

Dr. Whitton's Address

of Christ, of the generations of our modern world, who latterly sought their realization by the universal extension of the right to vote to all the people in the illusion that the right to a vote would mean a vote for the right. — and therefore just and good and decent and honourable things for the good of all.

BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRACY

Instead, what has come about has been too largely and widely just a transfer of power to an increasingly diffuse and indifferent and uninformed body, — the people. And ignorance and error have been rampant, since, as John Morley, says: "It is an old story, error somewhere in certain stages, where there is enough of it, actually does good, like vaccination."

Loss of Responsibility: The first and greatest corroding force in this internal decay of Democracy is the lessening or loss of any deep sense of responsibility on the part of elector and elected alike. There is little thought of serious study, of honest searching to know and espouse what is the cause of the common good, of seeking good for itself, or a regard for itself and its own and of itself, with all that such a precious right implies.

Sheer Inertia: Related and allied to the lack of much sense of responsibility for their government is the sheer indifference and inertia of the great mass of free electors. It is not an age of interest or concern with ideas, (and Democracy is a concept of the mind) but with material things.

Educational "Stoppiness": This evil preference is bred in part in our educational tenets. One school of so-called educationalists argues that the pupil should be taught "not to learn facts but to think."

W. S. "THINKING"

It is so easy to swim with the tide and the tide is afloat with so many swimming the same way, of press and radio and television, easy commentaries, vast conformity in the colourful propaganda that has us all living so uniformly the same way, eating so many different brands of almost the same foods, (and saving their cereal tops for contests), wearing clothes styled to standards, changing just enough to stimulate profitable competition but not too great departure from a common norm; indulging in the same recreations, driving cars of the year's prescribed make, shifting to the hair-do's, cosmetics, sport shirts, fishing tackle, or what have you — even to the diapers and baby formulae — of changing mass dictates.

In a material discontent we are off with the old, just because it is old, not because it is worn or useless, and on with the new, whether it be new garments, or gadgets, or manners, or morals, a new wife, a new husband, or a new faith, — change merely for change's sake, as publicity and propaganda call the tune, and never with satisfaction, never with rest to body, mind or spirit.

Leisure, so long sought, for the recreation of mind and body, has become "waste time" and the great number of the people, to be used in commercial entertainment, "sports" instead of games, passive exposure to amusements organized and marketed for willing away the hours, or capitalizing the love of risk in the affairs of "skill and chance" that in this blend make legitimate an otherwise illegitimate undertaking.

Though, to be just, there is, too, a deliriously anxious desire to be of value and service in their day in the unprecedented extent of fraternal, religious, charitable, service and general community enterprises in which so much of humane, individual endeavour is generously outpoured. But, to greater and greater degree, mass organization, routine procedure, mass "marketing", and mass publicity tend to obscure and to absorb much of the original spontaneity and individual service of the citizen in the publicized "cause."

THE PRESS & DEMOCRACY

The anaesthesia of indifference and irresponsibility evident in so large a portion of the electorate is, in part reflected in — as well as indeed, in part, a reflection of — the attitude of a great section of the press.

There remain, journals, both large and small, courageous and certain champions of freedom, truth, honour, forthrightness in the functioning of our governments, but the number grows of those who make licence of their freedom, and with whom a sensational headline is more than a citation for decency and devotion to duty, who would rather provoke controversy, for the sake of circulation, than advance op-

operation for the sake of good citizenship and good government.

An informed, reliable truthfulness is to the conscience — democracy as a whole what the voice of conscience is to the honourable citizen in a free democratic state; in the lack of either democracy is impaired; in the lack of both it is doomed.

THE "POLLSTER"

But, lest an editor here, an individualist there, play other than the People's Pied Piper tunes, and so lead to dangerous deviation in ideas or even rouse a hunger for speculation or for thought, there in the newest by-product of our declining Democracy — "the pollster".

The pollster will quickly let you know whether you are wandering from the mass assembly line of public opinion and make clear the danger to that feeling of safety again, — the safety of being "right" because you are with the majority.

That is deadly dangerous, in a Democracy, that feeling that you are one with power, part of a great dominant group, in numbers strong enough to impose your will on others by any means. Minority opinion is ignored and, brooding, it generates the very same bitterness and resentment against the power of democracy that first brought the germ of democracy itself to life.

In such settings courageous leadership goes under discount to this evil of superficial mass opinion — which goes by the name of thought. This "what the people want", so recorded, can then be exploited and fed by too many of those who should resist and destroy it, — those who appeal to the people for their vote.

THE "POLITICIAN"

Those with their ears thus to the keyhole of the public opinion poll are deemed to have been far-sighted when indeed "Nothing doth more harm in a state than that cunning men pass for wise."

Someone has said somewhere that the politician thinks of the next election, the statesman of the next generation. He or she who would be an honourable trustee of our freedoms must think not only of the present in these future terms but of past generations as well, of the painful progress through which these precious possessions of liberty have been bought and bequeathed to us and of the comparably courageous and, if not painful, certainly similarly unpopular leadership, requisite to preserving and transmitting them unimpaired and, if possible, enriched.

PRICE OF LEADERSHIP

The responsibility of leadership must surely be the responsibility of truth, not compromise, of courage, not concession.

Edmund Burke, saving his own honour and self-respect at the cost of his constituency of the City of Bristol, said finely what every honourable candidate for public office might have printed on his nomination papers to this day:

"It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty — above all, ever and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your industry only he owes you; not his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

DIFFICULT TASK

The high and difficult task of leadership, of attempting to inform and persuade and direct the mind and conscience of the elector to serious study, to honest search, to earnest inquiry of what is the public good — and so, in the end, the only real good for himself — is foregone in the easy expediency of "interpreting the wish of the electors" instead of so interpreting right, justice, good, decency, honour, freedom that they shall become not only the wish but the ideal of this free man who wants to remain free in a free society.

"A free man," wrote Lord Tweedsmuir, "is not one who is permitted to do as he likes. He is one who willingly accepts a discipline and makes it his own because he understands its value." Responsible leaders of an enduring democracy must enjoin discipline upon those who support them because without discipline there cannot long be an ordered society. The democracy which cannot assure self-discipline so disintegrates that the external discipline of dictatorship swiftly ensues.

Advantage of Administrative Power: The power of Democracy is dwindling further by the inertia of the elected representatives in the face of growth of power and competency in the administrative arm.

The people entrust power to those elected in the exercise of the franchise, and presumably seek to contain it within limits by the requirement of appeals for its renewal within a stated maximum period of time. There thus arises the problem of assuring permanency, and continuity, in the ongoing life of the state and of bringing in, as well, the play of change in new ideas, new and creative forces as the minority party of to-day becomes the majority party of tomorrow within the same existing administrative mechanisms. This assurance of continuity with



Dr. Charlotte Whitton Attends Club Luncheon

Dr. Charlotte Whitton, Mayor of Ottawa, and a member of the Ottawa Business and Professional Women's Club chats with a few of the members of the Club just prior to the luncheon given by the Club in her honour at the Charlottetown Hotel yesterday. Seen in the picture from left to right are, Mrs. Walter Bears, Miss Isabel MacDonald, Miss Lena McLure, Dr. Whitton, Mrs. Benj. Rogers, Miss Dorothy Cullen, Club President, Miss Margaret Irving, Miss Helen Yeo, Provincial President, and Miss Gertrude Love, organizer and first president of the Barter's Film Lab.

change has been centered in a permanent civil service, presumably impartial, interested only in the effective application of the policies, devised by the elected arm and delegated to this administrative arm for execution. Policy and planning belong to those directly responsible to the people; performance to those retained to carry them out.

Here, however, modern Democracy is being impaired in that, more and more, the appointed public servant is being involved in the development of planning and policy, for the simple reason that government is becoming so technical and involved that the concept and application of many of its problems cannot be easily compassed by the semi- or uninformed.

DESTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS

Two things are happening — both destructive of the democratic system itself. The elected representative is reflecting not his own, nor necessarily the electorate's, wishes but rather becoming the medium of carrying out the policies of the permanent service.

Or, the permanent civil servant, desiring to see what he believes in put into practice, is identifying himself with the policy of the government (which he is supposed only to serve) to the point of dictating, and implementing, and even at times, actually entering the field of political candidature to further his designs.

Thus Democracy becomes bureaucracy and the exercise of the power of the people becomes the privilege either of the party or the permanent civil servant in office without full and free discussion and debate.

Here, again, this vitiation of the democratic process is not the work of external forces. Its remedy lies at hand in the election to the increasingly complicated and difficult task of modern democratic government of persons properly qualified for the discharge of the duties which a free society seeks to have discharged by freely elected, and as freely changed, representatives.

DELEGATION OF POWER

This deflection of direct responsibility from the elected arm may take other forms — the entrusting of more and more of the duties and decisions that should be government's — if government is to remain responsible to the people — to administrative bodies, to whom policy and expenditure are both accorded with an "unaccountability", and "unaccountability" which would not be tolerated on the part of the government itself. Such a trend entrenches Bureaucracy in separate and fortified islands to remain beyond the reach of Parliament or people.

Another instance of this removal from the elected authority of direct power — and so final responsibility for its actions — is the development of compulsory arbitration in labour disputes of a public body — governmental or subsidiary — with its employees. One consequent result is to remove control over the rates of public expenditure and, so, of taxation from the constituted government authority, and to have it exercised by a temporary and appointed body, again with no direct relationship or accountability to the electorate.

TOYNBEE'S WARNING

Arnold Toynbee traces for us the story of 21 civilizations, all of which have gone, save ours, most of them in the change and decay of their own luxury and leisure.

Sir Francis Bacon recorded, rather than enunciated, that "Temperance is the virtue of prosperity and fortitude the virtue of adversity and of these fortitude is the greater virtue in that prosperity doth best discover vice but adversity doth best discover virtue."

In this adversity of softening in our own prosperity it may be well to recall, as Toynbee does for us, that in this world suddenly shrunk so small in the rapidity of communications and the common time and space of radio and television, two thirds of the people are neither democratic nor totalitarian but seeking in the indecision of their own self-determination, and that none of them — Russia, Asia, the Far East, Africa, the native populations of the Americas and Australasia — have any reason to be particularly drawn to us or our ways of life.

Their adoption of Western technology has been forced upon them in self-survival; their resistance to our social philosophies announced by the "works" and ways in which so much of our "faiths" have been made manifest to them.

In India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma — where long and, on the whole, humane administration sought to prepare these countries for the exercise of democratic self-government — the leaders who have taken over power have sought to govern by such principles.

As against their convictions and these developments, there is, within these and other lands in which only the materialistic impact of the West has been felt, the extremity of need between the teeming millions of the poor and the comparative comfort and well-being of the few comfortable and the rich.

CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

To such states and people in such plight comes the evangel of Marx, made manifest in Communism — the seizure and exercise not only of the power of government, of the rules whereby mankind will live and work, by all the people but of all the means and power of production itself, in farm, field, fishery, factory, everywhere, and the equitable sharing of its fruits by all.

This new creed is offered with the fervour of a religion — its promise, not fear or war towards the democracies, but a better way of life, of a materialistic life to people who are hungry, ill-clad, cold and unsheltered in their wretched villages or squalid slums.

Against that, the argument of "Social Security" — But what price essential liberty or freedom now? Life has become so concerned with the standards of material living that these have become greater ends in themselves. Hence, coming to us from the certainty of his Eastern philosophy, saw materialism shrivelling the life and spirit of the West.

"Everyone wanted security, security no longer a word but a duty, a life-demanding word. . . I found people smaller and meaner, shrunk in a fixed search for security. Deep-buried in this word lay the talent of the stoical servant unadventured on the dangerous seas of life. For this strange end men planned with single-hearted passion, pensions and retirement at 20 dreaming of 65, in youth aspiring to safe senility. For the security of death they forsook living. Security armed and re-armed the nations growing under armaments and yet devising ever more efficient ways of killing their own kind."

What she has said thus Arnold Toynbee has said another way, — that in our technology the West has created a material society with a spiritual vacuum which must be again filled or the society, based on the values of the spirit, will collapse.

These, then, are some of the seams and breaks running through the structure of Democracy, weakening it, internally, as now, after more than 200 years of continuous struggle for mastery over the very way of life, man stands,

ARMED INDEED WITH THE THUNDERBOLT

armed indeed with the thunderbolt of his own destruction or the power to release the living of life to new and unimagined freedoms and equality.

Is the danger of external annihilation so great that the Democratic World should accept fatalistically this dwindling away of its powers as of a force that is sped?

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Conscience is the voice of the Spirit of God in man. That rule of the Spirit imposes partnership with "the spirit of goodness in all forms of social organization" and the religion that is thus individual brings all together in social progress because of faith in the ultimate triumph of goodness itself.

And so, in 1912, Dr. Watson appeared in the Gifford Lectures: "Religion is the spirit which must more and more subdue all things to itself, informing science and art, and realizing itself in the higher organization of the family, the civic community, the state and ultimately the world, gradually filling the mind and heart of every individual with the love of God and the enthusiasm of humanity."

Life is real and life is personal and the state and that form of society will endure which give to man faith and hope in this life and, after he has striven, peace at the last.

"Go out into the darkness", came the message from our good and dying King, "and put your hand in the hand of God. That shall be to you better than light and safer than the known way."

I would have you hear the end of the whole matter. There can be no permanency to the structure of any society designed, as is Democracy, to allow freedom of thought, of speech and of action to all, and equal sharing by all of opportunity, of power and of responsibility unless it is reared upon the cornerstone of character. And character has but one sound footing — Conscience — whose rule of justice curbs alike the unbridled will of the individual on the one hand, and of undisciplined masses on the other, and recognizes no values but those of honour, goodness and truth.

WIFE PRESERVERS

Beat three tablespoons of liquid or creamed honey with a four-ounce package of cream cheese until light and fluffy, and use the mixture for a sandwich spread.

BEAT THE SPIRIT

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THE WEST, DEMOCRACY, MUST REUSE AND SAVE ITSELF

The permeation of the Spirit of God (as the Roman Catholic Church, venerable with age but vigorous with youth is so clearly contending in its individual onslaught on the materialism of Communism) is the one dynamic power which can wrest and rescue human life on the face of the globe to-day from the devastation of a nuclear war among the nations.

This force of the spirit is not, however, the prerogative of any one faith, even of the Christian, though, as Churchill has said for those of us who hold thereby, "The highest guide to our conduct is still our highest guide. To guard and cherish it is our first interest, both spiritually and materially."

John Watson, my old professor at Queen's, over half a century ago, taught that "the philosophy of religion" would be the hope of a world in which "the appeal to external authority in any form does not in our day carry conviction even to those who make it."

The central principal of all religion, Watson summed up, "God is Spirit"; and its practical counterpart in Christ's "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect". This enjoined, so Watson held, conscious effort to identify the individual life with the will of God, as studied and known in the knowledge and experience of

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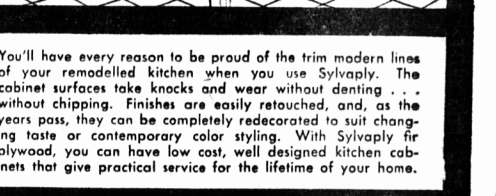
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Pretty Home Settings

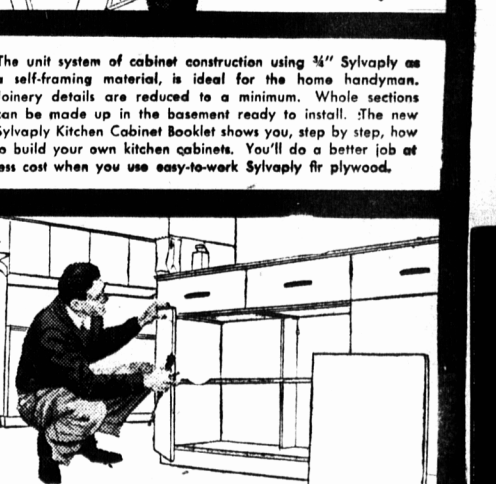
are just dancing with color and rich beauty. We were charmed with a wallpaper design consisting of a series of bullfight posters based on the Goya etchings of this sort. The pride of Grant is the lovely Alhambra, furnished the inspiration for a printed cotton that used the twelve-sided tiles and the grillwork of the building as its motifs.



You'll have every reason to be proud of the trim modern lines of your remodelled kitchen when you use Sylvaply. The cabinet surfaces take knocks and wear without denting . . . without chipping. Finishes are easily retouched, and, as the years pass, they can be completely redecorated to suit changing taste or contemporary color styling. With Sylvaply fire plywood, you can have low cost, well designed kitchen cabinets that give practical service for the lifetime of your home.



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For a single cupboard or a complete, new kitchen, whether you do the work yourself or have it done for you, you'll do a better job at less cost when you use Sylvaply. Let your lumber dealer help you get started right away. He will give you a copy of the new Sylvaply Kitchen Cabinet book, help with your planning, and show you how you can pay for your new kitchen on low monthly terms.

This new booklet tells you how to plan and build modern kitchen cabinets, and it's yours absolutely free. Write, phone, or visit your Sylvaply dealer for your copy, or if you prefer, write to: Kitchen Cabinet Book, MacMillan & Bloedel Limited, Box 355, Vancouver, B.C.

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