

of the treachery, the wickedness, the ignorance, the weakness or the indiscretion of the delegates, but because of the clash of interests, the fierceness of passion, the pressure of public opinion and the general set-up of circumstance in the clutch of which the delegates usually find themselves hopelessly gripped.

I will grant furthermore with ready alacrity that war is a fearful waste, that war is monstrously destructive of lives, of health, of comfort and virtue, of happiness and of both real and financial wealth. War fastens upon all participating nations a bondage of debt which enslaves their peoples to the third and fourth generations, and even beyond that. I concede that in any war any participant or combination of participants risks its national freedom, if not its very existence.

Beyond that I will go and concede that the causes of war appear never to be righteous and are almost never what they seem. I will agree that financiers, through hidden international intrigue, manipulate the factors which produce war, and that with them in their baleful endeavours are bound up the munition makers. It must further be conceded that war is always motivated by selfishness and greed, frequently the selfishness and greed of great private corporations and industries, and that secret treaties also help to cause war, as do likewise political machination and trickery. I frankly concede that propaganda, rousing fear, suspicion and hatred, often by shameful lies, both provokes war and tends to prolong it.

Again I will further allow and even contend that war is morally wicked; that it is nothing short of mass murder and mass robbery and that it both engenders and is engendered by mass hatred. As everyone knows, these three things are grossly un-Christian. Yet again I will with enthusiasm maintain that the burdens of war are unjustly distributed. Both suffering and sacrifice are borne by the poor, while little, if any, of these are borne by the rich. The values wasted in war are human values more than material values. The real fighters, the really deserving ones, rarely if ever get such rewards as come from war. The greatest sufferers are the mothers, the sisters, the wives and the sweethearts, the innocent and helpless among us. Could it avail us anything, I would at this time cry out as loudly and as bitterly as anyone against the monstrous wrong and the shameful pity of it all. But alas an outcry would be but an outcry.

Having expressed in some measure my hatred of war, let me now challenge any man in this dominion to show that he is more earnest and more determined than I in his desire and in his efforts to remove the real causes of war. I know what those causes are and I know they must be removed. I have some notion as to how they might be removed, and in so far as in me lies, I shall gladly devote my life's energies in any intelligent effort to remove those causes.

Let me here briefly review a few of the factors which result in war. I am aware that it was largely poverty, especially poverty in the midst of plenty, that rendered possible a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Lenin and a Franco. I am aware also that trade rivalry and the struggle for markets spur nations to outbursts of envy, jealousy and hatred and were in a large measure responsible for the terrible crisis of 1914. I am painfully aware that there are flagrant inequalities among nations; that certain nations such as Italy and Japan are manifestly cramped in point of territory; that many are hampered by lack of resources such as coal and oil and nickel and other commodities needed in the modern industrial world, while at the same time they see neighbour nations, such as our own, keeping almost unused a superabundance of the very things they require. I perceive that in the relentless struggle for markets which must characterize an industrialized world under the present economic system, many weaker or less fortunate nations have seen their markets appropriated by stronger and more fortunate nations. No one senses more keenly than I that somehow, in a general spirit of international compromise and cooperative goodwill, we must remove these irksome inequalities.

Of the fact that there are other galling handicaps, I am not ignorant. No one needs to point out to me how there are nations lacking access to ocean highways because of geographical and artificial boundaries, lacking, as for example Poland did, access to ports and seas. Such a state of affairs makes people fret. It is not as it should be. Years ago it was brought home to me that there are certain races whose nationalities were suppressed by other races. Examples that come readily to mind are the Germans of Austria, the Magyars of former Austria-Hungary and the Poles before the treaty of Versailles. Such a condition creates a breeding ground for the generation of bitterness. It should somehow be removed. Let me, here and now, declare that I will set my foot as far as he who goes farthest in any sane attempt to remove these conditions. But who can tell me how? Where is