

Article 10 was merely one of the safeguards. It should be emphasised that it bound the members of the League to preserve the present territorial arrangements simply against "external aggression." In other words it meant that these arrangements, whether just or unjust, should not be upset by force. Whatever other remedies should be taken, no State should be allowed to take the law into its own hands. On the other hand, everyone recognised that it would be impracticable and unwise to attempt to bind every nation to go to war on issues remote from its interests. Hence, it was left to the Council to advise upon the means by which the obligation should be fulfilled, while the Council must not only be unanimous but must include under Article 4 a representative of any member of the League interested in any question under consideration. Consequently, if there was at any time a question of asking Canada to embark upon a military expedition for the purposes of the League, a Canadian representative must be invited to attend the Council, and if he disagreed there was an end of the matter. For himself he thought it a fair and proper obligation to undertake to preserve other members of the League "against external aggression." Not only President Wilson wanted this Article, but the French were very insistent upon it, and had, indeed, pressed for a much more stringent provision.

. . .

Sir Robert Borden said that if we were unwilling to restrict ourselves, we could not expect to restrict others. Hence the only alternative to some such provision as Article 8 would be to arm to the teeth. The chief objection to Article 8 was its futility. He found it impossible to believe that it would be effective.

Lord Robert Cecil said that there was nothing in the article to prevent any two or more States from making an agreement providing for a greater reduction of armaments than the article itself contemplated. He doubted whether the time had come when any far-reaching universal agreement for the reduction of armaments could be brought about.

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114. *Extraits du procès-verbal de la vingt-septième réunion
de la délégation de l'Empire britannique*¹

SECRET

Evening session, April 21, 1919

1. REVISED DRAFT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

Article 8

Mr. Massey, continuing the discussion on Article 8 of the revised draft of the League of Nations Covenant (see B.E.D. 26, Minute 2), was apprehensive lest the word "action" in the second paragraph meant that the several Governments would be bound by the plans for a reduction of armaments

¹ M. Borden préside. Les autres représentants canadiens présents sont: MM. A. L. Sifton et C. J. Doherty.