# LET'S FACE THE FACTS

No. 6

Address to the Men and Women of Canada

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# ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Sunday night, Aug. 25, 1940, at the invitation of the Director of Public Information for Canada Text of Robert E. Sherwood's address over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national network Sunday night, August 25th, follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Canadian Radio Audience:

It is a great privilege to be permitted to speak to you tonight. I cannot speak as an expert on European affairs, as did Miss Dorothy Thompson, Mr. Frederick Birchall and Mr. Gregory Clark.

I can speak only as an American citizen who is devoted with all his heart and soul to our common cause. And it is our common cause. We Americans are rapidly awakening to the fact that we are already at war. We are a nation of men who believe in liberty and justice. We are a nation dedicated by our greatest leader to the perpetual task of guaranteeing that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. No nation so dedicated can call itself at peace while Hitler lives and rules.

It would be very difficult to find any American patriot who has not thrilled to the fighting words of Winston Churchill, especially when he said that if the British Commonwealth shall last for a thousand years, men will say that this was its finest hour. We Americans now know that the future of our free institutions and our democratic faith is at stake in the Battle for Britain. We now realize that your Canadian menall the gallant men of the British navy and army and the Royal Air Force-are fighting to defend our homes as surely as their own. We say, may God give them strength-and may we give them reinforcement!

My own essential belief, which prompts me to speak to you now, is the same belief which I held in 1917 when, being rejected for enlistment in the U.S. forces, I went to Montreal and joined up. I had the honor of serving as a private soldier in the 42nd Battalion, Black Watch, in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France. I hope that there will be some of you now listening who will remember me—in the Guy Street barracks in Montreal—in Bramshott Camp in England—in the

lovely little village of Witley, Surrey—on the River Somme, in France, and on Vimy Ridge, which is forever sacred Canadian soil.

The one great enduring memory that I took with me during my period of service with the C.E.F. was the memory of association with the best men I've ever known. They were all kinds of men-of origins that were English, Irish, Scotch, French, or Indian. There were many Americans, like myself, of all races and creeds. In the company with me was a young Danish student, a very quiet, wellmannered, scholarly man named Thomas Dinesen. Being a Dane, he had been neutral in the war. But he sailed from Copenhagen to New York to do some anthropological research work, and while he was crossing the Atlantic, his ship was attacked by a German submarine. That cured him of his neutrality. He too went to Montreal and joined up. In France, he won the Croix de Guerre and the Victoria Cross. After the war he returned to Denmark and the life of a scholar. I wonder where Dinesen is now. Perhaps the Nazi gangsters who grabbed his little country have discovered that he is the wearer of the V.C.

I remember others in our outfit—a Scotchman, who was a chartered accountant in New York—an Irishman who had worked behind a soda fountain in Connecticut—a French Canadian farmer from Northern Ontario—a Jewish tailor's assistant from Brooklyn. They all wore kilts. They were all fine soldiers.

The mixture in the Canadian army provided the supreme answer to Hitler's phony doctrine of racism. There was no dominant race in this force. It was just a body of men—free men. And their achievements will never be forgotten, especially by the German soldiers who fought against them.

The officers who commanded these men also commanded their respect. In 1917-'18, when I was there, a large portion of the officers had come up from the ranks. My own company was led in the last victorious battles by one who had been a grocer's boy before the war. Here again is a living answer to Hitler—a decis-

ive answer to his hopeful theory that there can be no dynamism in democracy.

### HITLER'S FALLACY

Which leads me to make mention of a grotesque fallacy—one which was fostered by Hitler's propaganda machine and repeated by stupid people everywhere—the fallacy that a totalitarian system is efficient, and therefore must conquer a democratic system which is necessarily inefficient, incompetent, obsolete.

According to this fallacy, the only way for the democratic states to survive is by imitating the Nazi-Fascist-Communist type of state, which is a machine, and therefore bloodless, heartless and irresistible.

This, I submit, is nonsense.

Anyone would be a fool to attempt to deny the extraordinary power of the present German military machine. But its success so far is no proof of the strength of totalitarianism or the weakness of democracy. It is simply renewed proof of what the world has known for generations-that the Germans when unified can constitute a terrific, aggressive force. They have great military skill and their people are ready and willing to accept regimentation. They are now doped up with the cocaine of world revolution which has given them the glorious dream of world domination. They are armed with powerful weapons - particularly the airplane, the tank and the submarine-all of which were invented and developed by free men living and working in free countries.

The Germans have murdered the Republic of France. They outnumbered the French two to one. But—suppose the battle had been between French democracy and Italian Fascism. Italy has had a rigid totalitarian regime for twenty years. Does anyone believe that 40,000,000 Italians could have prevailed against 40,000,000 Frenchmen?

Czechoslovakia was one of the purest democracies in 'the world. It was also the strongest power of its size in Europe. Could the Czechs have been beaten by any totalitarian state of equal size—by Roumania, for instance?

And consider the amazing showing of 3,000,000 free Finns against 170,000,000 Russians, who had had twenty-two years of totalitarian preparation for war.

The advantage that the dictatorships seem to possess over the democracies is not efficiency. A state is not efficient in which, for every hundred workers, there must be forty policemen to see that the hundred don't slack, and twenty storm troopers to watch the policemen, and a dozen secret agents to watch the watchers. That, perhaps, is a good way to solve the unemployment problem. But it is a degraded way of life. And, I repeat, it is not efficiency.

The advantage on the totalitarian side consists in total ruthlessness, total lack of humanity. They glory in their barbarism, which has swept them to the brink of victory, over the bodies of innocent, decent people. I think you know—you free people who are listening now to this free speech from an American friend of yours—I think you know that it is the triumphant barbarism of the slave states which will eventually bring every one of them to eternal defeat.

Hitler in "Mein Kampf" has again and again proclaimed his devotion to something he calls "Nature" — Nature. The weird, mystic religion that he preaches is simply a reversion to paganism. It is also a flat denial of nature—of human nature, as it has developed and progressed since the beginning of time.

The democratic ideal — the Christian ideal—is based upon faith in the essential dignity of the individual man. Hitlerism is based upon contempt for the individual and denial of every right to the individual. All Nazi leaders invariably consider the masses of men as animals—so many sheep, to be herded, shorn and driven to

the slaughter.

This Nazi ideal of government can succeed and survive only if men consent to abandon their humanity and accept the status of beasts. But it is impossible for men born and bred in the British tradition to do this. It is impossible for Americans. We all share this common tradition. The generations behind us have shared it

since Magna Charta, more than seven hundred years ago. It is a remarkable fact, an inspiring fact, that the British tradition has spread over the whole earth. among all races, and in no place where it has been established has freedom ever been renounced, as it was renounced in Germany when Hitler came to power. Consider the French in Canada who for nearly two centuries have passionately maintained their independence under the British flag. Consider the Boers in South Africa. In these tragic days, it is good to remember that French freedom still lives in the Province of Quebec; Dutch freedom still lives in the Union of South Africa. All of our peoples, whatever their racial origins, throughout the whole British commonwealth and the United States, have steadily worked and fought for the greater spread of civil liberty, for social progress, for the eternal extension to all of the rights without which we ourselves refuse to live.

## BIGOTRY AND GREED.

This tradition, this way of life, has of course been threatened by individuals and minority groups within our own borders. There have always been a few who have attempted to sabotage the principles of freedom and equality. They have been animated principally by two of the most debased of mortal motives—bigotry and greed. And everyone of their attempts to extinguish liberty has been frustrated by the overpowering will of the British and American people.

In my own country, today, there are important men who have succumbed to the demoralizing, degenerative influence of Hitlerism. They are chiefly men who worship the machine. They have seen the enormous output of German factories, the results of the toil of laborers who have no right to organize or even to speak, no choice as to where they shall work, or for how many hours a day, or for what wages. The worshippers of the machine have seen the ultimate in regimentation in Nazi Germany, and they like it, and wish that we could have the same system over here.

I should like to name the two outstanding exponents of this point of view, which I and many other Americans consider a trait-orous point of view. They are both erstwhile American heroes. They are Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh and Henry Ford. I don't need to say much about Mr. Ford. A great industrialist, the genius of the assembly line, he has too often revealed that, outside of his own factories, he is a profoundly stupid man.

But Lindbergh is to me a tragic example of mental aberration. He had such a matchless opportunity and so much to contribute. A year ago he was working where he belonged, for his government in Washington, using his considerable technical knowledge and skill in the furthering of our defense. But—with the outbreak of war last September—what did Lindbergh do for his country? He quit the service. He quit so that he could devote himself to pleading Hitler's cause.

Lindbergh was exposed to Naziism, he was infected by it. He is a man spiritually diseased. He might have been a great constructive force; but he enlisted in the forces of destruction. I can assure you that his opinions are just as unpopular with real Americans as are the men from whom he got them—Hitler, Goering and Goeb-

bels.

What Lindbergh preaches is simply this: in order to avoid war with the totalitarian states, we must make friends with them, we must flatter them, we must imitate them. This same policy was preached to Americans before the Civil War. It was said then that in order to avoid strife and bloodshed, we should accept the evil of slavery. The great opponent of this policy of appeasement was Abraham Lincoln. He was a man of gentleness, deep sympathy, pure tolerance. But he confessed that he was stirred to hatred by this policy of temporizing with evil. Words he spoke in 1854 are of vital importance to Americans today. He said he hated this policy "because it deprives our republic of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions everywhere to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamentals of civil liberty, denying the good faith of the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but selfinterest."

### MISGUIDED ISOLATION.

We who now live in the Union which Abraham Lincoln fought and died to save-we wish to tell the world that the voice of our country is not expressed by Lindbergh, or any other bootlicker of Adolf Hitler. It is not expressed by the misguided isolationists who think and talk and act on the assumption that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans are still just as broad as in the days of sailing vessels. The voice of our country is expressed, truly and eloquently, by President Franklin Roosevelt, and by our other great political leader, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Wendell Willkie. A week ago, when Mr. Willkie pledged himself to the service of his country, he could pick no better words than Winston Churchill's - the pledge of "blood and tears, toil and sweat."

The essence of our national policy was established once and for all by President Roosevelt in his address at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, just two years

Let us remember his words:

"Civilization is not national—it is international—even though that observation, trite to most of us, is today challenged in some parts of the world. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored

in any land; and the profit of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political party can subscribe.

"In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition . . .

"We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas."

No one who heard that speech of the President's over the radio can forget the solemnity with which he spoke the two following historic sentences:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire."

Such was the Declaration of Interdependence spoken by the President of the United States and approved by the American people.

Within the past weeks, the words of this declaration have been translated into action, to bring Canadians and Americans together at last in the interests of our common cause, to provide constructive help by the United States for Canada and for Britain. This help must continue; it must be increased; it must provide the basis for permanent policy. In the collaboration, the cooperation,

the acknowledged brotherhood of the entire English speaking world is the one substantial hope for peace in the family of man. It is the one guarantee that another Hitler will not—can not rise again. It is my belief—it is a belief which burns in the hearts of an ever increasing number of patriotic Americans—that this hope will be fulfilled, within our own day, by the massed force of our own spirit.

We live now under a tremendous threat. We must be prepared, every one of us, to fight it, to the death. We must be prepared to fight for the one faith that matters to every man and woman who believes in the dignity of the individual.

And we can be confident of victory. Our common tradition of freedom has been tested on a thousand battlefields, from Waterloo to Gettysburg. It is now meeting its supreme test on the white cliffs of Dover.

It will survive because it is essentially true and therefore indomitably strong.

It is founded on the one conviction by which humanity itself can survive—the conviction that there is divinity in man—there is honor in man—there is genius in man—there is capacity in man for wisdom, for tolerance, for beauty, for love, and, above all, for creation.

We know that these qualities are unconquerable. That is the knowledge that made us free. That is the faith that the dive bombers and the tanks can never destroy.

I thank you.

When you have read this speech it is suggested that you pass it to a friend.