That is what war is, and if all of you had seen at as close quarters as I have seen the misery that war brings with it you would not be surprised that although I took part in the last great struggle I pray that I may never take part in one again. Mark this. I am not a pacifist. If I had to go to war again I would go; I would fight with just as much ruthlessness as I could; I would kill, maim, wound, destroy, it would not make any difference whether they were soldiers or civilians. for in modern that warfare there is no weapon can be used to weaken the morale of the other

side that will not be used To weaken the morale of the other side is just as important in modern warfare as to destroy armies. In the old days war was not so bad; you put the army of one country against the army of another and they fought it out in a hand-to-hand struggle; it was not even a bad thing from an economic point of view, if a nation was a little over-populated, to destroy a few of them in that way. In the old days war was rather a fine thing, there was a certain amount of chivalry about it, in a hand-tohand struggle the best man won; it was a matter of his own personal courage and initiative, and in those days, too, a man could afford to be kind to his foes sometimes. But not now. No, war is now rid of all that sort of thing. Nations now are just using all the arts they ever knew and all the science they have mastered, to destroy, in a wholesale fasion, and will continue to do it. No, in future it is no use whatever saying, you must not use poison gas. They WILL use it. You must not spread disease germs. They WILL spread them, the more horrible and deadly, the better. The stakes are so high. And I And I do not blame them. It may sound a terribly cruel thing and it may be wrong, and maybe one should not say it, but it is just this: If you are going to have war you cannot circumscribe the conditions under which war is to be fought. It is no use saying, you must not have divilians killed, you must not have submarine warfare, you must not destroy hospital ships, you must not bomb hospitals. All these things will be done, bombs will be dropped on undefended towns, and the people who live in the back parts of countries are going to be killed just as horribly and cruelly as those in the war zone.

And let me say this, that everyone of you, men and women, everyone who did not actually abstain from war, and take the consequences of so doing, everyone of you would, if your country were at war, be just as responsible for all its horrors as would your soldiers. You cannot escape, you cannot shelter yourselves by being civilians.