes most of mankind from itself. German writers place most emphasis upon the racial and blood nature of the state; they write of the unity of Germanic souls, of the Volkheit or folkness of the state, and of the nature or wesen of the state partly spiritual and partly biological—a nature or wesen which marches through history as a self-contained personality. Yet this nature can be injured by any mixture with blood of a non-Aryan race. This state, super-organic over individuals, lasts throughout time and can demand any sacrifice from any living individual or from all even unto death. Such a view of the state denies outright the infinite and supreme worth of the individual, the universal Fatherhood of God and human brotherhood and equally denies any universality to law, justice or freedom. Rights are not human but racial. Rosenberg states that "right is what the German race calls right and wrong is what they reject." Even truth and science are racial and not universal. The leaders of the German nation however can speak for this state and interpret its ends to the people. Hitler justified his blood purge in which he had murdered many of the leading men of the nation including his former colleagues and comrades of his movement on the ground that in the hour of supreme crisis he was the state and his judgment therefore was that of the highest court in the state. In the name of this super-state humans are tortured, confined in concentration camps or executed without trial at the word of Stalin or Hitler or their deputies.

For the situation in Russia has been even worse than in Germany because persecution has been even more widespread. Stalin carried away from their homes into captivity from two to ten millions of the Kulaks, or higher class Russian peasants, because they opposed the scheme of collective farming. Most of the children died by reason of the privations and hardships and the rest, with a large number of the adults, were taken as slaves to the state and used for construction work. At the command of Stalin from two to five millions of Ukrainian peasants were compelled to die of slow starvation because this tyrant wanted to teach the peasant farmers that they must grow grain for the Soviet state. These millions of children and adults were killed by Stalin just as truly as if he had himself become their executioner. There is nothing in all history more callous and brutal than the prolonged torture and death of these helpless people by starvation. Democracy has too often a deaf ear to many wrongs and sufferings but can one conceive it as deliberately torturing one helpless child for any end of the state? This "liquidation" of an entire class shows the barbarism of these totalitarian states. Dr. Dewey stated the other day with great truth that these acts are regarded as means towards worthy ends whereas means work back into ends and change the nature of the ends. An end that must be attained by such suffering and violation of human rights becomes unworthy of any civilized society.

The super-organism of the state has been supported by Fascists on the ground that this supreme emphasis upon personality is just selfish individualism. It is, we are told the old laissez-faire theory of selfish individualism and unrestricted competition—the seeking of individual satisfaction without regard to the whole group or to the future generations. But is this true? Need democracy be selfish and short sighted? Certainly not. The sum of single individuals taken in isolation do not make a state any more than the sum of all the cells in the body taken in isolation make up the living body. For cells taken in isolation cease to be living cells but the sum of all the cells in the organism taken in their actual relations and in their functioning do make up the organism. The body or organism is but another name for the totality of the cells taken in their concreteness and in their inter-relatedness.

A number of single individuals are

bitrarily selected and grouped do not produce a family but a family does consist of individuals related in a biological and social pattern. There is no super-mind other than the mind of the members of the family. The aims of the family may be unselfish and extend far in the future but nonetheless they exist only in the minds of its members. If these minds are intelligent and far-sighted the aims will be worthy and far reaching. Likewise the aims of the state exist in the minds of its citizens and if these are intelligent and noble the state aims will be far-reaching in space and time. In the dictator state these so-called organic aims are really those of the dictator and the good is his greatness and glory in most cases.

All the atoms that compose the atmosphere do not in their isolation by being added together make the atmosphere. An atom of oxygen is always found either in combination with another atom of this element or in combination with atoms of other elements. The individuality of oxygen is discovered in its properties, that is in its associations or patterns of behaviour and it cannot be found in oxygen in its isolation because it does not exist in this manner. In like manner persons do not exist in isolation but in associations in family, state, church or industry. But the person is the home of all values and in him is found the only mind or consciousness that society has. The pivot of progress is this mind of the individual; from his mind all new inventions arise, all discoveries have their origin. Moreover all moral good exists in the character of the individual, and he is the focus of or centre of all appreciations of value. A state that enriches these human minds or souls is a good state and to do this is the aim of democratic education. It seeks to afford some equality of opportunity for the development of all human capacities. Democracy seeks to develop the intelligence and evaluating capacities of its members that they may participate according to their several abilities in the determination of social aims and in the methods for their attainment.

The totalitarian state seeks to subordinate to itself and to comprehend all other associations of society. Democracy holds that the state is not the whole of society but is one association among other associations and a man may live his life in many associations and get help from all of them. The state has its peculiar function in providing that basic foundation of order, law and justice essential for well ordered social life. It may also act as umpire in dispute between associations and perform for the members of society such functions as it can do more effectively than other associations. But there are many functions that are more adequately performed by other associations and the well-being of the community suffers when the state overrides these associations as it does in the totalitarian states.

The struggle between religion and the state in both Russia and Germany is a case of state meddling to the detriment of the society. The Christian religion is not left to the conscience of the individual but is practically proscribed since the church is deprived of its teaching function and the state schools are anti-Christian in Russia.

The class antagonism or hatred that Russian Communism engendered is antagonistic to the Christian spirit of mercy, forgiveness and love and the "liquidation" of the aristocracy and the kulaks denies the Christian faith in the redemptiveness of man and the power of love and mercy. The Nazi racial and tribal concept of God is a religion that denies the brotherhood of man—a religion of force and hatred rather than one of love. Class persecution in Russia and race persecution in Germany bear witness to the pagan views of life and have led to religious persecution of Christians in both countries. A Nazi Conference of German Christians passed in 1933 the following resolution: "God has created me a German. God wants me to fight for Germany. War service is never a violation of the Christian conscience. It is obedience to God. The faithful have a right to rebel against a church which does not endorse without reservation the national uprising."

In the world of industry the totalitarian state exercises supreme control. The Russian state took over the entire production of goods. In large scale production there has been an increase of product but a co-operative movement among the peasants aided by state assistance would have avoided the wholesale murder of the kulak peasants and probably increased production and well being. In both Russia and Germany the laborer has been deprived of the rights they had won through their unions. In Germany wages are fixed almost entirely by the employer who is the leader in the factory and Germany is organized on the leader principle from Hitler down to the lowest strata of the community.

According to the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian April 4th, 1938, "the result of five years of Nazi rule has been to make the military class more dominant than ever, to protect and save from partition the large estates of the Junkers and to annihilate the labour movement for the reactionary clique of industrial and financial monopolists. Dr. Dewey, a very able and pro-

gressive thinker and one in sympathy with labour movements, states that the great lesson for American radicals and labour sympathizers to learn from the Russian situation is to go back and "reconsider the whole question of the means of bringing about social changes and of a truly democratic approach to social problems. Where violence is used to bring about economic and political reforms it must be continued to keep a government in power."

Democracy has given a large place to voluntary association in industry. Undoubtedly industry must be carried out partly through such associations and partly through state regulation and control. What combination of these methods is best is a matter for careful experiment. There are abuses in democratic production that any candid well-wisher would like remedied and it will not do for the reactionaries and privileged classes to cry Communism or Fascism to any sane attempt at reform or re-organization. We must seek for a better balanced and more wisely planned production, for a conservation of both natural and human resources and for a just distribution. The ideals of Democracy demand a smaller place for private profits and more actual brotherhood in the production and distribution of the means of life. We must learn wiser methods of production and a better spirit of co-operation but we must work out our reforms in the orderly methods of constitutional democracy. In this respect we may learn something from both fascism and communism. They have attained a certain unity to their people and avoided some of the evils of industrial class struggle.

Democracy depends upon free discussion and full investigation for unity and progress but dictatorships upon force and control. In a dictatorship the ends are fixed by the dictators and then scientists and historians are asked to find means to attain them. But no one dare question these ends. If he does he is a counter-revolutionary, guilty of treason, and may be summarily executed. Soviet Russia, says Chamberlain, has "shot, killed or driven into exile a higher percentage of its educated class than any other country in the world." Mr. Barmine, the Russian who recently fled from the Russian embassy in Athens to Paris to save his life states that all the founders of the revolution with Stalin except Trotsky have been killed and the latter escaped because he is in exile. In a dictator state where every difference as to ends is treated as treason there is bound to be underground revolutionaries and constant espionage, persecution, terrorism and executions.

In German freedom has been de-

stroyed whether of press, assembly, or of teaching. There is a ministry of propaganda and the entire educational system must teach Nazi doctrines in politics, history, biology and religion—for mark you, there is no universal science but only a Nazi or soviet science or history. Even literature is interpreted in Russia to bring out the class struggle. Then the radio messages, the press, the theatre and other such ways of imparting ideas are all regulated and controlled for Nazi or soviet aims. When all this is achieved and when the mass is educated by mass methods of emotional appeal there is left only the task of killing off the adults who will not conform and the unity or uniformity demanded is achieved. When a nation is thus hermetically sealed against all ideas from outside and the ideas within the nation are taught to all there is some chance of securing uniformity and education in these countries stresses obedience and conformity. People are conditioned but even then there is fear, espionage and constant terror for one cannot tell what ideas may percolate through to the mind of its members and ideas are potent realities. This is the dictatorship and there are those with an education similar to it in our country. Germany encourages science applied to industry and to problems of method but both Germany and Russia have banished many of their creative thinkers while others have been humiliated to be mere time servers of the state.

In democracy we permit ideas to fight ideas. It is better, cheaper and more effective to fight with ideas rather than with force. If the new idea is proven better it wins out to the advantage of mankind, or perhaps in discussion it is found that a combination of what is best in the several competing ideas is the best of all. We have learned that ideas can only be conquered by other ideas and not by killing off those who support them. In a democracy we use ideas as the essential means of stability and progress. We encourage differences of opinion both as to ends and to means. We have a constituted opposition who can present its ideals to the people for support and if they win they can change the policy of the country. There can be but one party in a dictatorship but in a democracy differences in parties is a means for discussion, experimentation and therefore for progress and reform.

The ideal of freedom is therefore fundamental for democracy. Surrender it and democracy becomes a dictatorship. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and public discussion, freedom of the scientist in his investigations, freedom of the University professor (Continued on Page Seven)



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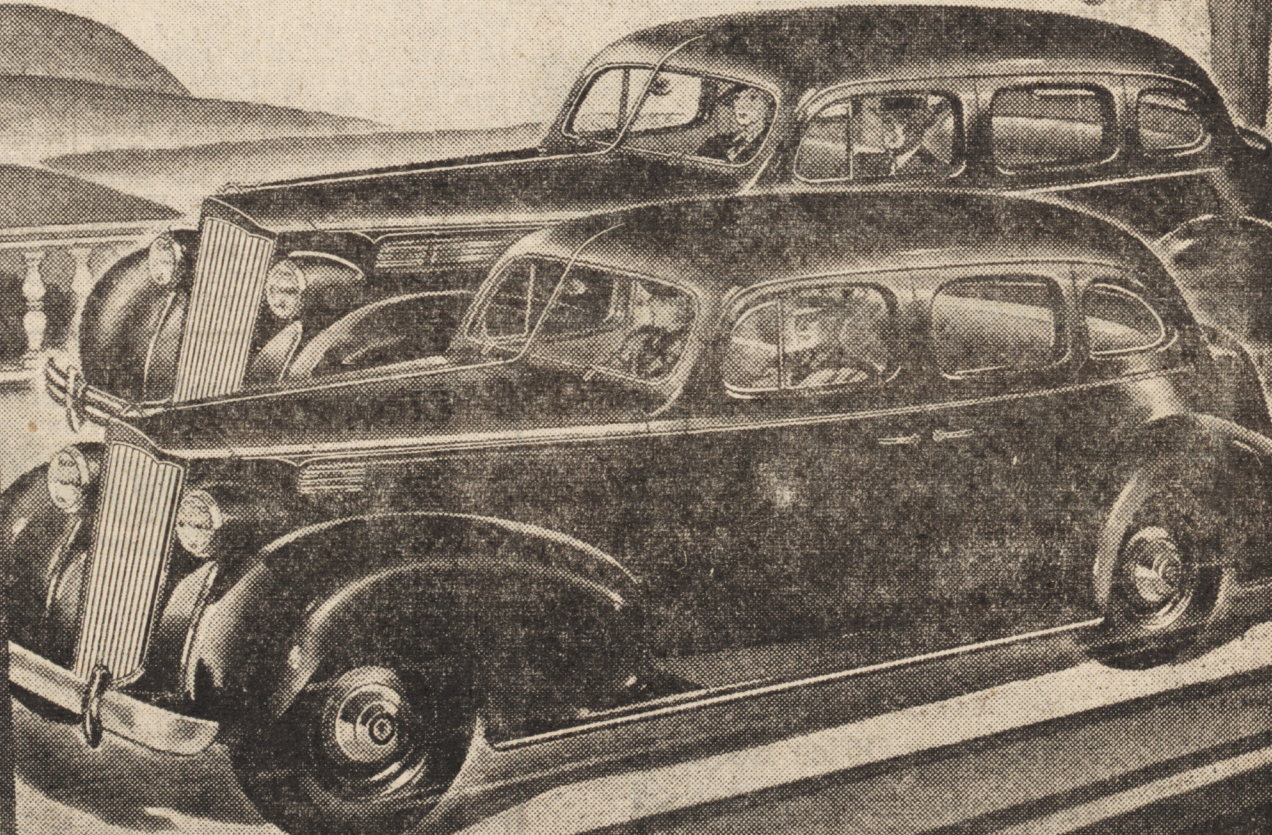
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