

air. This will not solve the problem but at least it will place it in the hands of the public body which is presumably most competent to deal with it. The proposal will avoid the negotiations now carried on behind closed doors between

the Post Office Department and public and private airline operators. Finally it is in line with the practice in the United States and may remove one small element from the international rivalry for air traffic which has already arisen.

## Beyond the Melting Pot

By WATSON THOMPSON

THE founders of America made one big blunder. They held certain truths to be self-evident. Self-evident they were, perhaps, to them and to anyone else of vision and high purpose, but these same truths are counted as lies by a vast majority. Even for the best of us, they need to be re-formulated, re-verified, recaptured many times.

Is it self-evident that all men are created equal? That they are endowed by God with the inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness? Life, yes, we say in America. And liberty, perhaps, (political only, of course; never socially, culturally, economically). But pursuit of happiness? Hardly. Equality? Well, let's see.

Equality is essentially a faith, not a self-evident truth. There are obvious human inequalities in a functional sense but no inequality of status follows upon the myriad human differences. According to the American vision, all men were *created* equal and therefore in their intrinsic humanness they were forever equal. This is the faith.

### The Consciousness of Race

But what is the present status of equality? Nazism and Nipponism are two of the most blatant proclamations of disbelief in all historic times. Are they to be thought of as the last spasms of an old order? If so, how do we account for the many recent manifestations of

race prejudice and intolerance which can be witnessed both in Canada and the United States. The only possible answer to this question is to say that presumably these phenomena should be regarded as "last dying kicks" of an ancient system of ignorance; and that it depends on a number of things whether these death-throes last a decade or through another whole epoch of unnecessary degradation and martyrdom.

Whichever way it goes, it will be because of the extent to which this continent—the United States and Canada paramountly—become aware of their special opportunity and responsibility as the place of greatest hopefulness in all the world. There is one way forward for all humanity in this matter of "race" and equality, and that way is open to the people of this continent as to none other.

Although the Canadian and the American patterns have been very dissimilar, the fact remains that they have something of a common vision. The idea of a new start away from the prejudices, restrictions, persecutions and strife of Europe is common to both, though stronger in the United States.

Consider Canada first. The sad truth is that this New World idea of equality ran into trouble very early in its life and has remained in a state of arrested development ever since. For two reasons: First, all the die-hard Loyalists from the American colonies flocked to Canada and became the backbone of Ontario. Their colonial mentality still flourishes; they are even to-day prouder to be called British than Canadian. The maintenance

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of the political connection with Britain gives them adequate freedom of movement and expression. Secondly, Canada's constitution guarantees a great measure of autonomy to French Canada. As long as the British North America Act lasts (and it is the fundamental document of the constitution) Canada shall be a divided country with two official languages and two separate cultures, each strong enough to keep the other in mortal fear of submergence. The "race" consciousness of these two factions, each of them a third of the total population, sets the pattern for the host of smaller ethnic groups. The Ukrainians of the Prairie provinces are intensely nationalist, the Germanism of Manitoba Mennonites is reinforced, and so on.

Thus there is projected throughout the whole of Canada a consciousness of "racial origins" beyond anything known, except in rare corners, in the United States. It gives rise to constant talk about "New Canadians" or "Canadians of recent European origin" (an official phrase in current use), so that Canadianism seems always to be modified by some hyphenation or some qualifying association with at least one foot in the Old World. And each time and place these differences are stressed, there is the entirely natural but illogical assumption of basic superiority or inferiority.

Canada's immigration laws also underline and help to perpetuate the belief in "racial" inequality. There is no public, universal or explicit test or standard for naturalization. For persons who are British by birth and extraction there is no naturalization deed or process whatsoever. You have only to "stick around" for an unspecified time and you automatically, by virtue of the fact of such creditable ancestry, acquire all the rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship. After five years' residence, non-British Europeans may apply for naturalization. Whether the application is granted or not is then a more or less private matter between the local judge and the glamorous R.C.M.P. Discrimination

against Orientals has been as blindly prejudiced as in the United States. The Canadian immigration office freely admits that it "places greater emphasis upon race than upon citizenship," and then excuses itself by saying this is "a generally accepted practice."

Canada, in the attempt to rationalize and sweeten her essentially sour and unreasonable situation, has evolved her own theory of inter-racial relations. She, is no melting pot. She is a mosaic, or sometimes, a symphony. In other words, her pattern is, theoretically, of the harmonious integrations of many cultures, each of which makes its own colorful contribution and preserves something at least of its integrity and native charm while blending gradually with the others to form a rich, multi-colored, larger pattern. Not for Canada the cheap assimilation of all to a least common denominator of "Americanism" (I quote what is more commonly thought than said), for what is Americanism but the culture of the juke box and of the Hollywood starlet?

This theory has been called the "folk-song and embroidery" ideal of Canadian unity, since some of the heartiest exponents of the "Canadian mosaic" theory are wont to patronize "all-nations festivals" with much folk-song and dance and displays of European peasant embroidery. Those who speak thus scornfully of the prevailing theory are disposed to argue that such reminders of European origins are perhaps an inadequate basis for unity of action in the North American present and future.

It is not necessary here to elaborate upon the differences in American theory and practice. The United States has one official language, not two as in Canada. It is more than just legally a nationality and a citizenship, without hyphenation or divided loyalty. It has public standards of naturalization. Its acknowledged pattern is the melting pot; cultural assimilation, rather than inter-cultural integration. But the United States (as also Canada) has known, and knows, the social phenomena of anti-

Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-Oriental prejudice and the currently significant myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority.

### Fascist Fallacies

It should be apparent at this point that this total ideology and attitude to life may be summed up in the word "fascism." It is just so. Neither Canada nor the United States can find for itself a clear way ahead in any matter of race or nationality without confronting the challenge of fascism and making to that challenge its overt and decisive response.

Two fascist fallacies maintain themselves—in North America as well as Germany—because of human ignorance and egotism. Both must be scotched, stamped out, extirpated, repudiated by the general consensus of civilized humanity, and forever banished.

The first of these is that some particular values—moral, intellectual or spiritual—belong, biologically and genetically, to a particular race group. The second is that there is no such thing as objective truth. Even science is not just science but German science or American science.

It is not possible to meet either of these fallacies without recognizing that fascism in its most coherent—which is its German—form is unified around one single, fundamental idea. Every aspect of it—its deification of "folk" and race-origins, its emphasis on "blood and soil", its disbelief in science and rationality, its preference for instinct, for "thinking with the blood," its mob character and exploitation of mass-psychology—every aspect of it stems from one basic attitude; disbelief in Man, vis-a-vis Nature.

The source of fascism is despair of western man in our generation as to man's ability to solve the basic problem of modern civilization; the adequacy of the human faculty of reason is denied. And the attraction of fascism is that, in regard to all basic questions of human equality or human righteousness, it says "things are as they seem." Which is to say unequal and unrighteous.

So, the fascist theorem runs like this: Humans are different in moral quality

and intellectual capacity—which is true; these differences are due to their racial origins—which is only accidentally true; and these differences are innate and unalterable — which is scientifically, absolutely, false. The genetic fact is that all sorts of physical characteristics—texture of the hair, color of the eyes, shape of the nose, etc.—are transmitted according to clear, fixed laws. But as for moral and intellectual qualities—the important qualities of the noble Aryan, emphasized as lacking in the inferior Jew or the sub-human Negro—these belong to man's biologically recent life, have not sunk into the genetic structure, and are therefore transmissible only in the social and cultural—not the biological—heritage.

The second fallacy, closely related to the first, is that truth has always a profoundly, inescapably, subjective character. There is no truth, say the fascists, except that which carries the stamp of a man's whole personality, and the most important part of a man's personality is that which is instinctive and unconscious, which bears the marks of his ancestral origins, of the particular language and culture which is the warp and woof of his consciousness.

This dispute can be neither lightly nor easily settled. The whole issue of the unity of the human race, or the possibility of any effectual universalism—politically, economically or socially—is involved.

Looked at squarely, realistically, without wishful sentimentalism, it must be admitted that it is only in terms of the rare fringes of human experience that there is any final justification for the universalist faith whatsoever. It is justified only in terms of the highest ranges of the human mind, the deepest emotions of the human heart. As for emotions, the sophisticated Frenchman and the Patagonian savage meet nowhere, except in ultimate or elemental situations—hunger, death of a beloved child, and so on. The identity is far more real in terms of the intellect in its highest functioning. The complete answer to the fascist fallacy is an Einstein. In

the work of such a mind we have the thought which transcends all traces of "origins," transcends all language and all particularity of cultural background. In modern science and mathematics there are not only techniques of universal application and usefulness; there are concepts—a whole philosophy and cosmology—of universal unmistakability and validity.

### Human Equality

A principle of profound and practical value begins to emerge. Intellectually, human differences belong to the past, human identity belongs to the rare present and the common future. Emotionally, human identity belongs to the past, is clouded in the present but never altogether vanishes. There is no real assurance about identity of experience emotionally, until that experience is rationalized and comes into the category of science. All the real evidences of human identity, all the substantial proofs of human equality are to be derived from the highest reaches of human reason, those areas that only a few have yet touched. Equality is therefore, for most humans, still a matter of faith and unquenchable hope. But it is a faith and a hope upon which science has already set the seal of its irrefutable guarantee.

The fact is that humanity is only just beginning to rise to the level of truly human consciousness, the marks of which are intense individuality (who can imagine two Einsteins?) and utter universality at the same time. Most of us are still in the pre-human stage of consciousness which is neither individual nor universal. Rather, it is a local, folkish, group affair, rooted in that historic period when there was the most harmonious adjustment between groups and their environment on a purely natural instinctive basis.

But that world is gone. This is 1944. The machine and all the ferment of world-wide movements and forces have shattered the tribal and peasant community. There is no *real* way back. But there is the artificially stimulated

regression which we call fascism. It invites the frustrated wretches of our generation to give up the attempt to achieve democracy, to give up the ideals and practices of equal citizenship (irrespective of race or color), of personal responsibility, and of rational cooperative effort. It invites men to return to the pre-human herd of blood-brothers, to the mysticism, violence and idolatry of tribalism, to the irresponsibilities of mass-collectivity.

What should now be clear is that all emphasis on racial origins is, in the strictest sense, regressive and reactionary. All pride in one's biological background (that fact for which there is no possibility of according merit to the individual) is a sign of arrested development, of not having reached the truly human level of consciousness, which, as we have said, is not of group character, but is both personal and universal. To be sure, one may legitimately and intelligently be conscious of the special values inherent in a certain historic, cultural tradition including that to which one may oneself belong. But the important thing about any such tradition is its communicability. There is no element of a national cult which cannot be analyzed, understood consciously (not "in the blood") and conveyed to all the world for what use it cares to make of it. Therein lies the only hope of human unification. There needs to be a great process of cross-interpretation between all the nations. Frenchness, Britishness, Chineseness, must all, as quickly as possible, be made objective by communication from one side and frank evaluation from the other. There never can be real unity—above all, in Europe—until French and Italian, Norwegian and Pole see themselves, and are seen, with this kind of objectivity.

The process is now under way. Bluffs are being called. Races and religions are being forced to speak not to their own but to the world. Mankind needs to know, in these days of radio and 400-miles-per-hour aircraft, what is the universally valid element in each national or religious tradition in order to clear



the moribund accretions out of our swift, twentieth-century way.

### The North American Idea

In all this, the significant difference between North America and Europe should be obvious. All European peoples have an easy, seductive (but essentially fictitious) way open to them which leads straight back to their ancestral roots, to the dark life of instinct and tribalism out of which humanity struggles so painfully. *Facile descensus Averno*. But here in this New World we are cut off from these roots, from our merely biological, tribal past; and therein lies our great chance of liberation. Neither Canada nor the United States can ever be a nation in the European sense, and we should be profoundly thankful for that fact. Nationhood for us must and can only be based on the proud and grateful fellowship of those who have been privileged to make this new start, which is so immensely more favorable than the conditions anywhere else in the world for the growth into the only truly human consciousness, namely, that which is at once personal and universal.

It is for that reason that every encouragement of a merely national or racial consciousness, whether in the more or less harmless "folk-song and embroidery" form or in the distinctly malodorous form of Anglo-Saxon superiority or anti-color discrimination, is either mildly, or in the latter cases, desperately dangerous. It is a betrayal of the fundamental faith of this continent. For it is not without deeper meaning that American and Canadian men in uniform are the force which finally will overthrow Nazism. The fascist idea inevitably finds its completest antithesis in the North American idea. Fascism says, "Back to Nature, instinct, race." America says, "Forward beyond Nature, to science and the free person."

### A New Democracy

But why did fascism and its pathological race-nonsense afflict our times? In the last analysis, Drucker's thesis in

*The End of Economic Man* rings truest. Fascism was the by-product of the despair and cynicism of the masses, disillusioned about capitalism and about "social democracy" and about communism. Fascism, beginning first with racism, is possible in any country where hope is too long deferred, where men feel that basic problems are not being solved. And that is exactly how many of our North American people feel.

So the answer to all problems of "race" or to that collective egotism called nationalism is ultimately in the larger issue of the break-through into a new democracy of released productivity in the economic field and of that greater social generosity which will only then be possible on any large scale. But on this score there has been, of recent date, only a prolonged frustration. "The common man" knows well that the war, in its side-tracking way, may have solved the problem of the depression; *we* certainly did not. He notes what gigantic productivity is possible under the stimulus of war; and he intends not to forget.

In the picture of these larger considerations, the contrast between the Canadian and the American situation becomes less sharp. For if Canada has more race-consciousness she also has less well-entrenched "vested interest" groups in industry and finance, a more hopeful third-party movement and an increasingly strong labor movement. These are vital forces working for the kind of society in which racial discrimination can have no place. The probability is that in both Canada and the United States the best examples of the new supra-racial democracy are to be found in many labor-union locals and the working units of the really progressive parties.

The larger issue of social-economic change and the more particular issue of attitude to "race" are closely inter-related. The race-issue depends for its full solution on the relief of the peoples of the western democracies from that long-protracted economic *impasse*. But the battle for a new economic order, liberated from unnecessary restrictions

and mean motivations, requires the driving-force of all the moral and humanist imperatives, such as those related to the profound issue of equality.

Both Canada and the United States it seems, have a long way to go to realize the original and ultimate North American vision. But the path is clear. By every

means in our power, especially by the manifold processes we call education, we have to break down the old tribal collectivity by building up the full, up-standing person, and, what is after all but the other side of the same coin, building the realization of the World-as-One-Whole. That is the real equality.

## Recent Experience with War-time Municipal Finance

By C. L. BEAZLEY

ANY discussion on war-time municipal finance in Canada must of necessity go back to agreements entered into between the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the Governments of the respective provinces in the fall of 1941 or in the early months of 1942.

Prior to 1916, the Federal Government of Canada did not impose a tax on income but the provincial and municipal governments had for many years used this method of raising revenue in varying degrees. During the last war the Federal Government enacted an Income War Tax Act imposing a small levy on income and until the advent of the present war this income tax could not be regarded as burdensome.

Some of the Provincial Governments of the Dominion also imposed an income tax and in some instances the provincial tax was based directly on the Federal levy and was collected for the Province by the Federal authorities. Furthermore, in some of the Provinces there was a further levy on income by the municipal governments, or some of them.

For the sake of the country's war effort the Dominion Government had to increase the income tax to a level unheard of in Canadian history. Such drastic measure was only possible if the Federal Government alone occupied the entire field of income taxation and corporation taxation. Accordingly, agree-

ments were entered into between the Federal Government and the Provinces, whereby each Province undertook on behalf of itself and of its municipal units, to vacate these fields completely for the duration of the war and for a certain adjustment period thereafter. In return, the Federal Government undertook, until the termination of the agreements, to pay to the Provinces annually the amount of money that those Provinces or municipalities levied on income or on corporations during the year ended December 31, 1940, or in the fiscal year ended nearest that date.

From the point of view of municipal government these agreements have been both a boon and a burden. The agreement has constituted a boon inasmuch as municipal governments now receive from the Federal Treasury payments of the amount of income tax formerly levied without the expense or delay of collection,—the agreements have been burdensome to municipal units because of this inability to provide themselves with needed revenue by increasing the levy on income at a time when incomes in the municipalities are at a high peak.

### Problems Arising Directly From the War

The municipalities that have had the most severe financial problems to solve are obviously those in whose area there are large numbers of men in the armed services and concentrated either on active