

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. FARRIS: But following that victory and anterior to the operation of this scheme there has to be a treaty of victory—I put it that way rather than as a treaty of peace. The plan to be worked out from the agreement reached at Dumbarton Oaks is in its essence a treaty of peace. What will happen after this war is over is, first, a treaty of victory. The success of the proposals we are considering will depend largely on the intelligence with which that treaty of victory is made effective.

Now, honourable senators, let us keep it clearly in mind that the essence of this mission to San Francisco is peace. That should be written in every man's mind in large letters. This is not a proposed world organization for the sake of that organization; it is not a plan to make representation for the sake of representation or to determine which nation shall have the most important representation—

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. FARRIS:—it is not to make commitments or refuse to make them for the sake of those commitments or for the purpose of avoiding them; it is not to consider trade that we are going down there; it is not even freedom or democracy for the sake of democracy that we are concerned with at this time. I am not belittling any of these things, or their importance in themselves but I want to have our thinking straight, because it is in that way that progress is best made. The issue which will be discussed and passed upon at San Francisco, and I hope acted upon, is peace for the sake of peace—peace permanent and enduring.

Now, I propose to discuss this question at some length because I consider that time spent in intelligent consideration is worthwhile. I have given some time to preparation and I hope, honourable senators, that what I say may be of some use and may make some contribution to our thinking about these proposals. I would ask you to consider this question under three heads: first, the attitude or frame of mind with which we should approach it; second, its direct relation to the proposals at Dumbarton Oaks; and third, some of the definite and sensible things which we as practical people can do to give effect to these proposals when they are formulated.

First, the approach to this question. I think, honourable senators, it is a primary essential that every person should realize that, standing alone, eloquent speeches about higher ideals and what ought to be done will never save us from the aggressor in the future any more than they have in the past.

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. FARRIS: And so I would approach the question with the thought in mind—not that we should now attempt to reform the world, or that out of that reformation might come peace; but rather that out of peace may come the foundation on which reforms may grow and develop, and our idealism have full scope in future. If I am correct in this, there are two things we ought to keep in mind, one being a realistic understanding of human nature and the other of world conditions. The honourable senator from Rockcliffe (Hon. Mrs. Wilson) said last night that there were two words she would like to drop out of the language, one was "appeasement" and the other was "realism". I think that probably the only difference between the honourable senator's views and my own is one of definition. As to appeasement, yes; I hope we shall never experience that mental attitude again.

Some Hon. SENATORS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. FARRIS: As to realism, I have this to say—I wrote it down last night when the honourable senator was speaking: A realist is one who believes in a practical policy which will make idealism possible.

Our plans at San Francisco must be made practical enough to work; they must be realistic enough to meet the situation in a world where I think human nature has been worsened by what has happened. Our plans must be sensible enough to endure—to endure after our enthusiasm has cooled off. Let everyone keep in mind—and I hope our delegates will keep it in mind—how quickly our enthusiasms subside and how short are people's memories; and that one after another there are new generations coming on which have not gone through our experiences. I make my suggestions to you based on the knowledge that water will never rise higher than its source, and based on the belief that our plans will endure only if they are practical enough to meet realities as they exist. It is not the New Year's resolutions which count—we have all made those—but the resolutions which endure past Easter, and during the heat of summer, and when the cold of winter has come again. It is my belief, honourable senators, that permanent peace will be established only if the peace-loving nations of the world are strong enough and determined enough to prevent war. The facts which I now state are to me self-evident: it was organized force which started the present war; it was organized force which finally overtook the start that the enemy had and is now resulting in victory; and it will only be organized force, properly directed, which can prevent another war.