

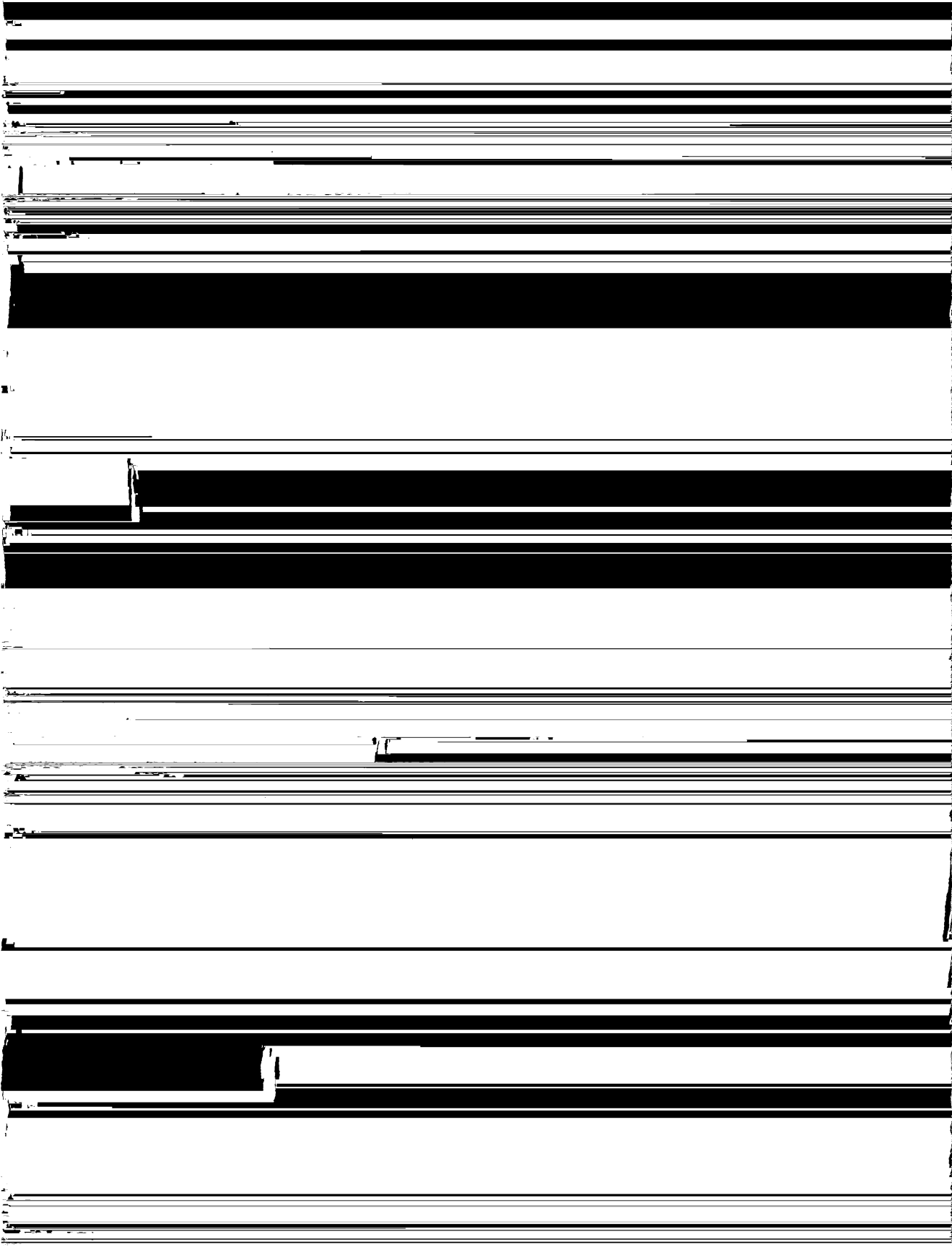
policy", wrote Blake in his West Durham letter, "has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration, and a North-West empty still; with enormous additions to our public debt and yearly charge, an extravagant system of expenditure, and an unjust and oppressive tariff. Worse for worse: It has

left us with lowered standards of public virtue and a death-like

obstacle to national consolidation; that its society, dominated by a reactionary Catholic clericalism, could never assimilate with the liberal democratic society of English Canada: that

monolithic solidarity in Catholic thinking which did not exist.

As to the separatism of Quebec he failed to pay sufficient



their heads and when Mr. Drew came along he showed his

political illiteracy by wooing the extremists in Quebec rather

than the moderates. So the existing Liberal regime seems

have never been fond of this Canadian version of the North American political party. They are disgusted, as he was, with

with which they have fought for the principle on the issue of conscription. English Canadians have never shown any sign



nationalist gospels always are, and that English Canadians who see a higher spiritual quality in French Catholicism than in our Protestant Puritanism are letting their romantic tendencies run away with them. But still the phenomenon of intransigent French Canadian nationalism remains. Duplessis succeeds to Bourassa as well as St. Laurent to Laurier.

So one concludes on this matter of relations between the two main communal groups in Canada that we still haven't got much beyond André Siegfried's "Modus vivendi without cordiality".

It was a Dutch professor a few years ago who compared the modern British Commonwealth to the alumni association of a school whose members meet together periodically on ceremonial occasions to engage in certain rituals, to listen to a

of centralized government or control in the Empire, and his achievements in preparing the way for the completely decentralized Commonwealth have been duly celebrated by his biographers. That this was the only kind of association that Dominion nationalism would find tolerable is now obvious. But Laurier's nationalism had a strong strain of North American pacifist isolationism in it, which most Canadian liberals and all French Canadians found congenial. There is no need today to pretend that this outlook on the world was sufficient

From our present point of view Borden's claim that "Canada cannot be a hermit nation" seems to show a much truer understanding of world politics. However, we did not accept as more than a temporary expedient the Borden-Smits Common-

wealth in which the British nations worked out a single common foreign policy by continuous consultation in the Imperial War

fellow-British communities. The British Commonwealth is left in a position something like that of the smile on the face

Canada takes part in repelling aggression in Korea along with a considerable list of other United Nation powers and

indubitably under American leadership and management. We keep up forces on the continent of Europe as partners in NATO, in which again the United States is the indispensable senior partner. We are united with the United States in a special exclusive regional North American defence alliance. Australia and New Zealand are joined with the United States in a Pacific security pact from which they have politely but firmly excluded Great Britain. Economically, Canada is part

bloc successful only emphasises the point that we have distinct interests which are not identical with what British leaders conceive to be their interests.

The hard fact is that the secret of the long success of the British Empire was the economic and military power of Great

parts and certain newer more "efficient" parts. Our British associations are passing over to the dignified part of our

external policy, and our American associations have become the efficient part.

The Revolution of 1940

The oldest and most tenacious tradition in our communal memory centres around our determination not to become Americans. This is also the one tradition in which English Canadians and French Canadians have been whole-heartedly united. Our forefathers made the great refusal in 1776 when they declined to join the revolting American colonies. They made it again in 1812 when they repelled American invasions. They made it again in 1837 when they rejected a revolution motivated by ideals of Jacksonian democracy and voted for

years, ever since Lord Durham's Report in 1839, we had gradually been growing independent of Britain; but we were like one of those pathetic ineffectual young men who never

succeed in getting clear of their mother's apron-strings. Now we are going to have to spend the next hundred years in trying to maintain our independence from the United States. And its going to be a much tougher century. But our younger generation will gradually come to take for granted this central position of the United States in our destiny; while at the same time the Americans, growing up to their responsibilities of world leadership, will gradually come to recognize the necessity of not taking us for granted. And so the poison in our present

other hand, the steadily rising standard of living in the United States is making her more and more dependent upon imports for future expansion. The Palen Report with its projections

of American demand in 1975 for a long series of essential

commodities, most of which are produced in Canada, should be more familiar in this country. This long-term trend may be slowed up temporarily by the aberrations of tariff-makers

anyone who really tries to make himself acquainted with American civilization is the extraordinary variety of American cultural expression, and the extraordinary variety of self-criticism within the American community.

Well, we have come a long way since the period of some sixty years ago when Goldwin Smith wrote his *Canada and the Canadian Question* and Queen's Quarterly issued its first number. Where are we going in the next sixty years? There-

was a time in the early 1900's when Canadians were announcing that the twentieth century belonged to Canada. This naive optimism is as impossible to us today as is the acute pessimism of the early 1890's. To that extent at least we have matured. But in the greater world society of which we became a responsible member when we plunged into the war of 1914 we have not played any part so far which was not determined by our triangular relationship with Great Britain and the United States. In the meantime the British century in which we grew

up has come to an end. How we solve the Canadian question in the 1950's and thereafter depends on how we face up to the realities of the American century which lies before us.