

TEXT OF WORLD LEAGUE COVENANT

President Wilson Reads Report to Representatives of the Nations.

ARMAMENTS ARE CUT DOWN

Powers Will Defend Each Other From Attack—Countries Desiring to Join Must Give Guarantees and Be Self Ruled.

Paris, France, Feb. 14.—The executive council of the proposed league of nations, as outlined in the covenant read by President Wilson today, will consist of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, with representatives of four other states. The covenant reads as follows:

Covenant.

Preamble.—In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this constitution of the league of nations:

Article I.

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an executive council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the league.

Article II.

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the league. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the league or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

Article III.

The executive council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of four other states, members of the league. The selection of these four states shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the four other states, representatives of (blank left for names) shall be members of the executive council.

Article IV.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or of the executive council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the executive council and may be decided by a majority of the states represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the body of delegates and the executive council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article V.

The permanent secretariat of the league shall be established at (blank) which shall constitute the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a secretary general of the league, who shall be chosen by the executive council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general subject to confirmation by the executive council. The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the states members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the Universal Postal union.

Article VI.

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities and the buildings occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

Article VII.

Admission to the league of states not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol as states to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the states represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies. No state shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the league and armaments.

Article VIII.

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common consent of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each state; and the executive council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction.

The executive council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armaments are fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the executive council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the executive council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of these countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

Article IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the league on the execution of the provisions of Article Eight and on military and naval questions generally.

Article X.

The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states, members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the executive council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the league, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

Article XII.

The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the executive council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the executive council; and that they will not even then resort to war against a member of the league which complies with the award of arbitration or the recommendation of the executive council.

Article XIII.

The high contracting parties, whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for arbitration, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the executive council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

Article XIV.

The executive council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for the submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

Article XV.

If there should arise between states members of the league any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the executive council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the executive council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendations which the council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the report. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The executive council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the

body of delegates. The dispute shall be referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In any case referred to the body of delegates all the provisions of this article and of Article Twelve relating to the action and powers of the executive council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

Article XVI.

Should any of the high contracting parties break or apply its covenants under Article XII it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the executive council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

Article XVII.

In the event of disputes between one state member of the league and another state which is not a member of the league, the high contracting parties agree that the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the executive council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of a dispute, the executive council may take such action as may be deemed just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, the executive council may take such action as may be deemed just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

Article XVIII.

The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be entrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and munitions within the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

Article XIX.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand alone, and which are situated in such a position that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and the performance of which is a solemn duty of the high contracting parties, the high contracting parties agree that the best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as a mandatory system on behalf of the league.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish empire have reached a stage of development which their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of the communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

There are territories, such as southwest Africa and certain of the south Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned, in the interests of the indigenous population.

Article XX.

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent bureau of labor.

Article XXI.

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the league to secure and maintain freedom of transit, and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the league, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

Article XXII.

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league of international bureaus general treaties of the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the league.

Article XXIII.

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any state member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretary general, and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article XXIV.

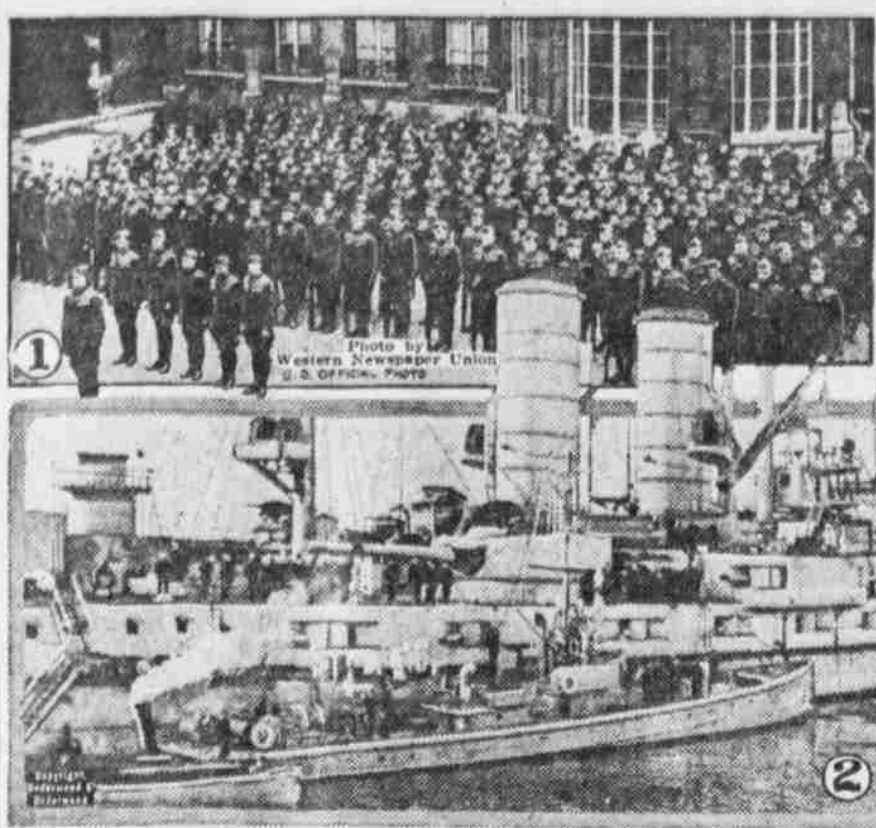
It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by states members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions which are inconsistent with the maintenance of the peace of the world.

Article XXV.

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms of this covenant. In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the league shall, before coming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the states whose representatives compose the executive council and by the majority of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.



1—President Wilson's guard of honor in Paris, composed of 250 picked men commanded by Capt. Burton F. Hood. 2—Austrian battleship Radetsky, turned over to the United States naval forces at Spalato, Dalmatia, by the Jugo-Slavs. 3—S. Nourteva, a close friend of Trotsky, who is in charge of the anarchist propaganda headquarters in New York.



NEWS REVIEW OF CURRENT EVENTS

President Wilson Bringing Back Completed Draft of League of Nations Plan.

SEVERER ARMISTICE TERMS

Arrogant Huns to Be Made to Realize They Were Whipped—Ebert Elected President of the German Republic—Revolt Against the King of Roumania.

By EDWARD W. PICKARD.

President Wilson is bringing home with him the virtually complete draft of the constitution of the League of Nations that is to ally if not to end most of the world's ills. Despite marked opposition in some quarters, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, earnestly supported by the smaller nations, were able to have presented a document that met with the approval of the commission of the league, and this was then presented to the plenary session of the peace conference, with every prospect that it would be adopted.

As it stands, the plan provides for a small body of representatives of all the nations concerned, which shall meet every few months in a place to be internationalized. Every difference between nations is to be submitted to this governing body and to be decided within three months, during which time the contending parties must refrain from acts of hostility. If the decision is not accepted, the case will be submitted to arbitrators, and if the country they place in the wrong does not accept the ruling and has recourse to arms, all other nations in a position to do so will take up arms against it. No country is obliged to go to war with the offending nation, but all must join in an economic boycott of the latter.

France, which, since the outbreak of the great war, justly considers herself an outpost nation guarding a frontier of civilization, strongly urged the creation of an immediate international army and navy to enforce the rulings of the society of nations. Leon Bourgeois argued earnestly for the constitution of such a force and for the placing of it in France until all danger of an attack by Germany was at an end. This was opposed, especially by American and British representatives, who showed that it was contrary to the constitutions of their countries. The long discussion ended in an agreement that if a country should be attacked, in violation of the rules of the league, the attacked country would employ her military forces as "covering troops" and await aid from those other nations that could most easily give it.

It is scarcely conceivable that this solution of the question can be satisfactory to France. The great war demonstrated that in a sudden shock attack a nation can suffer immense damage before her allies can mobilize their forces and transport them to the scene of conflict. This is just what France fears will happen again with Germany again as the aggressor, and her alarm, though it may be as foolish as some correspondents think it, will not be allayed until or unless the allies render the Huns militarily impotent before the treaty of peace is signed. There is a growing feeling in Paris that the American and British delegates are disposed to be too lenient with Germany and too prone to adopt the insidious claim of the Germans themselves that their former rulers and not the people were responsible for the war and its horrors. The French reassert the well-known fact that the German people as a whole ardently supported their government in the conduct of the war and gave approval to the outrages committed by officers and soldiers alike.

Having adopted a constitution and elected Friedrich Ebert as president of the German republic, the Germans in

their national assembly at Weimar became more arrogant than ever. Their attitude was accurately reflected by Ebert who, in his speech accepting the office, said: "We shall combat domination by force to the utmost, from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our state only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad."

Matthias Erzberger, before meeting the entente chiefs to negotiate an extension of the armistice, conferred with officials in Berlin, and it was said they determined that he should demand that the allies recognize the new German government.

All this, and the fact that the enemy countries were preserving enough war material to permit them to equip quickly an army of 3,000,000 men, had full effect on the supreme war council when it decided on conditions of renewal of the armistice. The military members and the newly added economic members agreed on the terms, which are designed to place Germany in such a situation that she cannot renew military operations. The German authorities were called on to furnish full information of the war material of all kinds in their possession. The council also decided, according to one correspondent "to make Germany realize that we are the conquerors and that it is not a 'white peace' that we are seeking to impose on her."

According to reliable information, the armistice is renewed for a very brief time, the allies reserving the right to suspend it if Germany fails to carry out the new clauses, which include the cessation of hostilities against the Poles. Meanwhile a special commission is to draw up armistice terms to last until the peace treaty is signed. These terms will provide for the demobilization of the German army and the disarmament of the nation under the supervision of the allies. The German government, it was said, was given to understand plainly that if it was recalcitrant the resumption of the war by the allies was by no means out of the question. The firm attitude of the supreme war council possibly was due in some measure to an impressive speech by Premier Clemenceau, in which he showed the council the necessity of taking all precautions against the treacherous Huns. In this he was supported by President Wilson.

If Germany submits and acts in apparent good faith, it is likely some economic measures will be adopted that would facilitate the resumption of her peace activities to a considerable extent. But if this goes too far France will have another cause of complaint, for both she and Belgium argue, with seeming justice, that their industries, destroyed by the Huns, should be restored before the Germans are permitted to resume commercial relations and capture the markets.

Among the interesting developments of the week was the dispute between China and Japan, relating to the disposition of Shantung province and Tsingtao and in general the concessions which China had been forced to grant to Germany. These, it appears, Japan is trying to obtain for herself, and China relies on the peace conference for protection. The council of the five great powers asked that all secret agreements made by Japan and China with each other and other nations since the beginning of the war be submitted to it. This was in accord with the desires of the Chinese, and the Japanese government complied with the demand.

The Japanese threw another small monkeywrench into the machinery by the flat statement that they intended to hang onto the Caroline and Marshall islands, which they took from Germany, notwithstanding the expressed will of the peace conference that all the captured colonies should be governed by mandatories of the League of Nations. The outcome of this is uncertain.

The prospects of the proposed meeting of Russian factions and advisers from the allied nations at Prinkipo are growing better. Seven of the governments in Russia, including the Estonians, Letts and Lithuanians, are willing to participate, though the first named maintain that they have now

set up independent republics and are no longer parts of Russia. The admission of representatives of the soviet government is conditional on its cessation of hostilities. Up to the time of writing the anarchists had continued their operations in many regions, with varying success. In the Archangel sector they were forced to retreat by the advance of the Americans, and it was reported they had been entirely driven out of Esthonia. Against the Poles they scored some victories.

According to reports from Omsk, the government there has accepted an offer from Japan of men, arms and money to combat the soviet forces, giving in return iron and coal concessions in the Priamur district.

An attempt to put the skids under another king, which may be successful, was started last week in Roumania. Inspired by anarchist propaganda, a general insurrection broke out, with demands for a republic. King Ferdinand, while fleeing from the palace with his family, was shot at and slightly wounded. The anarchists also became very active in Vienna, planning a revolt against the present government unless all power is transferred to the communist leaders.

In the United States the anarchists, whose machinations were largely responsible for the strikes on the Pacific coast and in Montana and Arizona, sustained a hard blow from the government. It developed that the agents of the bureau of immigration had been gathering up a lot of the most undesirable aliens and was prepared to deport them, awaiting only the necessary shipping. A big bunch of these scamps were taken, under guard, to New York, where lawyers in sympathy with their doctrines undertook to obtain their release under writs of habeas corpus. The anarchists make war on organized labor as much as on capitalism, and the parliamentary committee of the British trades union congress has declared that the unauthorized strikes which they cause cannot be tolerated. Down on the Argentine-Chile border the disturbers have caused so much trouble that those two countries are preparing to take joint action against them. They are fast becoming the Ishmaels of the entire world, but they seem to glory in having the hands of all decent folk against them.

The administration's big navy bill, bolstered by a semi-secret cablegram from President Wilson to the house naval committee, had a stormy time in the house last week. The minority denounced it as a bluff measure designed to enable Mr. Wilson to force on the peace congress certain of his ideas for the league of nations, and for a day it was blocked by the point of order that it authorized the president to construct the navy without making any appropriation. The Republicans laughed with scorn at an amendment proposed by Chairman Fudgett appropriating \$2,000,000 with which to build battleships costing \$210,000,000, and the Democrats hastily adjourned. Next day, however, the administration leaders had their way and the bill for the three-year building program, carrying \$721,000,000 for the naval establishment during the next fiscal year, was adopted by the house.

Secretary Baker and Chairman Dent have drawn up an army bill, now before the house, providing for a temporary army of something over half a million, to be raised by voluntary enlistments and designed only to carry the country over the period of occupation and reorganization. After that the nation is to be left virtually without an army, as it was before the great war. The bill takes the war department organization away from the general staff and returns it to the bureau chiefs. These features of the measure have subjected it to bitter attacks by the advocates of preparedness.

Once more the suffragists put their cause to the test in the senate, and once more they went down to defeat, this time by a margin of only one vote. Democrats to the number of 18, mostly Southerners, and 11 Republicans voted against the amendment, while 24 Democrats and 31 Republicans voted for it.