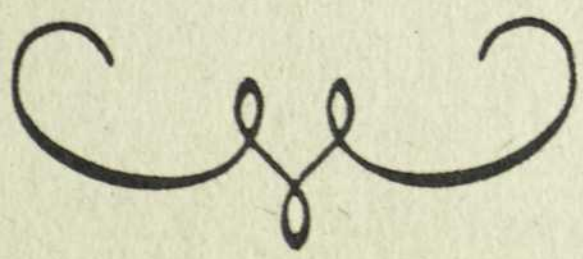
JEAN CHARLES HARVEY

THE WEAPONS OF FALSEHOOD



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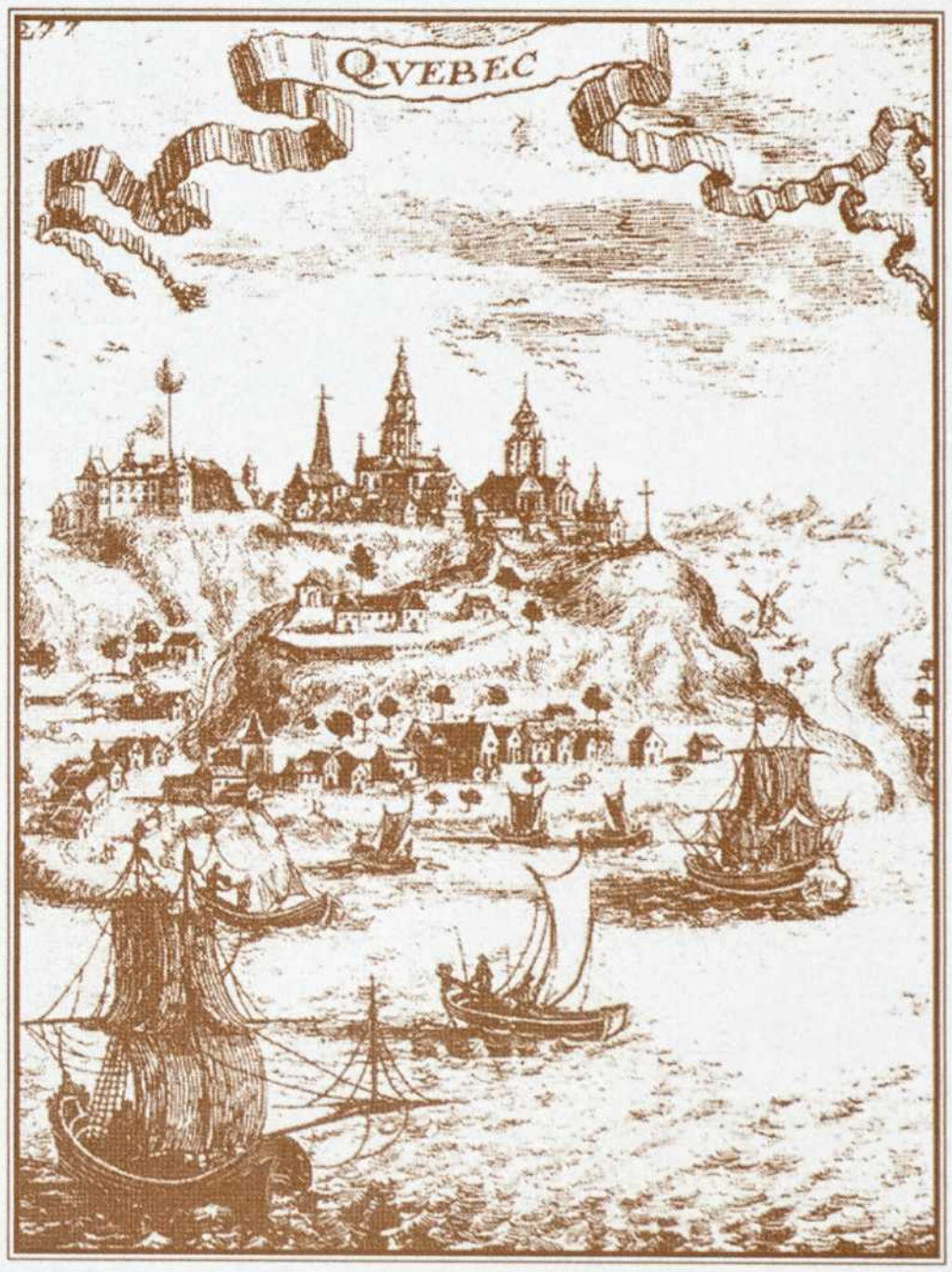

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One June evening in 1941, accompanied by the distinguished Parisian architect, Charles Siclis, I was on my way back to Montreal from a brief trip to Mont-Tremblant in the Laurentians. Throughout that day, both of us had been in the blues. It seemed to us that the democraties would never succeed in ridding France of the Germans. All at once, Siclis had a flash of intuition:

—The best thing Hitler could do, said he, would be to attack Russia.

—Do you know that, since the mysterious flight of Hess to England, I have been thinking about that more than once?

—Ah well! if that happens, I promise you a champagne dinner at my home in Paris.

Siclis did not live long enough to return to France. He passed away in the United States several months later. But just the same he had the pleasure of learning, the night after our outing, the dazzling news: Hitler attacks Russia!

Our good spirits returned to us.

Every medal, alas! has its reverse side. Russia's entry into the 'democratic' camp appeared to be in flagrant contradiction to the war aims of the West. On many occasions later, it was to be thrown in my face: "How can you claim that we are fighting for freedom, democracy and Christian

civilization, when our principal ally in the East represents a totalitarianism which is the foe of freedom, democracy and Christianity?"

This troublesome thought was weighing on millions of honest minds from that time on. At a meeting held in the Montreal Forum, where I had been invited by the Aid to Russia Society to give an address, I believed it was my duty to throw this jet of cold water on the three thousand communists who had gathered there to applaud their red idols: "We, the democrats, are as far from totalitarianism of the left as we are from that of the right, for we do not prefer to be bitten by the fox rather than by the vixen. But here we are with our house on fire. It would be a bad time to want to settle accounts with the neighbor who is helping to cast water on the flames."

Liberals throughout the world adopted the same stand. They had no choice but to do so. The logic of war, in their minds, was bound to carry the day over the logic of ideas and principles.

The propagandists of the extreme left could no longer be kept in check. From then on, sure of a lengthy truce, during which they would operate without let or hindrance, they exerted a tremendous effort to spread confusion in people's minds and to prepare for the sabotage of western civilization.

We are reaping today the poisonous fruits of that seed-time of lies.

The Watchword of the Reds

The first task of the saboteurs of western civilization was to ascribe to certain important words a sense which they never had before. On their lips, the terms *liberal, democrat, fascist* and many others, no longer retained anything of their primary significance.

For example, a *liberal* journalist, in their fantastic vocabulary, became the good fellow who invariably supported

the Moscow or communist viewpoint, as against the dearest interest of his own country and of his own fellow-citizens. A journalist who was *antiliberal* was the rash fellow who dared to disapprove of the armed robbery of a large slice of Poland or one who expressed doubts concerning the freedom of the press in the Soviets.

A *democrat,* to deserve this name, had to be a revolutionary burning with the desire to set up small Soviet republics on the banks of the Saint-Lawrence or on the shores of the Great Lakes. An *antidemocrat* was the man who still believed in this social formula: the individual has not been made for the State, but the State for the individual.

A *fascist* was no more simply the follower of a Mussolini or Hitler dictatorship, but, in reality, any enemy whatsoever of the red expansion throughout the world.

More than once, during the war, I had to publish vigorous articles against the distrust and, at certain moments, the trickery evidenced on the part of the leftists extremists in respect to the democracies. After he had read one of these editorials in which my indignation burst forth with some violence, one of my friends was quite distressed. He was naive enough to telephone me in the following terms, which I quote from memory: "Indeed, I cannot believe my own eyes. All *progressive* minds were relying on you because they considered you as one of the few liberal journalists." I answered him: "A liberal I am, and a liberal I remain. There is not the slightest shadow of liberty in the extreme-left." He did not understand. He was a victim swallowed by propaganda.

A communist newspaper in France, *La Défense,* in its issue of January 23rd last, carried this headline: "In Greece, the democrats are hunted down". By this, it understood that band of adventurers who are living on their plunder on the Greek frontier and who are working against their country in the interest of Moscow.

In the same paper on the same date, we read: "Offensive of the Turkish reactionaries. What really is that so much

vaunted Turkish democracy, and *for whose use are the American credits which the United States are refusing to truly democratic countries?"* These latter countries probably are Yougoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland and other vassal States of the Kremlin.

Heaven knows how many times also are the terms *progressive* and *reactionary* abused! The former, it seems, are all those who favor the overthrow at all costs of present institutions; the latter, those who refuse to agree to a change for the worse. A working mechanic was one day greatly surprised at the repugnance inspired in me by the self-styled apostles of Marxism in America. Being greatly interested in trade union organizations, he said to me:

—And yet people generally regarded you as a *progressive.*

—We should first of all know what exactly is meant by that.

—I mean new ideas. One must not be opposed to change.

—In the first place it would be necessary to show that the changes proposed by the Reds are a part of progress. For me, until there is proof to the contrary, it is a backward step. The real reactionaries are probably the revolutionaries of the totalitarian State.

—You are ignorant of what wonderful things have been done in Russia.

He was about to repeat to me the familiar tell-tales from the propaganda bureau of *Comintern,* whose head is in Moscow and whose members busy themselves in sundry petty sheets in Canada, France and the United States, when I put some questions to him:

—Would it be indiscreet to ask you how much you earn at your trade?

—Oh! In one way or another, nearly sixty dollars a week.

—Are you aware of how much your comrade in the U.S.S.R. earns?

—Probably less, but out there they have had a revolution, and then the war . . . Give them a chance!

—What interests me is this: you earn three times more in six days than your Russian comrade earns in a month.

—Granted. Rome was not built in a day . . . but at least, under the new régime, they put an end to the *exploitation of man by man.*

—It would also be necessary to put an end to the *exploitation of man by the State,* when the latter is the only employer and holds the rights of life and death over everybody . . . And again, what you label *exploitation* is again another of those easy words the meaning of which the Red propaganda frequently falsifies. For the mechanic who earns more than three thousand dollars a year is not exactly being exploited, but *used* and remunerated in exchange for a voluntary service, that is to say, free.

This intelligent workman with whom I was discussing the question in this way was not long in understanding that the series of key-words propagated by the Red International formed part of a dictionary in which all definitions are deliberately corrupted.

The most admirable feat of these strange linguists was to have the phrase *Democracy of the East* accepted as a designation of the Russian autocracy, in contradiction to the *Democracies of the West.* As if it were possible to balance the countries with all the liberties, such as ours, with the countries with all the servitudes such as the totalitarian and antiliberal States. After the Moscow conference which was concluded at the end of April, in a deplorable stalemate, press and radio commentators in all seriousness spoke of the rivalry which was apparent between the "two great democracies", the United States and Russia.

The evil must have penetrated very deeply indeed when we have come to the point of conceding the title of de-

mocracy to régimes which are essentially of an anti-democratic kind. And what is most disappointing is that intelligent men should allow themselves to be thus taken in.

For a long time, the watchword has gone forth to black out intelligence and to stupefy reason. It is part of the tradition among all tyrannical powers, to blind the masses by lies and to drive into a panic of ideas the whole logical equipment of the mind.

There are those who believe they are being insulted when they are treated as "men of the right". What is *the right?* What is *the left?* On these terms some light must yet be shed.

Passionately devoted to freedom and, as such, opposed to the totalitarian State, I shall be labelled, for that very reason a man of the right. A leftist told me: "Look out! you are becoming old-fashioned." Why? Because I was fighting for freedom. It appears that this is no longer up-to-date. In order to find out what is the left, the real left, let us go and learn it in the countries where all the newspapers, without exception, are the mouthpieces of the leader, where all the books do homage to the régime, where painting, sculpture and music are political, where tourists cannot travel around without being followed by the police, where foreign correspondents are censored, where the radio is devoted in its entirety to praises of the Generalissimo and the other bigwigs of the one party, where the rights of association and of meeting do not exist and where the people are kept in total ignorance of the rest of the world. Ah! well, when all this has been accepted, a person has the privilege of saying that he is of the left. Not before! There, indeed, you will be informed of the vocabulary of all the world's muscovites. That knowledge will henceforth be useful to you to diagnose the presence of agents and victims of propaganda in every meeting in which politics are being discussed.

America, Turk's Head

Another aspect of the antidemocratic propaganda, ever directed by Moscow, is the campaign of systematic smearing of the life, institutions and politics of America.

The war was not over when the Red International was already organizing the fight against the United States. 'Delenda est Carthago' was decreed against the existence of a great liberal and capitalist democracy, whose power, productivity, wealth and high standard of life were becoming, especially in 1945, an overwhelming testimony in favor of the freedom of individual initiative.

This was going on well before the fall of Berlin. To my weekly, *Le Jour,* foreign refugees in New York frequently sent me articles in which they depreciated everything that was American and exalted everything that was Russian. Comparing these writings with others which appeared simultaneously in the self-styled leftist periodicals, in the United States and elsewhere, I became sharply aware of the reality of a world conspiracy, and I placed myself on the alert. I got rid of my friendly 'contributors', for it was my view that they belonged to the first cells of a new Fifth Column. It was with these people in my mind that I wrote at that time in my own paper: "At the end of this war, North America will become, by the force of things, the first power of the world. Thanks to a solid alliance of England and the other British nations with the great democratic neighbor, Canada will be at the very centre of this imposing union which will group for a long time to come, let us hope, the most vigorous, the sanest and the most civilizing elements of the world.

"Obscure forces are working to prevent the realization of this dream. Fanatics of certain ideologies, coming from the four corners of Europe, are conducting a systematic smearing campaign against the only nation which, when peace reigns once more, will most probably keep in all its vigor political democracy, private enterprise and, in consequence, the key to progress, to well-being and to civilization. It may be wondered if there does not exist, among

these numerous agents of division, the jealousy of the scion of some great family who has come down in the world in regard to the son of a plebeian who has gone up in the world and can no longer be overwhelmed by a traditional scorn. One thing is certain: the fact exists and a coalition has been formed against the American influence. Canadians should be the last persons who play the game such a coalition which has no other aim than to have themselves robbed of the advantages of the present war to the profit of a distant power.

"Let us take care! We shall be, perhaps, within the next fifty years, the economic and democratic bastion of the world. The enemies of democracy are aware of this: they are recruiting, even among North Americans, partisans whom they are inciting to destroy with their own hands the only fortress of their liberties. To our petty messiahs swollen with pretension and busying themselves in producing a certain disreputable red sheet, the "columnists" arriving from overseas are being made to play the fable of the 'fox with the amputated tail'."

In reading again these lines written in the midst of the war, I can see that my forecasts were right. The United States have become the Turk's head of every bit of Moscow's international propaganda. And honest liberals who have nothing in common with communists are falling heavily into the trap. It is time to react.

When we see the naive and honest Wallace, former Vice-President of the United States and Quixote of mental imbalance, making a pro-Soviet trip in Europe and supplying the common enemy with arguments against the policy of his own country, there is no need to speculate as to what success the red conspiracy has met. It has certainly made some havoc.

The premeditated sabotage on the part of Russia of the Moscow peace conference, in March and April 1947, at a time when the whole of Europe was in chaos, has served as an excuse to the Russomaniacs to cast the blame on America for this deplorable setback. Democrats have been

found who are credulous enough to be taken in by this tell tale. They have not taken note of the fact that Moscow had no desire for a peace which might have prevented her from putting her hands on the morsel and keeping it for herself alone. And thus the hue and cry against the United States!

I do not like all Americans. They have their failings and their faults—like all of us—and their civilization has its gaps. It will often be necessary to criticize them and resist them. The opportunity will be granted to us frequently. That is not the question. It is one of recognizing a tragic reality: the existence of TWO WORLDS between which we have to choose. The famous ONE WORLD of the late Wendell Wilkie has become impracticable through the intransigence, the imperialism and the destructive mysticism of Muscovite elements. Now, faced with the necessity of making up our minds, it is impossible for us, in so far as we are Canadians, to dissociate ourselves for one moment from the interests of a nation with which we are bound in partnership. On account of North American solidarity, everything which builds up the United States will build up Canada; everything which lets them down lets us down.

By virtue of the same principle, France, England, our Commonwealth allies, as well as the Scandinavian democracies and the Low Countries, can preserve their independence, their liberal institutions and their ancient civilization only by utilizing for their defence, the strong biceps and the large fist of the North American colossus.

Everybody is free to like or dislike the United States. Such a feeling is of secondary importance when faced with the necessity in which all the democracies find themselves in forming a world bloc to survive. And in very truth I do not see for human liberties any hope in an organization which would want to leave out Uncle Sam.

The Communist Fifth Column so strongly feels the importance of this democratic union around the power of America, that it is exerting an extraordinary effort to make the Americans hateful to the whole world.

Some time ago, a European lady disembarked at the port of New York, hurried from the docks to the station and caught a train bound for Montreal. On her arrival at our metropolis, someone asked her what she thought of New York.

—Don't talk about it to me, she said, it is a foul city full of savages.

This lady had only spent two hours on the New York streets. She held the same judgment on America as a crowd of her compatriots indoctrinated by propaganda or incapable of grasping the idea that the foremost power in the world is no longer on the old continent.

According to a news dispatch published in *La Presse* of April 28th, *l'Humanité,* communist organ of Paris, is alleged to have written: "Philippe Barrès is personally paid for concealing from the French the real identity of those who are starving them." The starvers, it appears, were the Americans. And this reminds us that Mr. Thorez, a child of Moscow, lately claimed that France had received more from Russia than from the United States. It may be wondered, then, who has fed, clothed, housed, rebuilt a part of Europe in ruins? Who has scattered millions on the Continent without demanding anything in return? It may likewise be wondered who has plundered the most booty in the occupied countries? Who has dismantled and removed to their own country the most factories, tools and materials of all kinds? Who has demanded the most fantastic reparations? Who has annexed the most territory? Who has established the greatest number of vassal governments and who, besides, has supplied nothing to others to help in their recovery?

I have presently before my eyes various samples of eight different communist publications from France. First of all we have *Pensée,* a quarterly review (July-August-September 1946). On the topic of the American loan of 650 million dollars to France, we may read therein:

"The French people have understood that it was a case of foreign interference in their domestic politics, and the

French people are not to be bought." And this, at the foot of the same page:

"At the moment when the Man of Munich, Edouard Daladier, makes his come-back on the Parliamentary scene, *our most faithful and most valuable allies* would be pardoned for wondering if once French politics are not giving an impression of disloyalty."

Just the same, in reading these lines, we may speculate if it is these Russians, 'the most faithful and valuable allies' who are supplying France with $650,000,000 to aid in her recovery.

Other red journals of France, such as *Regards, Action, La Défense, France-Nouvelle* and *France-URSS* are doing their utmost to favor the imperialist designs of Moscow and to cast discredit and ridicule on America.

In *Regards* of February 21st, you may read an article on the western frontier of Poland. Not one word about the eastern frontier, which Russia over-ran at the time she was cultivating the friendship of Hitler.

When the United States are mentioned, despite the fact they are feeding Europe, the tone changes: a dialogue on lynching between the negro singer, Paul Robeson, and President Truman. That is the best *Regards* can offer on that day concerning America.

L'Action, of December 27th 1946, devotes a lengthy article to a small country which the capitalist nations have showered with gifts, and it dresses it with this flambuoyant title: *Yougoslavia, country of youth!*

When this paper goes on to treat of the American question, it denounces "the international feudalisms which have their strongholds across the Channel and across the Atlantic", then it terms as a *reactionary offensive* the effort being made by Washington to protect the public against certain unjust and illegal strikes.

It is again *L'Action* which, on December 13th, spoke of 'the economic blackmail to which the United States were submitting Great Britain'. Right alongside this pleasantry,

in regard to the liberators of France, we may read this heading: *The sun is rising over Roumania.* In French, this means that Moscow has tinged with red the Bucharest government.

Another issue of *L'Action,* that of January 24th, bears the following headlines: Antisovietism of General Marshall;—Imperialistic designs of the United States in the Near East;—Interview of Lenin with Clara Zetkin on literature and art.

There would be no end if we had to give all the samples of bad faith and ignorance which the red press offers us. I could not, however, pass over in silence *Regards* of February 14th, page 10, on which there are pictures of the fashions of various countries. The photos of German, Italian, Russian, English and others are flattering enough; but to represent America, right in the foreground, is featured a hideous mannequin, (published some time before, I believe, by an American magazine with an idea of providing comic effect), picturing American smartness in a grotesque light. And when one remembers that *Vogue* is easily the most magnificently produced review of world fashions! As for Russian fashions, they simply do not exist.

Once more, I repeat, the single fact of criticizing the United States and American politics is nothing but normal and legitimate; but in all this stuff, there is the extraordinary phenomenon of a perfect similarity of procedure between the campaigns of the Moscow *Pravda* and the countless clandestine agencies which are infesting every country. The purpose which is being followed then appears clearly: to deliver all the real democracies to the hate of millions of men, so as to allow the Soviets to realize their dream of world hegemony.

The means being employed today by the Red Fifth Column, to create and strenghten anti-American feeling on the different continents closely resemble those used by Hitler to arouse antisemitism at home and abroad. With the lies, the slanders, the false testimonies against the

Jews the Nazis mingled some authentic facts, some real faults, in such a way that an ounce of truth, like the delicate coating of sugar on the poisoned pill, might be enough to make acceptable a ton of criminal accusations.

On the occasion of the May First celebrations, most of the orators called upon to address the crowds, in the satellite countries of Russia, denounced, with a touching unanimity, "capitalist conspiracy and American imperialism". Do you suppose this is restricted to States that live within the shadow of the Kremlin? Make no mistake about that! At the recent election in the Cartier division of Montreal, where the spy Fred Rose, now in jail, had been the member, the spokesmen for the communist candidate have likewise, almost to a man, poured out vituperation against the so-called American imperialism.

Lastly, on May 8th last, in a declaration made on the occasion of the second anniversary of our victory over Germany, Marshal Tito, Yugoslav leader under the orders of Moscow, asserted, without a lift of the eyebrows, that the intrigues of the capitalist countries were leading the world to another war. This was precisely the same blackmail practised by Hitler.

It is, therefore, undeniable that a world campaign, perfectly concerted, is presently being waged against the only democracy which is in a position to bring to naught this attempt at universal bolshevization.

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How is Freedom to be Saved?

Whatever may be the faults and failings of the American democracy, it is the duty of all of us to rally around it, to assist in its maintenance and improvement, for it is the fortress of the free peoples. If we allow ourselves to be dragged along by the current of hate which our worst enemies are letting loose on it, we would lose our only effective protection. We should soon waken up under an Asiatic and oriental domination. And civilization would go back a thousand years.

Let us strike, if you please, the balance of losses suffered in these recent years in the centres of western civilization and culture. Let us first of all take the case of France, because she is the one who seems to have reached the highest pitch of modern civilization. How can she, under the shadow of her own flag, save her heritage of intelligence and beauty? Materially ruined by four years of German occupation, despoiled militarily of everything by the disorganisation of her armies and the destruction of her fleet, physically weakened by famine and by the long imprisonment of her youth in Germany, diminished in her prestige, harassed by the insurrection in certain parts of the French overseas empire, she could not, for a long time to come, resist the ambitious enterprises of the anti-democratic forces of the Orient. On whom could she rely? On Russia? That is most unlikely. On England? Well enough, but on condition that the latter be supported in her turn? The English, like the French, are today exerting a wonderful effort to repair their disasters . . . apparently irreparable. The ancient empire of the Victorian era is suffering the consequences of two exhausting wars in the last thirty years. Her weakened condition is manifest in India, in Palestine, in Burma. She has had to transfer to the shoulders of the United States the responsibilities which she had undertaken in the Mediterranean in regard to Greece and Turkey. From the creditor that she was, England has become a debtor. To restore her trade and reorganize her industry, she has had to contract heavy obligations towards North America.

The other British democracies, namely, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand constitute together a considerable power, but as they are scattered in the four corners of the globe and as any of them, taken separately, could not play the rôle formerly filled by France and England, the leadership of western civilization could not be entrusted to them.

Outside the French and British groups, which perhaps represent the highest degree of contemporary civilization, where is the last refuge? If the spirit of progress and the

passion for freedom were enough to repulse brutal force, we should immediately turn our minds towards Scandinavia, the Low Countries or even Switzerland; but not every day can David's miracle with a sling against Goliath be successfully undertaken.

There remains Latin America. Firm bonds of friendship attach us to several of the Southern republics; but otherwise than in a general way they have not evolved to the democratic viewpoint, they are far from possessing the organization and the necessary power for the task confronting them.

There is but one conclusion: to the United States falls the mission of protecting and saving freedom and democracy in the world. That is what mankind is expecting from that country which, for more than a century, has never ceased to be the refuge of the millions of the old world's disinherited, to whom it has offered emancipation and a chance to build their own lives.

But today in the presence of a Slav imperialism which understands nothing of individual liberty and which has no conception of the democratic idea, the United States cannot withdraw from their mission. For them it is a duty to serve as a prop to all that western civilization which must exist along the paths marked out by French and English institutions. Let this prop be taken away at the present hour, and immediately we shall witness the collapse of a world.

Indeed, the day when the voice of America should refuse to make use of the preponderating authority bestowed on her by her material superiority, then on that day another voice would make itself heard, quite alone, in the council of nations reduced to silence. I hope that nobody will have the naïveté to suppose that Russia would not take advantage to the utmost of the absence of the United States. It would be a relatively easy matter to project the shadow of the Kremlin as far as Paris, to make the Mediterranean a Soviet lake, to hand over China to red factions and, thus installed as mistress on the two most densely populated continents, to stir up for the whole of America difficulties of an insurmountable kind.

The oriental or Asiatic powers, of whom Russia is one, are all the more sensitive to the propaganda made by the latter because they have often enough complained about the white peoples. With the help of racial prejudice, it becomes twice as easy to revive the bitterness arising from a long history of mistakes, crimes and mishandling. Let us think of what, for the western powers, would represent the aggressive ill-will of a milliard of human beings—in China, in India, in Russia, in Asia Minor, in Africa—convinced that they had age-long insults to avenge and that they possessed the best formula for the government of mankind. That is not a very comforting thought. A man would have to be blind to believe that such a tragic coalition whose disparate elements need only a little organization could not be brought about. For the world has become very small. Let us hope that, to avert such a danger, the United Nations should be something more than a court in which national claims win the day over universal interests.

For the moment, what is most needful is the realization of the union of all the democracies around the powerful North American colossus. After unmasking the secret intentions of a hateful propaganda, solely designed to divide the nations and made to fall in with the views and favor a clique of Moscow imperialists, we must forget certain secondary differences, pardon certain mistakes, subdue our nationalist, regional or chauvinistic feelings so as to collaborate whole-heartedly with our neighbors of the South.

To the Frenchman accustomed to receive everywhere tributes to the superiority of his culture and his merited reputation of being highly civilized, it might appear hard to seek safety among peoples who are quite young, whom yesterday he considered as adolescents suffering from overgrowth. For the same reason, the Englishman who, in all lands and on all the seas of the globe, commanded respect in his quality as a 'British citizen', will be wounded in his vanity. Sundry Canadians will also be alarmed, in their loyalty to the Crown and to the cult of their Canadian grandeur, to live under the shadow of a power which has

become, through force of circumstances, responsible for the democratic way of life before the bar of the world and of history; all this is nothing but very natural; but particular susceptibilities are of no account when faced with the primary necessity of living and being free.

Besides, it is not in Canada that it would be fitting to complain of the proximity of a great republic with which she has enjoyed a century's peace and against which she has never once had to think about establishing the slightest system of defence on a common frontier of more than three thousand miles. This single fact disposes, in my opinion, of the charge of imperialism levelled against that republic by leftist factions.

The close union of all the democracies, clearly necessary for the maintenance of our civilization, unhappily finds enemies not only among the communists but among a host of naïve persons who style themselves liberals. Thus it is that recently a committee of the Montreal Synod of the Church of England in Canada stated that "anti-Soviet propaganda had reached new heights of infamy". This was only the opinion of a small minority of a religious group, but it is astonishing that such respectable persons should not have taken into reckoning the ferocious press campaigns of the Moscow press and of various red organs, in many countries, against England and particularly against the United States.

No less blind are those who imagine that the Soviets are working for the good of mankind. Hitherto, they have pursued aims purely political and nationalist. What they want to do in their own country is their own business. What we raise our voice against is that, by means of an organization of lying propaganda, directed from Moscow, they are fomenting troubles elsewhere, sowing confusion, poisoning opinion, encouraging disloyalty and espionage, and all this, for ends which are specifically Russian and in no way humanitarian.

Such a world conspiracy against our dearest liberties will find its counterbalance in a solid democratic union whose centre is Washington.

It follows, therefore, that the mind of the masses will have to be won to the cause. This will be attained by the coordination of all the democratic agencies of information and culture, in such a way as to destroy proportionately the effects of the poison and to shed more light into men's minds.

It goes without saying that there is no question here of accepting, with eyes shut, all the decisions of American policy which has not the gift of infallibility and whose diplomatic inexperience has caused more than one error. I am speaking of an intelligent cooperation in opposition to the most extensive anti-democratic conspiracy of our day and age.

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It Has to be Changed!

Here is the most serious argument that has been offered to me in favor of the overthrowing of our institutions:

"The war of ideas and of systems which is being waged today arises from the necessity of change in every living organism. Like individuals, societies are born, flourish and die. Thus it is with our democracy. If it does not answer any longer to the needs of our age, it must give place to another régime."

I grant the value of this argument. Everything changes, everything must change. Before going further, I deny that all individual liberties have to be destroyed to mark a step forward. I likewise deny that democratic institutions, such as we have known for a century, should be static. When a comparison is made in good faith between the present and the past, it will, on the contrary, be admitted that a peaceful revolution has taken place among the nations who were subjected to such.

Yes, certainly, everything is transformed. It should be known how long it was necessary for the first men to form an articulate language, learn how to make use of fire in the cooking of his food, melt and hammer metals into

shape, group nomad families into organized societies, formulate laws, extend the written word, replace the sailing-boat by the steamship, substitute the telegraph to the semaphore and the radio for the family piano concert, form a civilization in which the law of retaliation becomes the law of love, give without hope of return and gratefully receive, it would have to be known, I repeat, how many centuries, how many millennia rolled by between each stage, to measure the road traversed and to admit the impossibility of repose in so far as the human animal is concerned. Death alone is repose, and this is a pithy phrase quite as profound as that which is carved on tombstones: *Requiescat in pace.* Total repose has never produced a thing. When, in current speech, we say of an individual who is very active that he is reposing, we are not using the right term: he is not reposing, he is recuperating.

It is, therefore, as vain to think that there must be no change in existing conditions as it is dangerous to want to destroy all the past and all the present under the pretext of progress. Nature is violated as much by obstinate reactionaries as by sterile destroyers. In the excess of the intellectual and the artist as in the fallacies of theorists and utopists in favor of a so-called new order, we should see less the signs of decadence than of energies which are gone astray, enervated, disturbed and fatigued, which need the wisdom of the sages to restore to a fruitful action. We do not destroy energy, we canalize it for the good of the individual and the community. If these latter-day champions of reason and equilibrium are lacking in imagination to the extent of not knowing how to employ usefully all their wayward forces, it remains to them only to submit to their sad lot: the world will go through terrifying storms, and calm will be reborn on the planet as from the day when suffering and the instinct for preservation are stronger than the cruel fantasies of sundry persons for whom individuals and peoples are nothing but guinea-pigs.

Men gifted with intelligence, reason, good sense, experience and imagination should not, as they have always

done in the past, withdraw to their ivory tower and wait there to be strangled. They have not the right to remain as mere spectators of the great drama of human restlessness, and thus deliver their brethren to the voracity of demagogues, gansters and witch-doctors. From now on, it is against the interest of everybody to practise selfishness or indifference. For good or evil, the masses have become aware of their strength because they have learned to count on themselves and to unite. Insufficiently enlightened to be their own guides, they inevitably follow shepherds, good or bad. They will become agents of destruction under the impulse given by the leaders who will be imposed on their confidence. It will either be necessary to pay some attention to them, to assure them a minimum of well-being, or else they will obey the blind urge of instinct.

Happily, thousands of reasonable men are aware of this. All leaders worthy of that name, for years past, have drawn up plans for a future in which the care of improving man's condition is joined to the sincere desire to safeguard liberty. Certainly, no plan of this kind can be realized in its entirety; events and life itself are apt to modify all human planning. A house is rarely built without many details being altered in the original blueprint. How much more difficult it is to arrange a long time in advance the house of a nation or even of a world. What is important is that thousands of hearts and minds are now impregnated with the willingness to reform social and economic conditions in a framework of right and happiness of the individual who stands erect against the encroachments of the State. We may therefore hope that, from this crisis of prolonged growth, from which mankind has been suffering for thirty years, a sensible progress will result.

Nevertheless, while admitting the necessity of change, I can assert without fear that, for the last century, it is the democracies in which individual initiative and free enterprise have flourished, which have evolved the most rapidly and have *changed* the most. Thanks to the flexibility

of their institutions, they have practised something in the nature of a daily revolution.

The falsehood in contemporary propaganda consists in having created scarecrows with the words 'capitalism' and 'trusts', and in having affirmed that, under the power of money, no favorable change in popular rights is possible.

The reality is that, under the systems of *individual* capital, especially in America, individuals enjoy not only a greater amount of liberty, but also more real social changes which are more advantageous to everybody. For example, we have in no wise to learn from Moscow to found labor unions, institute family allowances and old age pensions, fix the length of the working week and the minimum wage, grant indemnities to victims of industrial accidents and unemployment insurance payments to those out of work, give free and compulsory education and pass, from one year to another, a whole crowd of measures aiming at economic and social protection.

This indicates that the social revolution, even in a capitalist country, is being gradually and peacefully accomplished in so far as circumstances, means of production and public opinion allow it. And such an ascent of the masses in the scale of welfare is being realized without there being any need to sacrifice the dearest liberties of the citizen.

Let Them Go There Themselves!

Canadian propagandists, inspired by a kind of Holy See installed in the Kremlin, are not content with this revolution which is too slow for their liking. They hasten to repeat the lesson learned from their masters: "We must have the dictatorship of the proletariat! More quickly than that! It is urgent!" There are among them some shallow-minded fellows of twenty to twenty-five years of age who know nothing of economic or social questions and who, obeying the directives of a clan formed of foreign agents, spies, traitors or visionary imbeciles, undertake

to transform the world by crying presto. The saddest thing about it is that these young irresponsibles should be attached to the most reactionary idea of our century. We can sometimes observe them in company with furies who have preferred to barter the divine attributes of woman for the unwholesome excitements of a nihilist mysticism.

The way all these stragglers think has something odd about it for people who brag about believing in nothing, in that it is narrowly moulded into a system of dogmas in which the Christian idea of sacred things is replaced by the superstitious cult of sundry material and even scurrilous objects. Thus it is that in reading this pamphlet, a scribe of the new religion will exclaim while crossing himself: "Sacrilege! He has dared to speak evil of Russia, the dearest of our allies!" If anyone could see inside such a skull, he would find this fixed idea: "Attack as violently, as often and as unfairly as you can Canada, England, the United States,—and all nations in which the people still stick to the idea of individual liberty. Let it go up in smoke! Never say a good word about them! But in front of Russia, hats off! For there everything is fine, everything is well, everything is holy!"

They are persons who go into ecstasies when they see a rug from Turkestan the weavers of which have had to substitute the portrait of Saint Molotov for the pretty fantastic designs of former days. Furthermore, they never fail to give a full salute to the immense ikon which dominates all the public places, all celebrations, all offices, all dwellings and which represents Joseph Stalin, greater, it appears, than Moses or Jesus.

Such born worshippers, you will tell me, should leave our country, which they find so bad, and emigrate to the Black Sea or the Baltic, for life is so good behind the iron curtain.

Is that what you think? Offer them to pay the trip at your expense, charter a boat for them, buy their tickets, reserve the best cabins for them, then tell them this: "Seeing that it is so fine in Russia, go there, but on the con-

dition you stay there." How many would accept your offer? Not one in fifty, I am convinced of it. A vague instinct might warn them that a country can be a prison, and that a prison, however big it is, is always a prison. Some of them, born in Canada, would no doubt tell you that the interdiction against returning, as a condition of the trip, is too hard for a man who would have left his parents and friends behind him. Very well, then either they are lacking in logic or they have not the stuff of authentic communists who regard it as a weekness, sometimes a crime, to give way to sentiment. Are they not ready to betray family, friends, country, for the cause?

The majority of Soviet apostles in Canada are, however, of foreign origin. Sam Carr, Fred Rose and Tim Buck are not exceptions. If we took the trouble to make a census of communist members, we should be astonished at the infinitesimally small number of acclimatized Canadians who belong to the movement. Most of them are more or less recent immigrants. Some of them have come to our country since the end of the war. All of them found freedom, jobs, consideration and wholesome living conditions here. In any case, Canada and the United States, countries of abundance and tolerance, made them forget—perhaps too speedily—the miseries, persecutions, social distinctions, political vengeances and the terror they had known at home. If they are incapable of appreciating institutions which allow them the enjoyment of so many privileges, I wonder why they do not seek shelter in the Soviet countries or, at least, in the satellites of the Kremlin such as Poland, Yougoslavia and Bulgaria. There at least, in recompense for their devotion, they might be made to share in the general misery.

During the past year, a young lady from Europe who glorified in having been a member of the Resistance during the German occupation, was temporarily staying in Canada. She was good-looking, spoke much and had a high opinion of herself. My youngest son had drawn on a carton, to amuse himself, the heads of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, and he explained to this young lady that it was his in-

tention to invite the three Statesmen, even the departed, to a great "party". Whereupon she said to him:

—Ah! Papa Stalin must be invited.

I shall never forget the ecstatic air which the self-styled *Resistante* assumed as she breathed the name of the Generalissimo. The leaders of England and the United States simply did not exist as far as she was concerned. It was in America she had received most money, gifts, jewels, steaks, but her heart belonged to a country and to beings she had never known and whom she had no inclination to know intimately. There was the feeling that she had long been bewitched by a propaganda presented in the shape of the religion of the new age. Her limited brain was incapable of understanding. And I thought of multitude of others, just like her, whom the agents of falsehood had, for years, made it a habit for them to grow enthusiastic over absurdities and to turn their backs upon the most simple truths.

On this topic, it is fitting to remind the Canadian Government that, in its immigration policy, it is its duty to take into account moral sicknesses as well as physical disabilities. I term a moral sickness that kind of red pride which plunges certain minds into a blind faith in their political credo and completely hinders them from listening to the language of facts and reason.

The Department of Immigration recently decided to forbid the entry into Canada of immigrants suspected of fascist attachments. At the outcome of a war provoked by fascism and waged to crush it, nothing could be more logical. Now, those people have no more rights to Canadian citizenship who would like to come here while, at the same time, reserving their loyalty to a seditious doctrine and to a power which bodes no good to us. In other words, every applicant for immigration to Canada infected with communism should be excluded. Let him go to Russia.

Democrats Under False Pretences

At the outset of this work, I observed that one of the trump-cards of the elements of the extreme left consisted in persuading intelligent men to accept the title of oriental democracy for Soviet Russia.

This has been brought about by a very cleverly organized process of stuffing people's skulls with the idea. Everywhere in the world, ignorant and destitute crowds have been made to believe that communism was the friend of the common people, and this gives it its democratic sound.

In certain countries, the success of such a campaign is without a doubt. We find the most striking example of it in China. The whole world knows that it is the Americans who freed China from the Japanese yoke and that the Chinese owe nothing to Russia. Yet, the war was barely over when hordes of yellow men were promenading the streets of the liberated cities crying: "Out with the Americans!"

Some time ago, the nationalist forces compelled the reds to evacuate Yenan. A United States correspondent who happened to be there after the evacuation heard this refrain being sung:

After all, what are the Americans doing in China?

They are stirring up the civil war of the reactionaries

And massacring the common people.

Young Chinese officers of the communist party, taken prisoner at Yenan, said this in reply to certain questions: "America is imperialist . . . Our friend is Russia . . . Communists are everywhere in the world . . . We are the ones to reorganize the world."

It may be seen that the language used in China on these matters does not differ from that affected in America. Everywhere there has been success in convincing a host of people that communism is a democratic movement.

It is, therefore, important that things should be put in their proper light. At the risk of repetition here is a parallel which, void as it is of any original facts, has at least the merit of presenting an important contrast:

Western Democracy	Eastern Democracy (?)
Government elected by the people and responsible to the people.	Absolute dictatorship and totalitarian government.
Laws made, discussed, amended or rejected according to the majority of the representatives elected by the people.	Legislative and executive power at the entire discretion of the dictatorial power.
Opposition enjoying freedom of unrestricted criticism.	No opposition when the master has spoken.
Multiple parties, all free to solicit votes.	One party, the communist, to the exclusion of every other.
All newspapers free to criticize the government and office holders thereof, including the head of State.	All the newspapers forced to eulogize the régime and its leaders, without any means of apportioning blame.
Freedom of association and assembly.	Associations and assemblies favorable to the régime alone permitted.
Labor unions independent of parties, of the Government and of employers.	The union founded, directed and controlled by the State alone permitted.
The right to strike.	No right to strike.
Variety and freedom of information services.	Rigid censorship on events abroad and on ideas.
Political neutrality of education.	Complete bolshevization of the young by the schools.
Freedom to travel in foreign countries.	No exit from Russia except those above suspicion and long tested in the fire of ordeal.
Freedom for the foreign visitor to go where he wishes without any supervision.	All foreigners submitted to a formidable network of surveillance, of spies and police agents.
Marriage with any foreigner one may wish.	Forbidden to the russian wife of a foreigner to follow her husband in his native country.
Initiative under the stimulus of personal ambition.	Every important initiative reserved to the State.
Freedom of individual or private enterprise, in industry, commerce, arts, science, etc., thus assuring unlimited progress by the play of competition and by the legitimate desire for success.	All important enterprises under State control and submitted to a bureaucracy which consists of one rigid and authoritarian class.

Western Democracy	Eastern Democracy (?)
Land belongs to the farmer.	Land belongs to the collective farm under State control.
No citizen, except the one who is convicted of seditious activity is molested for his public opinions.	About 15,000,000 political prisoners in the slave labor camps.
The State is for the Individual.	The Individual is the thing of the State.
Perfect equality before the law.	Condemnations, executions, imprisonments by arbitrary power.
The family, primary and principal social cell.	The family submitted to the demands of collectivism and the school.
Everybody free to arrange his private life as he wants.	The State constantly invading the sanctuary of private life.
Profound respect for the feelings, sorrows, sensitiveness, dignity of the life of the other man.	In face of the State's needs, it is a weakness, often a crime, to have any regard for sentiment.
The people can condemn and punish the crimes of a State.	People are compelled to approve and, if required, collaborate in the crimes of the State.
The leader is a man like everybody else.	Worship of the leader elevated to a religion.
Economic inequality is produced, in general, by the natural inequality of talents and initiative.	Economic inequality is produced by politics.
Personal enterprises have given to the people the highest standard of living in the world.	In collectivist countries, the standard of living is still at the lowest, thirty years after the revolution which boasted of establishing social justice.

Whoever, after reflecting over these facts, wants to speak again of an eastern democracy would do well to go back and study the dictionary.

A word now on the democratic spirit. Towards the end of the war, a French traveller was on a train in the United States in company with an American senator. When dinner was ready, both wanted to go to the dining-car. As a crowd of passengers had the same idea, the senator and the writer were forced to line up, like the others, until a table was ready.

—It seems to me, remarked the writer, that an immediate place should be found for a member of the Senate?

—Why should they?

This simple and spontaneous reply of a political figure prominent in public affairs, made the foreigner feel the depth, the living reality, of the democratic sentiment which has been developed in the United States.

The same thing might equally happen in Canada. I can picture here a hungry lumberjack whom a minister or senator might endeavor to hold back from entering a dining-car:

—And you, there! What's the big idea?

On the contrary, it is with difficulty that I can imagine a Molotov at odds with a moujik. Poor moujik!

Cause and Remedy

The comparative success of propaganda, whether fascist or communist, in our democratic countries in which the living standard is much higher than that obtained in collectivist societies arises perhaps from a fault of education. The facility with which any doctrinaire teacher whatsoever can muddle the brains of those entrusted to him no doubt indicates that the faculty of reflecting, of giving a precise balance to facts and ideas, of freeing the mind from irrelevancies to gaze at the world in a detached way, has not been sufficiently cultivated in the circles of youth.

On some, is imposed a philosophical system precooked and predigested and a collection of beliefs which it is forbidden even to discuss; on others, there is a superficial grafting of ways of thinking and making mental equations, without going very deep. What true culture really is seems to be ignored, for it is this which is distinguished by a harmonious equilibrium of faculties and which procures for the mind dispositions and aptitudes more precious than the knowledge itself.

The excess of specialization and of systemization has produced remarkable men in the field of action. On the other hand, it has been terribly harmful to the intelligence of ideas. It has held back a host of minds of first-rate quality from reaching out to the universal.

After a lengthy career wholly devoted to the discussion of the most varied problems, I have sufficiently observed mankind to know that those most qualified to form a sound judgment are those who do not suffer from professional deformation and who cling as much as possible to the universal in life. All the cultures I have had any acquaintance with have led me to this conclusion, nay, I would say, to this certainty.

We should not however fall into the opposite excess. We are living in an age in which the scientific and technical necessities imply such arduous studies, such extensive knowledge, that it is becoming impossible to be content with this general culture, which made for the beauty and nobility of the ancients. The middle of the road must be found. Life is neither a beautiful abstraction nor a chemical formula.

If I attach much importance to this point of view it is because, so it seems to me, the confusion of ideas would be less if men should learn to reason for themselves.

When most individuals are furiously bent exclusively on their little specialty, on their particular petty talent, on small things of the intellect, they end up by forgetting other fields of human activity, and it is then that they are ready to believe everything that is told them or is printed on subjects outside their knowledge or their concentrated investigations.

It is this which explains, perhaps, the very small number of men who arrive at moral maturity. I am not here making any distinction between the ignorant and the learned. An uneducated peasant can achieve maturity. On the other hand, rectors of universities, weighed down with degrees, with knowledge and honors, may remain all their

life like fruit which is green. More than one such has been known.

I will say further. Men who were well-nigh geniuses, but who had not truly matured, have confused their brain-children with reality, and as such creations were splendid, they have set themselves, like Trotsky, like our mystical phophets of the great day and age, to apply such ideas to the world's framework, without taking into consideration such things as nature, sentiment, ethnic facts, habits, and even less, the individual. This shoddy intellectualism has given us for our pains the bitterest sorrows of our age. Do not picture to yourself these self-styled intellectuals as men with cruel or bloody exteriors. They would not harm a fly. They will refuse the pleasures of fishing because that is not nice for the fish. They will be the first to protest against the cruelties of the doctor towards the guinea-pig. They are nevertheless destroyers because they are out to compress the world into this frightful straight-jacket, because they are out to force reality into the framework of their own reason. This could only be done by plunging the nations into a sea of blood. This has been seen in Russia, in pre-war Germany and in other places. Let us so act that we do not see it among ourselves.

You will notice that most of the economic and social constructions of the false intellectualism of the age resemble each other on one point: they light-heartedly sacrifice human liberty. Of all these reformers who are out to save our species by destroying our democratic institutions, not a single one has been able to reconcile his system with liberty, and that is why they have all concluded that man has no need to be free.

Now, in my way of thinking, any system which shows itself irreconcilable with freedom is false on its very face. I am glad to give here the recipe to anyone whose ideas have been confused: according to whether he will allow you your personal liberty or not, you will invariably distinguish the true missionary from the charlatan.

The sole fact of knowing this simple truth is already a remedy against the contagion of falsehoods. We should not, however, be satisfied with a recipe. The solution of the present problem should be found in the schools, colleges and universities. And there should be haste in bringing about reforms, for time presses.

Alas! a personal education, a program, textbooks and old habits of thought and belief are not changed from one day to the next. That is true, I admit. Yet a beginning must be made.

In the meantime, it is important to bring together as quickly as possible the various social groups whose existence is being simultaneously threatened by the contemporary plague. Has it occurred to anybody, for example, that our political parties, our churches, our labor organizations, and our capitalist institutions are all of them together the objects of hatred on the part of the common enemy? Has it ever been thought that well-nigh nothing would remain after the red wave had passed over?

These four groups, in ordinary times, may be divided. Often indeed they are violently at odds. But against a danger which threatens them conjointly, their forces must be harnessed. Might they, by any chance, have the simplicity to suppose that it would be possible for them to save themselves separately? Does the democratic politician imagine that he will escape from it all by himself and that he need not concern himself with the three other social orders? Do the guardians of religion figure that they will not have to accept compromise to save themselves from disaster? Would the opponents of clerical power be right in feeling themselves dishonored, if, for once, they should find themselves in accord with the clergy in a common aversion to the destroyers of Christian civilization? Will the free associations of labor organizations have the frankness to suppose they would survive the ruin of their employers? And will the latter at long last decide to cease labelling as communists all those workers who appear to be making excessive demands?

In the combat waged between two worlds, it is absolutely essential that our diverse social categories, living in democracy, should be able to present a common front, even if they remain opponents of one another. There will always be time for them, once the peril has been swept clean away, to resume the interrupted battle.

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45