

LET'S FACE THE FACTS

No. 13

**Address to the Men and Women
of Canada**

BY

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Text of Dr. John W. Dajoe's address over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national network Sunday night follows:

Ladies and gentlemen:

The title of this series of addresses, to which I am privileged to make a contribution, is something more than a convenient war-time motto; it is, as well, a working programme for the prosecution and the winning of the war. "Facts," said Robbie Burns, "are chieftains that winna ding."

Winston Churchill in one of those warning addresses which fell upon the ears of a heedless Parliament, said that if Great Britain were to disappear in the approaching world cataclysm, which he foresaw even to the approximate date, the reasons for her downfall would be beyond the comprehension of the historians of posterity.

By this he meant that it would be inexplicable to them that the causes of the war, which in retrospect will stand out so clearly, should not have been recognized and dealt with by fitting policies. Because if there ever was a war that was inevitable, given policies of drift, this is that war; and the responsibility for permitting it to occur is widespread. It rests upon the countries that have been enslaved; upon the countries that are now fighting for their lives; and as well upon the countries which, behind the lines that are holding, are under threat of ultimate Nazi attack. Peace, it is now pretty clear, is indivisible, and it is the business of all countries that desire peace not to let it be broken.

This address will be an attempt to assemble facts about which there are no longer grounds of doubt,—facts which reveal the causes of this war and make plain the consequences to the civilized world of a failure on its part to defeat the purposes of those who are waging it. Facts, in short, that we have no alternative but to face and to realize that they and not wishes and hopes must determine our courses of action.

MISTAKE OF DEMOCRACY

One of the primary weaknesses of democracy has been its faith that if the majority will not see a fact, the fact does not exist; and that if it declines to adopt policies indicated as necessary by the facts it prefers not to see, it does not thereby prejudice its future freedom of action by putting itself at the mercy of conditions created by external developments. What may well become the classic example of this weakness was the admission of a British Prime Minister some years ago that he had declined to advocate policies which it is now clear were essential for the defence of the country out of a fear of political results if he were frank with the electorate. Of course, the explanation is that he believed that there was plenty of time for the leisurely processes of trial and error to find a solution for this and for all other difficult problems; and that meanwhile there was no impending danger. That attitude was typical of the leadership of all the democracies during the fatal twenty years of procrastination, of hesitation, of retreat and repudiation.

During those years ferment went on under cover in Germany and elsewhere which, when the times were ripe, took form in the Great Conspiracy against the freedom of mankind which is now seeking desperately to attain its ends before the resources of civilization can be rallied against it.

It has taken a year of war and the tragic fate of the European democracies to make plain to the world, beyond possibility of honest misunderstanding, the true character of the obscene thing which we fight. It masqueraded for years as a "new order" which was being brought into the world admittedly by strong-arm methods. There are minds so subject to the tyranny of words that they were hypnotized into seeing in something which called itself a "new order," excellencies and promises beyond what their own world order could give them. This gave an opening for disruptive propaganda in democratic countries which has been deadly in its effects. Every discontented element found in this propaganda weapons which it could use, one way or another, to further its interests or to avenge itself upon its opponents. The result was to accentuate jealousy and increase antagonism between classes social, political and racial, thus lessening the national resistance to an infiltration of Nazism and later to its assault.

"NEW ORDER" IS NOT NEW

This "new order," which was to be all things to all men, is now seen to be nothing but the contemporary form of a type of rule and an accompanying slave organization of society which is the oldest known to this planet and has never been wholly absent from it. Hitler, in his conception of the state, of the powers and attributes of the head of the state, of the part which the human unit plays in the state, is the contemporary of Tilgath Pileser, or any tyrants of the far-off ancient world whose conquests and cruelties are recorded in the hieroglyphics of Babylon and Egypt. He is the contemporary, as well, of Alaric the Goth, who sacked Rome; of Attila the Hun, who spread ruin over Central Europe; of Tamerlane, who completely destroyed Arab civilization and marked the place where the ancient city of Baghdad had been by a pyramid of the skulls of its slaughtered people; of Genghis Khan, who barely failed in his project of exterminating Christian civilization in Europe; and of all the tyrants whose lust for power and domination have filled the pages of history, century after century, with the dark records of human cruelty and ambition. This identification of Nazism with ancient beliefs and vile practices is a fact about which there is no longer dispute; and this fact has become a potent weapon in the armory of liberty.

A quenchless hatred of any system of government which recognizes the individual rights of man and gives him a higher role to play than that of slave, has been a distinguishing mark of all dictators. Both the lessons of history and their own instincts tell the dictators that their rule is threatened if anywhere in the

world the lamp of freedom burns; and this furious fear and satanic hatred reach their extremest forms in regimes like those of Hitler and Mussolini, which have been established by treachery and force over peoples who were but yesterday civilized and free. These men, with their immediate followers, have been thrown up from the dregs of society and in their ideas and their methods they personify human nature at its most tigerish level. "A handful of bloody-minded and perverted men" is how Thomas Mann, Germany's most distinguished exile, describes Hitler and his entourage. To Lord Tweedsmuir this "junta of arrogant demagogues has confronted the European tradition with an Asiatic revolt with its historic accompaniment of janissaries and assassins." Paganism and atheism in the judgment of Cardinal Hinsley "are in battle array against the Christian values which helped to build up civilization." Adventurers of this type, far from exercising a secure overlordship over the Europe they have smashed, are not even safely entrenched in their own countries which have traditions of high civilization not easily extinguished. They cannot afford to leave the light of human freedom shining anywhere in the world. For them at least the world cannot continue half free and half slave. Therefore they wage war, worldwide in its purpose; and by a law of iron necessity this war must go on until it destroys every vestige of freedom in the world, or the dictatorships are themselves consumed in the fires which they have ignited.

FAILURE OF APPEASEMENT

In contrast with this audacious attempt to dress up the barbaric combination of tyranny and slavery as a new and hopeful venture in government, attention might be directed for a fleeting moment to the true new order with which the democracies, after a war which successfully repelled an attack upon the liberties of mankind, sought to preserve mankind against the horrors of war and to prepare the way for the transformation of the world into a co-operative commonwealth of peaceful nations. The wrecking of that project, which it was once well within the power of the democracies to establish, was part of the policy of appeasement of the dictatorships pursued by the democratic powers; and its destruction, when complete, was underlined by a contemporary event of some significance: the agreement of Munich. The smaller nations of Europe then retreated within the citadels of their own neutrality which they regarded as inviolable. There was in Europe something that was called peace. The optimists—a large company—succeeded in making themselves think that it would continue.

That expectation rested upon a hope that between the dictatorships and the countries in Europe which preferred to govern themselves in their own way, a state of equilibrium had been reached, and that Hitler, in saying that Germany had no further territorial demands, was avowing a settled policy and renouncing

his proclaimed plans for aggression and conquest.

When, on the morrow of Munich, Hitler resumed his march of aggression, the democratic nations of Europe were confronted with a fact which they declined to face. It should have then become clear to them that the time had come when they had no option but to unite to protect themselves against a common danger; but not only did they refuse to see the storm signals, but even when the British nations and France, a few months later, recognized the hard fact that aggression must be met forthwith with force if the world was not to be immediately overrun, they excused themselves from all responsibility for protecting the reign of law in Europe.

FREEDOM IS CRUSHED

Their instruction as to the nature and character of this Fact, which they did not choose to face, has since proceeded apace. In Europe, seven independent countries, some of them the finest models of working democracy in the world, have been crushed; France has been overthrown and has accepted defeat under conditions which cannot be duplicated in history this side the surrender of Rome to the Goths in the Fourth Century; and the rest of Europe, outside Russia, trembles and obeys Hitler and his Gestapo. In the whole continent of Europe, there is not a government, nor a public man in or outside of a government, nor a University, nor an individual scholar, nor a newspaper, nor a writer, nor a radio station, that dares to exercise a freedom of thought or expression that was native to them just two years ago. No human mind has enough imagination, and knowledge to begin to understand what this means to the future of mankind and to world civilization if it is not speedily reversed.

Enlightenment came to the free peoples of Europe as the roof descended upon them, as the earthquake swallowed them. The issue became clear, as the power to deal with it passed. They knew—too late—that the war, from the moment that the first shot had been fired, had not been, as they had persisted in believing, between rival territorial ambitions in the traditional manner, but between two ways of life, two modes of government, two conceptions of the rights and duties of mankind—between the Freedom which they had known for generations, and Slavery; between Today and a brutal and savage Past.

ENLIGHTENMENT DAWNS HERE

If enlightenment came to Europe too late, it came to the rest of the world which was still free from war, while it was still possible—given willingness—to do something about it. For us, in Canada, there was enlightenment, too, as to the extent and promptness of our needed participation but not as to the merits of the war. Upon that point Canadians had had no doubts from the moment Hitler, in the spirit of international gangsterism, attacked Poland in the early morning of August 30, without warning, and with a unity unknown in our history they joined with Mr. King

when he called upon them for a "national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us." And it is in that spirit that Canada is making and will continue to make war.

We in Canada have been particularly affected by the impact of the enlightenment that came, with the Nazi overthrow of European democracy, upon the great and friendly nation that is our neighbor. There is nothing in history to compare with the rapidity with which our neighbors shed their attitude of detachment and accepted the war as something in which they had a direct and vital interest. Illusions as to the nature of the conflict which had been cherished disappeared overnight. With exceptions, still numerous but negligible in contrast with the vast majority, Americans saw the issue with crystal clearness. They saw it as an attack upon the American way of life. They saw it as a challenge to everything that has gone towards making their country the greatest of democracies. They knew at once, with a certainty of knowledge that no glib assurances have been able to shake, that the United States and the other American democracies were as certainly on Hitler's list as the ravaged and destroyed countries of Europe had been. And they necessarily saw in Great Britain and in the allied British countries, the first defence of their threatened country and their endangered institutions. Great Britain had become the last bastion of liberty in Europe and at the same time the furthest outpost of the defences of the American continent. It became a matter of supreme concern to the average American that that bastion should hold.

Upon that point the prevailing feeling in the United States was one of deep apprehension. There was here an extraordinary conjunction of events: Instinctive acceptance by the people of the United States that they were involved in the objectives of the Nazi crusade against the democratic way of life; recognition that their immediate defence was the resistance which the British nations were offering to the twentieth century Mongols; knowledge that if that defence failed they were in a state of lamentable unpreparedness; and an apprehension that this defence would fail and that they would have to resist immediate and ferocious assault to the uttermost of their power.

BRITAIN'S SUPERB COURAGE

Beyond doubt, civilization was trembling in mid-June upon the brink of the abyss. It was saved from immediate ruin by the courage of the British people. The nearer they were to disaster, the firmer their resolution to resist, the greater their scorn for those who looked to them to yield, the stronger their confidence in their power to meet, to break, and to turn aside the impending fury of the barbarians who saw world victory within their reach and counted the days until they could attain it. That superb courage found expression in the immortal words of Churchill; and as those ringing accents went around the

world, the defences of civilization, both moral and material, began everywhere to gather strength. The disaster, which then seemed to many so imminent and so ir retrievable, was averted; and the war passed into the phase with which we are now only too familiar, from which the possibilities of disaster are not removed, but which holds as well the possibility—and we trust the probability—of victory. The determination avowed in Churchill's words has been made good in deeds that have opened new pages in the age-long record of man's devotion to duty and of heroism that transcends death. Let there be no mistake about it: If it is still open to the free world to save itself from disaster, it is due firstly to the unbreakable courage of the people of Great Britain and to the heightened morale of the associated British nations, who faced the disasters of the battle of Europe with resolution and a redoubling of efforts; to the valor of the fighting forces in the air, on land, and on sea; and to the support of the allied cause, in all ways immediately available, by the government of the United States, and by the American people. If any one of these factors had failed, the long night of the Dark Ages would by now have been settling over the universe.

AID FROM UNITED STATES

The part played by our neighbors in making possible the defence of Great Britain has not been fully revealed, but it is known to have been on a vast scale; and it must be borne in mind that it was made at a time when doubts as to whether it was not too late to be effective were largely held south of the line. Mr. Churchill has spoken of the immense supplies of munitions and war material which were ferried across the Atlantic in July. We must never forget that our neighbors, at a moment of desperate crisis, made it possible for Britain to draw upon their resources of munitions and weapons, though they were in these respects themselves deficient, and therefore made an essential contribution to that defence of Britain which may be noted in history as the turning point of the war. This was of immense importance, not only for what it was, but for its hopeful implications. The barbarians will never forget this assistance given to Great Britain by the United States in the hour of her fate. Nor must we.

But no muster of supplies, no massing of war materials, no rallying of men to the colors throughout the Commonwealth, would have availed had it not been for the steadiness of what Walter Lippmann terms the "reasoned courage" of the civilian population of Great Britain, upon whom the blitzkrieg broke, and for the surpassing skill and the unmatched valor of the handful of men, the chosen few, who met, broke and turned back the attacks which were the spearpoints of the blitzkrieg. "Never," in Churchill's magnificent phrase, "have so many owed so much to so few." If it be true that another nation is a form of contemporaneous posterity, we know what history will say of their

valor; for the writers and speakers of the United States have drawn upon the full range of our tongue to express their admiration; yes, and their gratitude, for they know that these young men are fighting and dying for them and for what they term the "American way of life," which is the democratic way of life. I think of a left-wing American weekly which, in the twenty-five years in which I have read it, rarely deigned to say an appreciative word about anything British, but now speaks of the "indomitable fortitude" of the British as supplying an indispensable defence for the United States. The speeches and the writings of Americans abound in tributes to the British defence. I quote but one such word of praise already uttered in this series when Alfred Lunt said: "We can say with deepest conviction that never in all the great drama of history has any race of men and women enacted so heroic a role as you of the British Empire today." An American poet, in a famous poem, speaks of the electrical effect upon all mankind of a deed done for freedom. When have there ever been such deeds for human liberty as those daily enacted in the English sky by these young heroes? Is it not certain that their valor will kindle an admiration, a devotion and a spirit of emulation that may save the world?

Let us now check over the facts about the war which bear on the situation as it stands, and which give us ground from which we can try to look into the future.

PLANS OF HITLERISM

First in importance is the revelation which Hitlerism has made of itself before the whole world. It has destroyed the myth that in Nazism there is something that links it with a possible better future for mankind. The greater efficiency of Nazism, so often loudly proclaimed, has nothing to do with agencies that make for the betterment of man. In works of diabolism—brutality, theft, oppression, treachery, enslavement, murder—its efficiency is not disputed.

Equally revealing has been the demonstration in conquered Europe of the Nazi plans for the economic enslavement of the world if it has the military power to enforce compliance with its demands. There is nothing of material advantage for anybody anywhere in the event of Nazi world-domination except for the junta of rogues and schemers who will enforce the plans and divide the plunder. To them the whole world will pay tribute through the control of world markets by the Nazi system of payment in blocked currency, which is nothing but a disguised instrument of robbery. Even without direct political control, North America could be degraded to the level of a coolie country if the Nazis should dominate the other continents, as they will unless they are stopped and overthrown in Europe. It is difficult to see how any country in the world, big or little, democratic or otherwise, can think that there is anything but ruin before it in a world un-

der Nazi domination. To sup with that particular devil would require a very long spoon indeed.

These being the issues, how goes the battle? It can be said that the line still holds, and that the maniacal tide has, for the time being at any rate, broken itself against the ramparts which guard all that is left of civilization in Europe.

FUTURE HOLDS HOPE

Hitler, in his plans for conquering the world, has had terrifying successes, but they fall short of what he counted upon. The power of his air force to drive the British Navy from the seas was shown early in the war to be an idle boast. Because of this, his effort to blockade Great Britain has been a failure. His plan to trap the British Expeditionary Force in Flanders was broken by the miracle of Dunkirk. He did not arrive in London on August 15. He did not summon the defeated countries of Europe to Munster to hear his terms of peace in September. He has not in his aerial blitzkrieg established mastery over the British air but has suffered defeats of the most ruinous kind, by which Nazi claims of invincibility have been deflated. He has not kept his country free from the visitation of British airmen. He has not made good his promise to his people that they would not have to face a second winter of war. This is a formidable list of disappointments which Hitler has had to share with his unhappy people. That they are an unhappy people there is convincing proof.

This blocking of Hitler's plans is an achievement of immense importance. But it does not give any certainty of victory. It only renews an opportunity for victory which was lost and has now been regained. Hitler and his bloody-minded and perverted associates are enraged, and they have not weakened in their will to smash the civilized world. The admission, even to themselves, of a possibility of defeat would bury them beneath the collapse of their jerry-built empires. For Hitler it is a case of "World Domination or Downfall" which it may be recalled was Bernhardi's slogan for Germany in the first World War. For us and for the nations of the world whom we are protecting in defending ourselves, any adjustment that did not free the world of this nightmare of Nazi and Fascist designs and did not restore to the enslaved countries of Europe their lost liberties, would be, however much it might be dressed up in garments of appeasement, merely the first instalment of a defeat that on the morrow would become absolute and irremediable. The case has been rightly put by an English writer: "What faces us today is new in history; anyhow, since the forgotten Mongol invasions. It goes beyond contention over sovereignty and over ancient rights. From the beginning of this war its inherency was guessed and in this hour it is stark. We know there can be no compromise with our adversary; implacable evil has no good in it to which reason can appeal. This challenge by the Nazis is ultimate."

THE ISSUES ARE CLEAR

With the nature of Nazism and its kindred superstitions thus revealed, and the scope of its planned aggression made clear, the war has taken on its true character. It is not a war for the defence of a group of countries having particular interests, but for the protection of all countries that have been threatened—which means every land under the sun which has not bowed the knee to Baal. It is war against powers which seek the spiritual, intellectual and political death of man. The war becomes more and more a crusade for the altars of mankind to which no free nation and no free man can be indifferent. For the reason so cogently stated by Burke: "When bad men combine the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." The forces, which are committed to this Crusade, the most sacred in the history of mankind, are allied forces. Alongside the armies which the British nations have put into the field are other national armies, organized, officered and directed by governments which offered vain resistance to the dark barbaric flood and are now in exile in Great Britain which has offered them a home. In the Navy which holds the seas and the merchant fleets which make these seas roads of commerce for the free world can be found the gallant seamen and sailors of all the allied nations. In the armadas of the sky the squadrons of all these countries fly together and share the dangers and the triumphs of their glorious warfare. Among them will appear any day now the Eagle squadron of fliers from the United States, many of whom have been serving as individual volunteers in the Royal Air Force. Great as will be the actual contribution which this squadron will make in the battle, the symbolism of its appearance in the sky will be still more notable. The Eagle squadron is a promise and a portent. It makes the youth of the United States one with the youth of freedom-loving lands in their devotion to their birthright of liberty and in their purpose to defend this inheritance with their lives.

Since the deadlock of today cannot continue for ever, since the issue is beyond compromise, the task of the future must be to bring into the field influences and striking forces that will destroy this conspiracy against mankind. To that end the nations, which are holding today the posts of honor and duty, will not limit their energies or spare their sacrifices. They intend, in the great words of Pitt, to save themselves by their exertions and the world by their example. That example invites the brave and the free of the whole world to associate themselves in this greatest crusade for humanity in order that victory may be early, overwhelming and fruitful. And the fruits of victory must be the attainment of the vision that great good and wise men saw so clearly twenty-one years ago: a world of peaceful, useful co-operation in good works by free men and free nations; a world from which the devil-worship of Mars will be outlawed for ever.