REVISED LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT.

By Associated Press. state department made public last night presented today to the plenary session the United States of America."

of the peace conference at Paris. The text follows, with parenthetical insercovenant originally drafted and made

"The covenant of the League of Na-

"In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security-by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between just and honorable relations between ations; by the firm establishment of the person named in the annex; thereas to actual rule of conduct among pointed by the council with the ap-governments, and by the maintenance proval of the majority of the assembly as to actual rule of conduct among of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one anotherthe high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Na-

(In the original preamble the last sentence read "adopt this constitution," instead of "agree to this covenant.")

Article 1. The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to union. this covenant and also such of those other states name in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be ef fected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other

members of the league.
"Any fully self governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval forces and arma-

"Any member of the league may after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

(This article is now embodying with alterations and additions the old article 7. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members and adds the entirely new paragraph, pro-viding for withdrawal from the league No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document).

Article 2. "The action of the league under this covenant shall be effective through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with permanent secretariat.

(Originally, this was part of article It gives the name of the assembly the gathering of representatives of of the members of the league formerly referred to merely as "the body of dele-

Article 3. "The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the

"The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the seat of the

(This embodies parts of the original articles 1, 2 and 3 with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the take to interchange full and frank in league," were the term "high contract-ing parties" originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the

Article 4. "The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British empire, of France, of Italy and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the league. members of the league shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the league first selected by the assembly, representatives of

shall be members of the council. "With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the league whose representatives shall always be mem bers of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the league to be selected by the assembly for representation on

"The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at means by which this obligation shall least once a year, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

"The council may deal at its meet-1ngs with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

"And member of the league not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the league.

"At meetings of the council, each member of the league represented on the council shall have one vote and may have not more than one representative

(This embodies that part of the orfginal Article 3 designating the original members of the council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the council is new.)

Article 5. "Except where otherwise expressly the "high contracting parties reprovided in this covenant decisions at the right to take any action." council shall require the agreement of league shall take any action," etc.) all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

of the assembly or of the council, the them any dispute likely to lead to a appointment of committees to investi- ropture, they will submit the matter undertake immediately to subject it to gate particular matter shall be regarded by the assembly or by the council, and they agree in no case relations, the prohibition of all intercept when denatured, is in yiolation of the state prohibition in the selection of the matter and the selection of the matter and in the selection of the ma

the text of the revised covenant of and the first meeting of the council the League of Nations as it is being shall be summoned by the president of

(The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both assembly and showing changes made in the council, except where otherwise pro-cant originally drafted and made vided, is new. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Ar-

"The permanent secretariat shall be astablished at the seat of the league The sercetariat shall comprise a secretary general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

the understandings of international law after the secretary-eneral shall be ap-"The secretaries and the staff of the

secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general with the approval of "The secretary general shall act in

that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council. "The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the universal postal

(This replaces the original article 5. In the original the appointment of the first secretary general was left to the council, and approval of the majority of the assembly was not required for subsequent appointments.) Article 7.

"The seat of the league is established at Geneva. The council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere. All positions under, or inconnection with, the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women. Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be invior-

(Embodying parts of the old articles 5 and 6, this article names Geneva instead of leaving the seat of the league to be chosen later and adds the provision for changing the seat in the future. The paragraph opening positions to women equally with men is

"The members of the league recog nize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

"The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circum-stances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several

"Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every

"After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments. limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

be decided upon.

"The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

"The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and peace of the world. The members of the league agree "At meetings of the assembly, each member of the league shall have one vote and may not have more than three plements of war necessary for their

> "The members of the league underformation as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes."

(This covers the ground of the original article 3, but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by the nations affected before they become effective.) Article 9.

"A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of articles 1 and 8, and on military and naval questions generally."

(Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "Article 1.")

Article 10. The members of the league undertake o respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independenc of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the

(Virtually unchanged.) Article 11.

"Any war or threat of war whether immediately affecting any of the mem-bers of the league or not, is hereby deleague, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and tions. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall. league, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

"It also is declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations, which threatens to disturb from action by the council is new. In either the peace or the good under- the last sentence the words "if con-

peace depends." the "high contracting parties reserve any meeting of the assembly or of the where the revised draft reads, "the

Article 12. "The members of the league agree "All matters of procedure at meetings that if there should arise between

award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of

(Virtually unchanged except that ome provision of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.)

Article 13. "The members of the league agree hat whenever any dispute shall arise netween them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of he treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact, which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration, to which the case is referred, shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

"The members of the league agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the league which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.'
(Only minor changes in language.)

Article 14 "The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the league for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the

(Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.)
Article 15.

"If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, members of the league agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving 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 to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the council may forthwith direct the publication

thereof. "The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute, and terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropri-

"If the dispute is not thus settled,

"Any member of the league represented in council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the

"If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the the members of the league agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the

"If the council falls to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

"If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

"The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

"In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article ing and development of such peoples and of article 12 relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of effectual to safeguard the peace of na- the league represented on the council bers of the league, exclusive in each on the request of any member of the case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute."

(The paragraph specifically excluding "domestic jurisdiction" matters of standing between nations upon which curred in by the representatives of those members of the league represent-(In the original it was provided that ed on the council," etc., have been added.)

Article 16.

"Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby

of the members of the league represented at the meeting.

"The first meeting of the assembly "In any case under this article the commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenantbreaking members of the league and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

"It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of

the league. "The members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passing through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the tengue which are cooperating to pro-tect the covenants of the league.

"Any member of the league which

has violated any covenant of the league may be declared to be no longer a member of the league by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the league represented thereon."

(Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.

Artole 17. "In the event of a dispute between a member of the league and a state which is not a member of the league, or tween states not members of the league, the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive, shall be applied, with such modifications as may

be deemed necessary by the council. "Upon such invitation being given the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most ef-

fectual in the circumstances. "If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such lispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the league, the provisions of article 16 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

"If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute."

(Virtually unchanged.)

Article 18. "Every convention or internationa engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be registered by it. No such treaty international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

(Same as original article.)

Article 19. "The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the under the direction of the league

(Virtually the same as original artile 24.)

"The members of the league severally agree that this covenant is accepted as of the league shall, subject to the con brogating all obligations or undertakings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and so under-take that they will not hereafter enter into any preements inconsistent with the terms thereof

"In case members of the league shall, before becoming a member of the league, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of the members thereof, other than the such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obli-

(Virtually the same as original arti-

Article 21.

"Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understand-ings like the Monroe doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

(Entirely new.)

Article 22.
"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the state which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well beform a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this

covenant. "The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reasons of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

'The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nation can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative as vise and assistance by a mandator until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consid-

the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications and military and naval bases and of military training of the nations for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportuinties for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

"There are territories such as southvest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory subject to the terests of the ingigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the league be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

"A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the man-

(This is the original article 19, virtually except for the insertion of the words "and who are willing to accept" in describing nations to be given mandatories.)

Article 23.

"Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon the members of the league (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humans 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 for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) indertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories un-der their control; (c) will entrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will entrust the league with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league. In this onnection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

(This replaces the original article 20, and embodies parts of the original articles 18 and 21. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses (b) and (c).

Article 24.

"There shall be placed under the direction of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed

terest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretary sent of the council and if desired by th parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be neces

sary or desirable.
"The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the league."

(Same as article 22 in the original, with the matter after the first two sentences added.) Article 25.

"The members of the league agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purpose improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

(Entirely new.) Article 26.

"Amendment to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the mem bers of the league whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the as-

"Such amendments shall (the word 'not" apparently omitted in cable transmission) bind any member of the league, which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the league." (Same as the original, except that

majority of the league instead of three-fourths is required for ratification of amendments with the last sen-

Annex to the Covenant. "1. Original members of the league of nations. Signatories of the treaty

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Hon-duras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Servia, Siam, Uruaguay,

States invited to accede to the cove-Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia mark, Netherlands, Norway, Para-Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden,

zerland, Venezuela. . First secretary general of the league of nations (blank)." The annex was not published with

the original draft of the covenant.

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We have to guess what the future, and the merchant who never advertises, have in store.

The colored baby is born to blush

Strength avails not a coward.

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