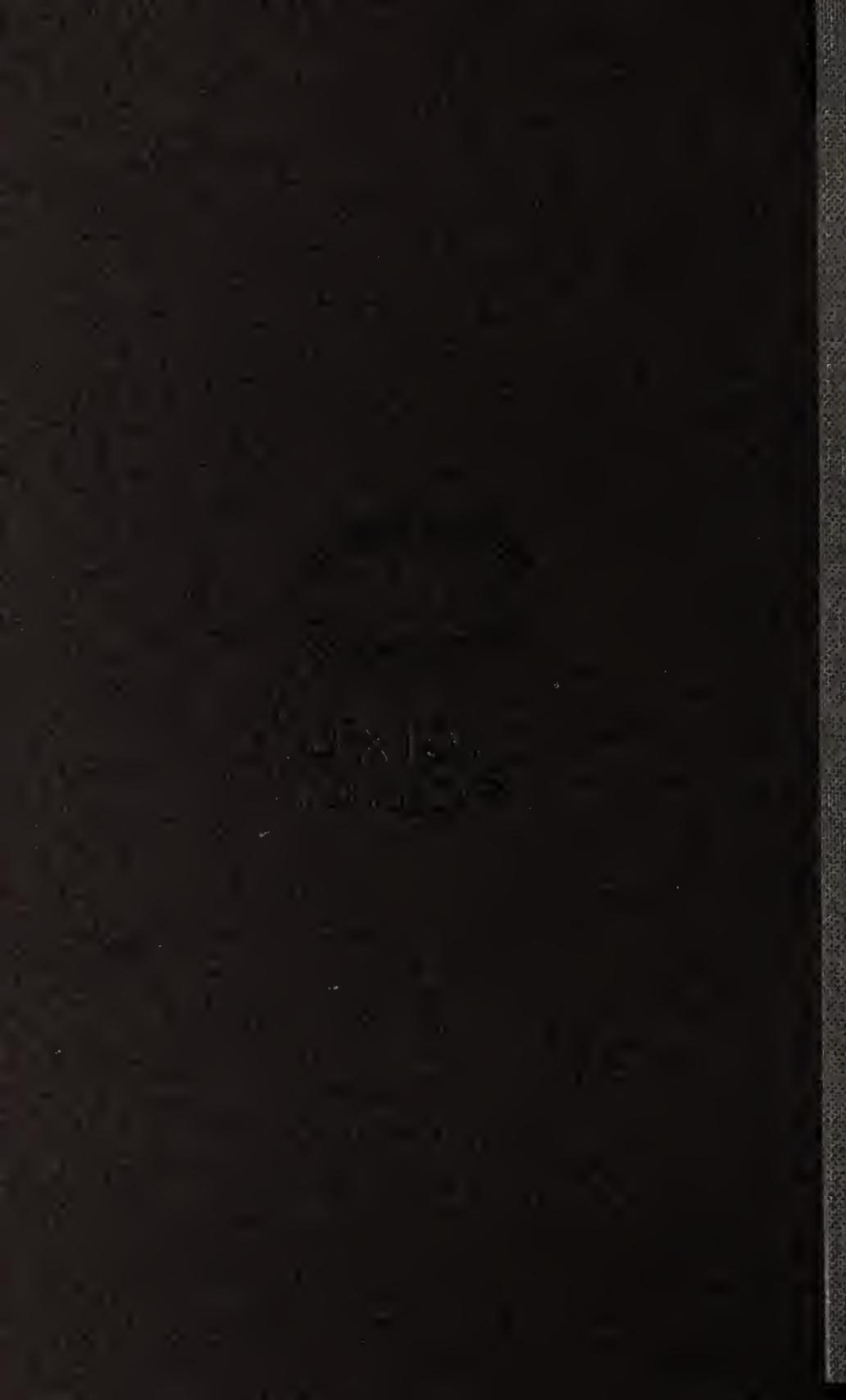


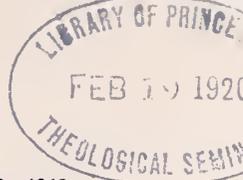
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of the  
League of Nations

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BULLETIN No. 48

OCTOBER, 1919

## THE AMERICAN RIGHTS LEAGUE

For Upholding the Duty of the Republic  
in International Relations

2 WEST 45TH ST., NEW YORK

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### SYNOPSIS OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WITH COMMENTS BY  
HOWARD RUSSELL BUTLER

Peace, security, and international coöperation—these are the corner-stones of civilization. Germany tried to undermine them and Germany has been overthrown.

The summons to war is no longer heard, the call is to the work of reconstruction. But any return to the "status quo" is unthinkable for all know that the "Balance of Power" plan has proved itself a war-breeder.

No, it took the frightfulness of war to open our eyes to the great truth that lasting peace among nations must come from coöperation not antagonism. The spirit of fraternal agreement is now in the air. What could not be accomplished before the war—as for example at the Hague Conferences—is now attainable; for the world has been made ready by fire and blood.

This golden opportunity will not last long.

As always, in such eras, the wild, the fantastic, and the false loom large, while the sane and the true are thrust aside as too simple, or condemned for slight defects.

The first task confronting the battered world is to formulate a sane plan—a covenant between nations which shall be as nearly ideal as possible and at the same time accept-

able to the greatest number. This task has been ably performed. The covenant of the League of Nations is now unrolled before us. It has been signed already by the representatives of twenty-seven nations. Who—in 1913—could have believed this a possibility? It has been made a certainty by the war.

The covenant now awaits ratification. It begins by stating its great object:—viz., to promote international co-operation, peace, and security. The provisions for securing these essentials to civilized existence are set forth in twenty-six articles

I believe that if these articles were carefully read by our citizens generally an overwhelming demand for immediate ratification would result. But, alas, how few have read them or have the chance to read them. The difficulty to the average man of obtaining a copy is far greater than it should be. The press seems content to have published them once, in July last; but few saved the issues of that time. In Maine, where I spent the past three months, no one seemed to know how or where to get a copy.

‡ The text of the Covenant should be printed by the million copies and scattered broadcast. It should be procurable at every news-stand. It should reappear from time to time in every newspaper. Why give columns of criticisms and contentions on minor points while access to the Soul of the Covenant is denied? For those who find it laborious to read the full text, or who will not do so, synopses should be supplied. What is needed is publicity, not argument. The merits are so manifest to the unbiased mind that they will commend themselves irresistibly.

This is the way to silence the Borahs, the Johnsons, the Reeds, and all the petty politicians who seek political capital and who strain at gnats. Let them alone but *publish* the Covenant.

I offer here a synopsis, in which the number of words is about one-third that of the original; also a few comments.

## Synopsis—Covenant of the League of Nations

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international coöperation, peace, and security, by obligations not to resort to war,  
to maintain open, just, and honorable relations,  
to establish international law, and  
to maintain justice and respect for treaties,  
agree to this Covenant.

*Art. 1.* Original members shall be the nations (27) signing (June 28, 1919) and such others (12 invited) as shall accede without reservations and deposit declarations.

Others may be admitted by  $\frac{2}{3}$  vote of Assembly, on giving satisfactory guarantees.

Any member may withdraw on 2 years notice, if its international and covenant obligations have been fulfilled.

*Art. 2.* The League is to act through an Assembly and Council, with permanent secretariat.

*Art. 3.* *Assembly* to consist of representatives of members. Meetings to be at stated intervals and from time to time; at seat of League or other chosen place.

May deal with any matter in its sphere or affecting general peace.

Each member to have one vote and not more than 3 representatives

*Art. 4.* *Council* to consist of one representative, with one vote, of each of the 5 principal powers, viz.:—United States, British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan; and 4 other temporary members, selected by the Assembly, from time to time, beginning with Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece.

Council, with majority approval of Assembly, may name additional members to have permanent representation on it and increase number of members to be selected by the Assembly.

Council to meet from time to time and at least once a year, at seat, etc.

May deal with any matter within its sphere or affecting general peace.

Any member may have representative on Council when question concerns its interests.

*Art. 5. Unanimous vote* required of those represented at Assembly and Council meetings, except as elsewhere provided.

Matters of procedure and certain committee appointments determined by majority vote of members represented at meeting.

U. S. President to summon first meetings.

*Art. 6. Permanent Secretariat* to be at seat, comprising Secretary General (1st Secy. Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond). Successors appointed by Council with majority approval of Assembly.

Staff appointed by Secy. Genl. with approval of Council.

Secy. Genl. presides at Assembly and Council meetings.

Expenses apportioned on Universal Postal Union plan.

*Art. 7. Seat of League Geneva.* Council can move it. Both men and women eligible.

All have diplomatic immunity; buildings, etc., inviolable.

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So much for the mechanism of the League. Now follow the great ends to be accomplished through its agency. The first of these is:

*Art. 8. Reduction of Armaments.*

All the members recognize that maintenance of peace requires such reduction.

Council to formulate plans for *consideration* and *action* of the several governments.

Subject to revision at least every ten years.

*After adoption by each* the limits shall not be exceeded without concurrence of Council.

All the members recognize that private manufacture of war materials, etc., is objectionable—Council to advise on this.

All agree to give full information on their scales of armaments, military and naval programs, and war industries.

*Art. 9. Permanent Commission* to be constituted to

advise Council on execution of provisions of Arts. 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions.

Thus a practical way is opened for a simultaneous reduction of armaments all along the line—it is not forced upon any, but made attractive to all. A great opportunity—the first in history—to rid the world of an accursed burden.

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Now comes the most important of all the provisions—the one which will best secure to the whole world the legitimate fruitage of the war. It calls for some sacrifice but only such as social progress asks of each for the good of all. The article is short and is given here in full and should be committed to memory by everyone.

*Art. 10.* The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against *external aggression* the territorial integrity and existing political independence 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 means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

*Art. 11.* Any war or threat of war is declared to concern the whole League, which shall act to safeguard peace; Secy.-Genl. shall then, on request of any member, summon a meeting of the Council.

Friendly right of each member to call attention to any circumstance threatening international peace.

The purpose of Articles 10 and 11 is to prevent future wars. Art. 10 obligates the members to stand together against “external aggression”—*i.e.*, wars of conquest. Internal disputes, boundary disputes, etc., do not come under it. Stealing territory by force does. In the words of a Republican Senator it “simply makes international murder an international crime.” Is it not time that the United States along with all other nations should agree to such a pledge? This is the best safeguard for peace ever offered. It is objected to as impairing the sovereignty

of the United States—as possibly involving us in some future sacrifice. But this is the kind of sacrifice we have just made and will always stand ready to make. It is in the direct line of our noblest traditions.

A cowardly refusal to take this stand and let the world “go hang” means that all our talk of ideals has been but posing and boasting,—it means that our boys have died in vain—that the fruits of their victory are but transient—not permanent.

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Now comes another important subject.

*Art. 12. Arbitration.*

Members agree that disputes that might lead to rupture shall be submitted to arbitration or inquiry by Council and not to resort to war for 3 months after award or report.

Award to be made within a reasonable time—report within 6 months.

*Art. 13.* Members agree that arbitrable disputes, not to be settled by diplomacy, will be submitted to arbitration.

Treaty interpretations, questions of international law, and extent of reparations are declared to be arbitrable.

The Court of Arbitration shall be the one agreed on by disputants.

The members agree to carry out award and not resort to war against member complying therewith. In case any member fails to carry out award Council shall propose steps.

*Art. 14. Permanent court of International Justice* to be established, competent to hear, determine, and advise.

*Art. 15.* If such dispute arises and is not submitted to arbitration members agree they will submit it to the Council. Any party to the dispute may make the submission and Secy.-Genl. will make arrangements. Parties should promptly communicate facts and Council will publish.

Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement and then publish such statement of facts and terms as deemed appropriate.

If not settled Council (by majority vote) may publish report and recommendations.

Any member may also publish facts and its conclusions.

If Council's report is unanimous (except for disputants) members agree not to go to war with any disputant complying with Council's recommendations.

If Council not unanimous members reserve right to act for maintenance of right and justice.

If Council finds dispute solely within *domestic* jurisdiction of a member it shall so report and make no recommendation.

Council may refer dispute to Assembly; must be so referred if asked for by either party within 14 days.

Assembly then to have same powers as given to Council; its report, if concurred in by all the Council members (except disputants) and majority of other members, shall have same force as a Council report.

*Art. 16.* Any member resorting to war in disregard of Arts. 12, 13, or 15 is deemed to commit act of war against all the others; which undertake to then sever trade and financial relations and prohibit and prevent all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between nationals of covenant-breaking state and nationals of all other states, members or not.

Council shall then recommend what forces members concerned shall severally contribute to protect covenants.

The members agree on mutual support in measures to minimize loss and inconvenience and against enemy's measures and give passage to troops.

Any member violating Covenant may be expelled by vote of Council concurred in by all others represented thereon.

*Art. 17.* In case of dispute with non-member or between non-members they shall be invited to accept conditional obligations of membership and Arts. 12 to 16 shall apply with necessary modifications.

The Council shall then inquire and recommend.

If invitation be refused and war is resorted to against a member Art. 16 applies against state so acting.

If both non-members refuse Council shall act to prevent hostilities and effect settlement.

Thus what the world has always looked forward to—what the Hague tribunals failed to secure—comes within reach. Anyone who now puts it in jeopardy is a traitor to the cause of civilization.

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Now follows the important agreement on “*publicity.*”

*Art. 18.* Every future treaty or international engagement made by members shall be forthwith registered with secretariat and published. Otherwise not binding.

*Art. 19.* The Assembly may advise reconsideration of outgrown or dangerous treaties.

*Art. 20.* Members agree that this Covenant abrogates existing treaties inconsistent with it, and promise to make none such.

And to take steps for release from those existing.

*Art. 21.* Nothing herein shall invalidate international engagements such as Treaties of Arbitration, and Regional understandings like Monroe Doctrine.

The hateful secret treaty should be and, if the above is enacted, can be doomed.

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Now for the Colony question. What are the true principles on which they should be developed and their affairs administered?

*Art. 22.* *The Colonies* formerly held by the Central Powers, and still unfitted for self-government, become civilization's sacred trust, and securities for performance should be provided.

Their tutelage should be intrusted to advanced nations fitted by resources, experience, and geographical position, who, *if willing*, should become mandataries.

Mandates must differ according to: Stage of development, geographical situation, economic conditions, etc.

Armenians, etc., can be independent but subject to advice and assistance of Mandatary, their wishes being considered.

Mandataries for Central Africa must guarantee religious freedom, prohibition of slave trade, arms traffic and liquor traffic, prevention of fortifications, etc., and trade and commerce facilities.

S. W. Africans and South Sea peoples can be best administered as portions of Mandatary's territory, subject to above safeguards.

All Mandataries to render annual report to Council.

Authority of Mandatary to be explicitly defined.

Permanent commission to be created on Mandataries.

Can anyone object to the above enlightened and humane system, based on Christian principles.

*Art. 23. Labor*—The League will aim and work for:

(a) Humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children through international organizations.

(b) Just treatment of natives, etc.

(c) Against traffic in women, children, and opium.

(d) Control in trade in arms and ammunition.

(e) Freedom of communications and transit and equitable commerce regulations, with especial attention to devastated regions.

(f) For prevention and control of disease.

*Art. 24.* Existing international bureaus to come under control of League if establishing parties consent. Future commissions regulating international interests to be under League.

Secy.-Genl. to give information and assistance when desired and if Council consent to general conventions regulating matters of international interest.

*Art. 25. National Red Cross Organizations.* League to promote and encourage establishment and coöperation throughout the world.

*Art. 26. Amendments* require:

Unanimous ratification of members represented on Council; and majority ratification of members represented on Assembly.

No amendment binds dissenting member but such forfeits membership.

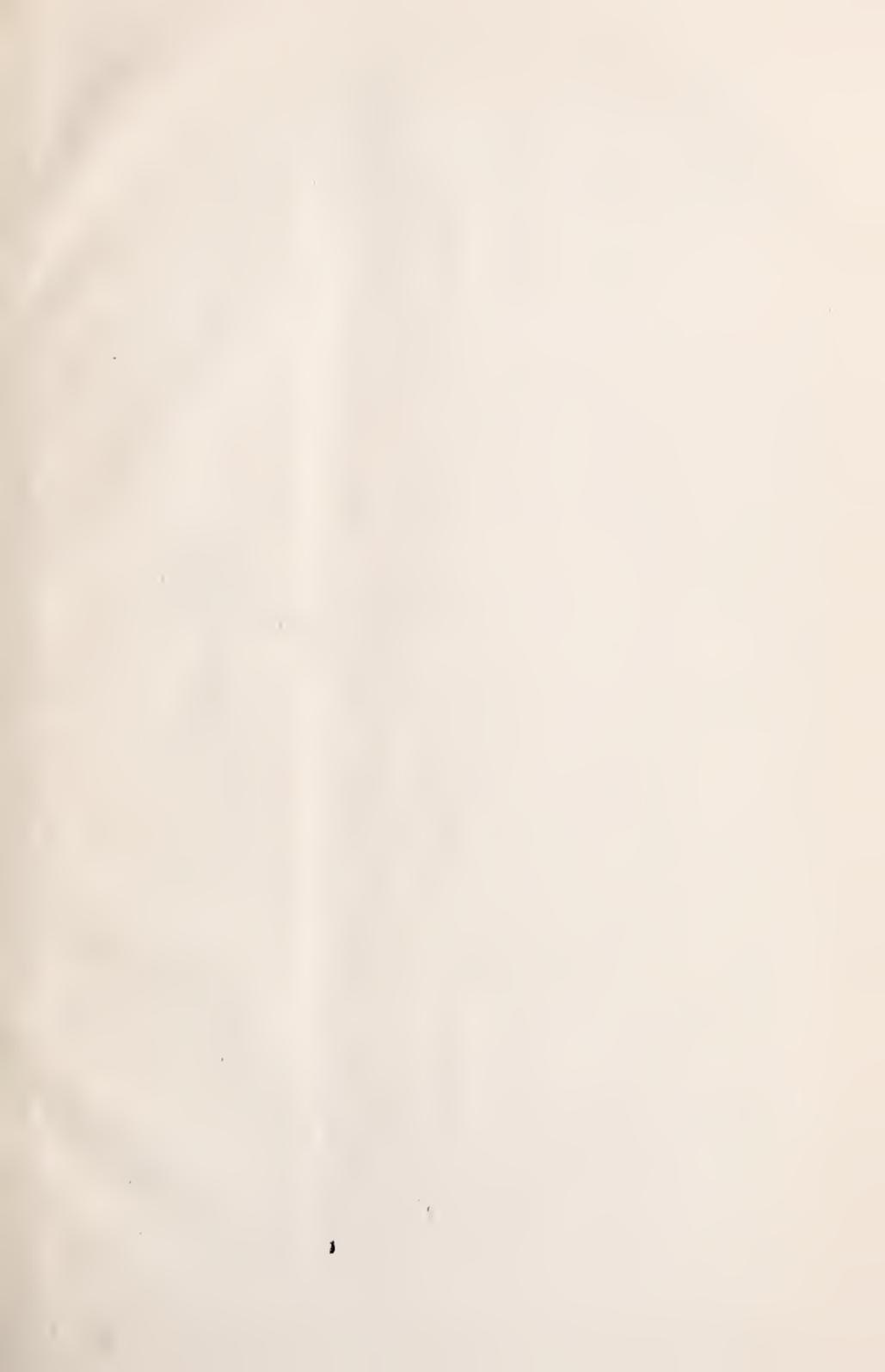
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Those who regretted that the United States delayed in entering the war, and who would have had us in the fight before Germany had really made overt war on us, cannot logically oppose the execution of this treaty.

The division of opinion over ratification in the Senate has been drawn strictly on party lines. The opposing Senators have almost never alluded to its merits. They are evidently bound by agreement to find defects and make the most of them. It has been a sorry exhibition of petty criticism and animus, ludicrously mixed with endeavors to reap the credit for the Covenant itself. Had this identical Covenant originated with the other party it would now be insisting on ratification without a single amendment, reservation, or even interpretation.

In the meantime the opportunity of the United States to lead the world in the greatest reform since "Magna Charta" slips by, and when ratification does eventuate, as it surely will, it will have been so grudgingly given that the reputation of the United States, as the champion of progressive civilization, will be largely sacrificed.

It is time that the people should rise and demand that the United States be allowed to take its rightful place in furthering this great step in social progress.



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