

for peace by conciliation and peace by collective coercion. In its original conception, the Covenant was predicated upon the universal acceptance of its provisions. Without this assumption of universality, it is doubtful if peace by collective coercion would have found a place within its articles. Experience has revealed the difficulty of applying sanctions within a League of Nations where the condition of practical universality is lacking.

The universal acceptance of the principles of the Covenant must be the constant aim of those who hope for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. It is necessary to remember, however, that universality is not to be attained in a single stride, and that its achievement will only be rendered possible as the utility of the preventive functions of the League is confirmed by experience and supported by the quickened conscience of humanity.

The coercive and punitive provisions of the Covenant have operated in the past as a deterrent to the kind of collaboration which must serve as an intermediate stage to a League of Nations which will be universal. By emphasizing the mediation and conciliation aspects of the Covenant, we can help to transform the collective system from a hope into a reality. Every vacant seat in this Assembly is a broken link in the chain of collective security.

The Canadian Government does not believe that formal amendment of the Covenant now is either possible or necessary. The powers and duties of the League develop by usage and experience as well as by explicit amendment.

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