

"The navy," the president said, "has orders to shoot and the order stands." "Shooting has started," were the words with which the president began this address. He concluded by saying: "To-day, in the face of this newest and greatest challenge, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations."

These words may be taken as describing, as effectively as words can, the present position of the United States.

I have, from the very beginning of the war, in parliament and out of parliament, stressed two things above all others; first, the world aspect of the danger; and second, the moral character of the issue.

I have consistently maintained that world domination was Germany's aim; that she hoped to achieve that aim through the might of her own power, and the ambitions of her axis partners. I have maintained with equal consistency that the issue fundamentally was a moral one, and that the conflict was one between a pagan conception of a world order, which ignores the individual and the value of all contractual relations, and a Christian conception of a world order which has regard alike for the sacredness of human personality and of the pledged word in all the relationships of life. In other words, the conflict is one between a society which bases its relationship on the doctrine of Right, and a society in which human relationships are based on the doctrine of Might; it is a struggle which will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a condition of existence which is worse than slavery.

It has taken the past two years for most countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict. Most of the neutral nations of Europe did not begin to see it until their own freedom was gone. Other parts of the world have come to fear it only as encroaching dangers have drawn near to their own shores. What all have still to learn is that to-day no nation is sufficient unto itself, no continent and no hemisphere great enough, in its own strength, to maintain its own freedom. A recognition of interdependence and combined action based thereon is as necessary, indeed, it is infinitely more necessary to the democracies of the world if they are to maintain their freedom, than it is to the axis powers in the furtherance of their acts of aggression.

Of all developments in the growing substance of cooperation among nations, the most heartening has been the deepening interdependence of the British commonwealth and the United States. That interdependence found noble expression in the joint declaration of August last which was made public after

the historic meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The conference in itself was evidence of the control of the seas which the combined fleets of Britain and the United States continue to possess. The joint declaration is an authoritative statement by the two great powers represented at the Atlantic conference of principles in international relations which they are agreed should govern the post-war world. At a meeting in London on September 24, formal adherence to these principles was given on behalf of the Allied powers and governments in exile.

The question it seems to me is no longer one mainly of assisting Russia, or assisting China, or assisting Britain, to save those countries from the might of the aggressor, necessary as this certainly is. Nor is it a question of helping to restore freedom to countries which have lost their freedom, essential as this also is. Nor is it a matter primarily of defending ourselves from attack, or of what shall be the precise scope of the post-war order. It has now reached the point of being a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos.

I have said that it has taken the past two years for most of the countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict. I doubt if any country has, as yet, come to see the undermining character of nazi doctrine and practice, or how completely subversive it is of Christian belief and humanitarian ideals, and how ruthlessly it seeks to destroy the precepts and standards of conduct based thereon. It is a menace alike to men's minds and souls, for it seeks to enslave both. It aims to destroy all true religion. It would substitute a materialistic interpretation of life for a spiritual one, brutality for charity, despair for faith, the worship of Hitler for the worship of God. All this, as well as the conquest of their lands, it seeks to impose by force upon the peoples whom it robs of their freedom. One has only to look at what the new order of nazi Germany is, and how it has been carried out in Germany itself, to see how it would be imposed by nazi tyrants upon their subject peoples. Even now, it demands one hundred innocent lives for the life of a single nazi.

Whether we speak in terms of nations or of individuals, we can no longer think of freedom as related solely to the bodies or the possessions of men. The only freedom worthy of the name is freedom of the mind and of the soul. We can no longer afford to think of our own freedom and the freedom of others as two things which may be considered