

TOPICS OF THE DAY

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT: JAPAN AND CHINA: GERMANY
AND THE JEWS: ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

THE Canadian people have obtained a change of government by formulating their demand in no uncertain fashion. This triumph of the Liberals was more than a victory: it was much rather like a rout. The election campaign itself was carried on with an unusual absence of bitterness, both in the oratory and in the literature that sought to persuade the suffrages of the people. There were no burning issues to set party feeling alight, or to move the masses to deep-seated indignation. Here and there, we had the inevitable incidents, when zeal out-ran discretion, and old hatreds broke out into heat, fire and smoke: but, on the whole, the election was a model of democratic orderliness. Perhaps the mellowing influences of the Fall season tempered the warmth of political strife. Be that as it may, the magnitude of the poll and the emphatic character of the decision rather suggest the silent determination of an electorate that had already made up its mind, and that refused to be shaken in its purpose by the blandishments of the platform or the mingled threatenings and entreaties of the Press. When the moment of decision came, it was but the point of registration for a social process which seemed to move on to an inevitable issue with the gathering momentum, and almost with the impersonal fatality, of an avalanche.

The absence of popular excitement during the period of the electioneering increases our astonishment at the result. Victor and vanquished were alike taken by surprise. On all hands, one encountered a vague impression that the Liberals were going to win, but not even the most sanguine prophets of success expected that the popular tide carrying Mr. King back to office would be so strong and wide-spread in its direction. The dark horses that had entered for the electoral race troubled even the most knowing tipsters of the party stables. Who knew how far the eccentricities of political temper that had placed Mr. Aberhart in power might have spread in other directions? Odds were heavy against the Conservatives, but there were rival claimants for the anti-government vote. The Reconstructionists had put an ambitious array of candidates in the field. There was a wide-spread belief that they would make a powerful appeal to the multitudes of disaffected electors who had been exposed to hardship during the economic

depression, and to the social reformers who were ready to declare "a plague on both your houses". It was a popular supposition that Socialist opinions, demanding even more radical change than the mild-mannered proposals of Mr. Stevens, had steadily gained ground, particularly in the mind of youth. Many were prepared for a considerable increase of strength in the representatives of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Some even dared to hope that Mr. Bennett might slip back into power through the divided character of the opposing forces. On the eve of the election, everybody was in the most profound uncertainty as to the outcome.

Among the surprising features of the election results, the most singular circumstance was the almost complete failure of the Reconstructionists. Mr. Stevens himself was the only candidate returned under the banner which he had flung so bravely to the winds of public opinion. However we may regard the *débaclé* that overwhelmed his party, nobody will regret the fact that the new parliament includes Mr. Stevens in its membership. He has been both sincere and courageous in his conception of public duty. He has revealed things that ought not to be left lurking in the dark; and he has proclaimed from the housetops doctrines that others have whispered in corners. In parliament, he has a point-of-view to represent, and a work to do. We may hope that he will have the fortitude to do it. But it is all too apparent that he has been unable to win any considerable allegiance for his cause. The record of deposits forfeited by his candidates is the surest witness to the fact that the Canadian people have not treated his programme seriously. His policies, in so far as he had formulated them, were too platitudinous, too nebulous, too vaguely idealistic for the making of a firm parliamentary platform. Occasionally an old party may be able to rely upon the force of discontent with things as they are to swing the electorate back to things as they have been; but an attitude of mere criticism will never carry a new party forward to things as we would like them to be. Mr. Stevens has announced that he intends to keep the party in being. The best advice his followers can adopt will be that of devoting themselves to a detailed programme of positive reforms. The magnitude of Mr. King's majority has ensured them ample time for the task.

The eclipse of the Reconstructionists was almost equalled by that of the C. C. F. Again, the leader was returned, and in this case a few stalwart henchmen will stand behind him. As with the leader of the Reconstruction group, the parliamentary scene will be enriched by the re-appearance of Mr. Woodsworth. He

has justly earned an almost universal respect throughout the whole Dominion and from members of all parties. Not only by his single-minded devotion to his principles and the personal integrity of his character, but by his knowledge and his capacity for debate, he adorns what is more important, because it is more permanent, than the mere changes of governments, the High Court of Parliament itself. Such facts only accentuate the failure of the Socialist party to win anything beyond the most fragmentary portion of popular favour. The Reconstruction Party was a gourd-like growth of a single night, beneath which Mr. Stevens might sit, Jonah-wise, contemplating the deplorable condition of our modern Nineveh; but the C. C. F. was a fully-constituted party, with a programme and a platform. It had secured the adherence of able men. One might have supposed that it would attract the support of a great many artisans, farmers, fishermen, not to speak of the considerable numbers of the unemployed. The students of our universities were said to have wheeled to the Left in their thinking, led in some cases, it was suggested, by irresponsible young professors, who were only in process of cutting their economic wisdom teeth. The election results gave no support to such anticipations. We are left with the reflection that, so far as the parties of social reform are concerned, if the Canadian people desire amendment of their evil condition, they are like St. Augustine, in his famous prayer for purity, who asked to be set free from his wickedness—"but, not yet".

How are we to account for the overwhelming character of the Liberal victory? The defeated parties are hardly likely to have a dispassionate judgment in the matter. Are we living in an age of "bloc" votes, when mass-psychology will stampede any electorate into an adoption of the favourite cause? Doubtless, the Conservatives regard the result as the latest example of popular ingratitude, in which the people have abandoned the man and the party who had toiled so long to keep the ship of state afloat during the dark threatenings of the depression years. They may extract some few drops of consolation from the reflection that the size of the parliamentary majority far exceeds a fair representation of the majority in actual votes cast. Reconstructionists and C. C. F.'s will unite in bewailing the invincible ignorance of the public mind; and they may turn to self-commiseration as they survey the magnitude of the forces arrayed against them—money, press, and political traditionalism. But, in the last resort, there is only one explanation of the victory. The people as a whole, rightly or wrongly, became persuaded that they wanted a change of government:

and they became further persuaded that the only hands competent to replace those of Mr. Bennett and the Conservative party were those of Mr. King and the Liberals. Nowhere was this more evidently true than in the Maritime Provinces: and it was almost as completely true of the Province of Quebec. It is not an unrelated circumstance that these are the great agricultural and fishing communities of Eastern Canada. Quite obviously, the rural folk have become convinced that the Bennett régime was not favourable to their interests. They voted steadily, almost silently for the candidates they wanted, and we now know who they were by the indisputable verdict of the ballot-boxes. We have got a Liberal Government for the next five years.

Our next concern is with what the Liberals propose to do. It would not be an unfair comparison of the new Prime Minister with his immediate predecessor to suggest that he appears as a representative of the academic tradition rather than as a man of affairs. He gives the impression of quietness and deliberation in judgment, rather than of the hustler who wants to get things done in a hurry. And yet, he has lost no time about getting into action. Hardly had he taken his oath of office than he was in Washington concluding a trade-agreement with the United States of America. Mr. King had already accepted a qualified adherence to the principle of the Ottawa Agreements, which were the foundation of the Bennett economic policies. These will remain with all their undoubted benefits, but they will be modified considerably in the direction of a less restricted policy of world trade. The aim will be a general lowering of tariffs with a view to an increase of reciprocal Agreements, although there is not the least likelihood of a thorough-going adoption of free trade.

The immediate signs of our times suggest that we are entering a period in which questions of international policy are going to be a major concern for every Government that pretends to claim an effective place in the life of the world. A wide-spread sentiment seems to be abroad in this Dominion, sometimes fostered by people who should know better, that Canada can afford to take a very minor share in the direction of international affairs. This attitude is adopted on one or all of several grounds. Sometimes it is represented that our population is so small that our influence must be insignificant. Again, we have the affectation of a superior, almost a supercilious moral attitude, in which we are entreated to leave the uncultivated Europeans to their unseemly brawlings. Or, yet again, we are told that Canadians have no interest in the entanglements of world politics. Let us frankly mind our own busi-

ness. These pleas vary in their degree of worthiness. If economic Sanctions are to be a new weapon in compelling the mad dogs of militarism and nationalism to come to heel, Canada begins to leap ahead into the position of a major world power. From the economic point of view, we are not an insignificant people. We are, in fact, much more like a first-class power. International relations are not exempt from the general maxim that great influence carries at the same time moral responsibility for its exercise. To whom much is given, from him much shall be required. Canada should be the last nation to stand outside the collective system of security—what other security have we? For this reason, we regret the somewhat hesitant notes that have been introduced into our witness at Geneva in connection with the present international tension. This is all the more regrettable in view of our brave witness, when the questions of economic Sanctions were first mooted. There are narrowly nationalistic tendencies among some of the Government supporters that must be carefully watched by all who are jealous for our good name before the world.

Mr. King will stand or fall by the same tests which were applied to his predecessor. How far can he contrive to bring us towards the realisation of an economic democracy? Liberalism by tradition is the champion of freedom; but the new freedom is to be achieved in the region of the economic life. By economic democracy we mean simply this—the securing of a general level of well-being among the plain, ordinary folk of the world—fishermen, lumbermen, farmers, store clerks, shop girls, factory hands, working men—and the professional classes such as physicians, teachers, ministers and lawyers. If he can keep his eye steadily on that objective, and can do something about it, the premier's election will have justified itself.

JAPAN, with her ambitious policies of aggressive action, continues to dominate the far eastern situation. And, in our pre-occupation with things occidental, we ought to keep steadily before our minds the realisation that, with the dawn of the present century, the dialectic of history began to move the storm-centres of the world to the Pacific. The East presents us with problems and tensions of a much more complicated character than anything we know in the West. Questions of colour and race, differences of religion and culture, the economic and political penetrations of Europe, and, above all, the existence of two great sub-continental

regions—Australia and Canada—as yet, relatively unoccupied, all contribute to the intricacy and the urgency of the issues involved.

A good case could be made out for regarding the nations that are troubling the peace of the world to-day as the victims of a neurotic condition. Psychologists tell us that an unhealthy mental life, which breaks out into violent anti-social conduct, is often created by the repression of certain vital interests, either through some unfortunate emotional experience, or through some failure in self-discipline. The activities of modern Germany betray all the symptoms of hysteria, while Italy presents us with a clear case of paranoia. Japan has a well-defined fixation. The British Empire is flattered in being the object of that mental attitude. There seems no doubt Japan has conceived her destiny as that of becoming the Britain of the East; possibly, in the depths of her subconscious mind, she cherishes the dream of being the centre of the next world Empire. The analogy which has helped to fasten this almost impersonal idea on the mentality of Japan is sufficiently striking to be worthy of study. The Japanese, like the British, are an island people, living in just sufficient geographical detachment from a great continental region to be unusually self-conscious of themselves and their destiny. Long struggle with a soil stubborn enough in its response to forbid indolence of mind or body has bred a hardy and tenacious race, quick-witted, and endowed with much practical ability. During the second half of the nineteenth century, their entire cultural life was revitalised by a Renaissance through contact with European ideas and manners. The Japanese are the only eastern people who have taken universal education seriously, and to-day their standard of literacy is as high as that of any country in the world. Great numbers of her young men flocked to the universities of Great Britain and America, where they devoted themselves to the study of pure and applied science. Their army was remodelled on the pattern of the German military forces, but, more significant still, their navy is a close imitation of the senior service, which has been so long the pride of the British people. This was the Japan that achieved such a notable victory over Russia in the very opening years of our century. For the first time in history, a coloured nation defeated a white nation in war. The effect of that event was to arouse the already awakening life of the East from its long sleep of centuries.

As in all nations with imperialistic obsessions, the motives that direct the Japanese policies are very mingled. Japan has a large population, and, on the whole, she is deficient in raw materials

and agricultural land. Her spectacular industrial progress has made her the great manufacturing nation of the East, but it has been achieved largely through the employment of cheap labour, and under such dreadful social conditions that the inevitable spirit of revolutionary radicalism has spread among the working people. She must have territory to provide markets, to ensure supplies of raw materials, to guarantee spheres of influence, and, if necessary, to make room for expansion of population. All these circumstances, which form such a remarkable recapitulation of western social history in the life of an eastern people, were stimulated in addition by a sense of race inferiority, as for example, when the bars of colour discrimination were set up against her by the people of North America in matters of immigration. Nevertheless, these factors have only increased her submission to the grand *idée fixe* of commercial and imperial expansion.

The vast Asiatic continent provides the natural stage on which Japan may expect to act the part she has rehearsed so assiduously in her sub-conscious mind. The Russo-Japanese war gave her a foothold, which she rapidly converted into a means of *entrée* into Korea. Beyond that lay China, with a teeming population, an immemorial culture, and a strong sense of racial superiority, which regarded all other peoples, including the Japanese, as barbarians. But, with the picture of the British *Raj* dangling before her mind, might not a policy of steady penetration, economic, political and military, achieve similar results for another island people?

For twenty-five years Japan has maintained a steady, unrelenting pressure on the Chinese people. Treaties, concessions and pacts have all been subservient to the master-design of ultimately subjugating her mighty neighbour. Every occasion of momentary weakness has become an opportunity for making a fresh inroad of territorial or commercial conquest. The disaffected condition of China, also in process of a re-birth, but of a very different character, provided opportunities for the pursuit of these insidious policies. Beyond China, the Japanese have always kept their eyes on Russia, and some of the more daring spirits among them have seen the glittering prize of India itself.

With the invasion of Manchuria and the creation of the puppet state of Manchukuo, relations between Japan and China entered upon a new phase, and became an object of international concern. China appealed to the League, and for the first time in its history the League attempted to apply moral Sanctions. The only effect was the resignation of Japan from the Geneva Assembly. There is no doubt that the final effect has been to weaken confidence in

the ability of the League of Nations to take any real steps in bringing an aggressor state to a halt. We cannot wonder if China, in particular, has the very gravest doubts in that connection. On the other hand, the experiences in attempting to handle the Manchurian situation have not been entirely negative in result. The present determination to apply more drastic Sanctions in the case of Italy's attack on Abyssinia is, to a considerable extent, directly due to the lessons learned in dealing with the previous dispute. Critics of the League should remember the novelty of the new international strategy of collective action, and the immense difficulties in the way of its adoption. But the difficulties in the way of its failure are greater still.

With the emergence of the present Italian-Abyssinian crisis, Japan has been true to her consistently adopted policy. The camel has taken advantage of the occasion to nose its way a little further into the tent. The impertinence of our new aggressors is most engaging. Italy sends out her cohorts of bombing planes on a mission of civilisation in Africa! Japan becomes concerned about the liberation of North China from the tyranny of the Nanking government! She becomes agitated lest China should fall a victim to the financial Imperialism of the British Empire! These impudent suggestions deceive nobody, least of all the Chinese, who, whatever their faults, are neither stupid nor simple-minded. There is a general feeling that a step too far has been taken, and Japan has betrayed her own sense of a weak case by announcing at least a temporary halt to her policies in Northern China. But it is obvious that the arrest made in the attempt to penetrate China with Japanese influences is only very temporary. The Japanese hand has been shown, and it is only a matter of time until the game is resumed.

The effect of the new demands has been to project a long-delayed crisis in the Sino-Japanese question. The Chinese leaders have been very patient and conciliatory hitherto, largely because they have had no alternative. But they realise that if they are to capitulate once more, before long the camel will be inside the tent altogether. No Government can pretend to any authority if it can acquiesce in external interference to the extent of having the character of its personnel dictated abroad. It must have command of its own financial policies. It would appear as if the National Government is, at last, able to take measurable steps towards the colossal task of establishing an administration in a vast population hitherto almost completely devoid of political traditions in any modern sense of the term. It may be that the Japanese have taken

that one step too far which will provide the necessary emotional stimulus, hitherto wanting, to arouse the sense of national unity in the Chinese people. If such should be the effect, China will not require the assistance of Geneva to deal with her neighbours.

THE Jewish people in Germany are now beginning to experience the full effect of the decisions taken at the Reichstag sessions held at Nuremberg some months ago. The regulations for the enforcement of the latest anti-Semitic policy amount to a pogrom, which aims at nothing less than the complete extinction of the Jewish race in Germany. People of Jewish descent are to be divided into two classes, which are reminiscent of the terms quad-roon and octoroon, used in another racial connection. The unfortunate non-Aryan, who presumably had no responsibility in the matter, is to be evaluated by the character of his grandparents. Three Jewish grandparents put him beyond the pale. If he has fewer grandparents of the tainted stock (i. e. two or one), he is to be classified as a *Mischling*. Even then, he is by no means free from interference. One *Mischling* may not marry with another; for the Mendelian principles on which racial percentages are to be calculated would thus be disturbed. The offspring of twenty-fivers or "fifty percenters" are to receive a special education to fit them for the racial destiny to which the indulgent grace of the compassionate Nazis has elected them. By this means, it is confidently expected that the detestable taint will be eliminated, and a good one hundred per cent. German family will be founded.

The full blast of the Nazi persecuting fervour is to be directed against those unfortunate Jews on whom the odium of racial heritage is to descend from the height, at least, of the first or the second generation. They are not only to be banished to the ghetto, but an economic boycott, directed by the most vehement social pressure, is to be instituted against them. All Jews in the employment of the Government, regardless of their record of service, are to be placed on a suspension list, where their names are likely to remain permanently. Relations of trade or industry with the despised race by Aryans who so forget their cultural dignity as to engage in them, will expose such rebels to something worse than mere social censure. When the direction of public life falls into the hands of uninformed bandits, who are granted a plenary indulgence by the ruling powers for their activities, the political virtues become the manners of the bully, the informer,

the sneak and the blackmailer. The pogrom against the Jews will extend to all who have any commercial dealings with the despised race.

Centuries of experience have so inured the Jew to the ignominies of race discrimination that it is not likely his spirit will be crushed by the new outburst of social obloquy to which he is now being exposed. With that capacity for patient endurance of suffering which he began to learn in pre-Christian days, not even the dreadful indignity of having 12,000 names of Jews, who died for the Fatherland during the War, expunged from public Memorials and Rolls of Honour is likely to move anything deeper than an increase of contempt for his oppressors. His children will be able to comport themselves with passive dignity before the insults with which they are greeted in the public streets. The Jew will find ways of educating his young people, even if they are excluded from the public schools. But it is evident that Germany does not intend to tolerate him even in his ghetto. The policy is to drive him out of the land, now and for ever.

It is very difficult for anyone outside of Germany to enter into the present temper of her people. Evidently, they are living on the edge of their nerves. Hitler has been accepted and actively supported by classes in the nation who must be continually offended by his activities. They deny the finest traditions of their heritage simply because they fear an even more detestable régime may be lurking in the background. National Socialism is kept alive by a mingled frustration and desperation. We might even extend an appreciative indulgence to the belted Dictator with his regiments of rowdies and their methods of dragooning the public mind, if they were the expression of some sanely conceived plan of national revival. Cromwell may not be the ideal of permanent political authority, but there are times in history when his appearance is the only hope of national salvation. Our conviction that the Brownshirts are not Ironsides is confirmed by the mean irrationality of their attack on the Jews. It is a strange sense of racial superiority that can find energy for the violent repression of a group, numbering in all about half a million, in a population such as that of Germany. If the accusations against the Jews of underhand dealing and financial conspiracy have any foundation, surely means of dealing with such a situation should not be beyond the wit of a dictator. If the Jew is a perverter of public morals, let the Germans find ways of compelling him into righteousness. But the chief crime of the Jew is not his social defects; it is his success at whatever his hand has touched.

The policy of modern Germany in dealing with the Jew is not only morally offensive, it is politically foolish. Dean Inge has written: "The Jew has stood at the graveside of all his persecutors". Hitler is not likely to succeed in an old social experiment, which the Jew has continued to outlive. Long experience has taught the ancient race many tricks in the finesse of riposte, that will only infuriate the Nazis. Already we are told that the smuggling of currency by emigrant Jews has caused serious financial worry in Germany. The day may come when Germany will want friends badly, and the Jew makes a powerful enemy. Surely, in this respect, the British have the better political wisdom. They have learned to treat the Jew as a human being, and he has responded to the treatment by becoming the best of citizens. They have opened the highest offices of State to him, and he has proved worthy of their confidence. It is probably expecting the impossible to look for any reversal of the anti-Semitic policy in Germany, and protests from the civilised world will be made in vain; but the diversion of reforming zeal into this unfortunate channel will not help to rehabilitate the national fortunes, and that is one of the most important concerns of the whole modern world.

ACADEMIC freedom has become a subject of international concern. In the month of August, when the natural man seeks temporary release from his labours, the more ardent spirits endeavour to combine recreation with mental improvement. It is the time of the summer conferences. This year, 1,500 delegates from many countries attended an important series of meetings held in Oxford under the auspices of the World Education Congress. Among the topics that engaged the attention of this distinguished gathering, the subject of Freedom was singled out for special discussion. The question of Academic Freedom was felt by some of those present to be of such importance that a Committee of Vigilance was appointed to take action in any case where a flagrant attack is made on liberty in academic instruction.

Discussion of this subject is most opportune. Freedom and truth lie close together in human life. The witness to liberty of discussion in the search for truth, for which Socrates gave his life, has to be renewed in every generation, not least in our own. For instances of menace to the freedom of teaching, we have to look not only to those notorious examples in the modern world where the whole educational system is compelled to become subservient to a propagandist interest. Among ourselves, we hear too often

of covert attacks on professors who venture to place question marks against things as they are. Particularly in the regions of politics and economics, there is a disposition that sometimes breaks out into public criticism, for the silencing of academic intervention. It is actually held by some that the professor, especially in a state-aided university, is a civil servant, and therefore he must have no political opinions; or, if he has, he must keep them strictly to himself.

The other side of the question is that freedom can be exercised only within the limits of an accepted responsibility. This is particularly true of the academic teacher. If he cares to use it, he has a place of peculiar influence on the life of the state. Universities, when they fulfil their true function, are the germinating beds of new ideas. These new attitudes are determined in the mind of selected youth, who are preparing to become the leaders of public life. For this reason, the professor, if he is to make good his claim to freedom in the work of teaching, must discipline himself, both in mind and in character. His equipment is as much moral as mental. The pursuit of truth belongs to the temper as much as to the intellect. He must enrich his mind by wide and accurate study, so that he can confront the nostrums of the present and the prejudices of the past with the criticisms of historical research and the tests of patient experiment. But, to the qualities of a judge, he must add the zeal of an evangelist, for dispassionate detachment never yet inspired youth.

We may recollect that Plato in the *Republic* proposed to hand over the government of his ideal city to the philosophers; but, for him, the philosophers were not to be propagandists for the latest theories; rather "spectators of all time and of all existence". Probably he was over-optimistic in his estimate of the qualities likely to be produced by an educational process conceived even after his own noble ideals. Freedom in itself is never an absolute right, and no society can ever forego the final right to expel the teacher whose influence is corrupt or sinister in its effects. Nevertheless, to put the matter quite bluntly, in matters of political activity, for every professor who is likely to pervert the public mind by the rashness of his utterances, there are ten industrious busybodies who are seeking their private advantage by engagement in some party cause. Not all our members of parliament are single-minded servants of the public good. There have been too many scandalous alliances of business with politics to warrant our leaders of industry and commerce in being too outspoken when some ardent academic

theorist is reckoned to overstep the bounds of scholastic propriety. Even so, our critics need not be over alarmed. There is enough reactionary opinion in our universities to counteract any emphasis on political radicalism. The gravest danger of an attack on academic freedom is that it may increase the number of those enemies to youth who turn the chair of the professor into the seat of the scornful.

J. S. T.