LABOR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By
SCOTT NEARING

With the Full Text of the Revised Covenant of the League of Nations

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A volume of 384 pages of written and tabular matter indispensable to every student of the Socialist and Labor movements.

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A comprehensive survey of the progress of the Socialist and Labor movements in the United States and abroad and a compilation of facts concerning political, social and economic conditions.

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SCOTT NEARING

With the Full Text of the Revised Covenant of the League of Nations

Compiled on the first day of the Workers' New Year and dedicated to the Men and Women everywhere who are striving for Peace, Bread, Enlightenment and Liberty — May 1st, 1919
CONTENTS

I. Labor—the Plain People.

II. What is the League of Nations?

III. Who Made the "Covenant?"

IV. An Organization of Capitalist Empires.

V. A League of Robber Nations.

VI. The League Will Not Prevent War.

VII. Will the League Benefit Labor?

VIII. Only Labor Can Benefit Labor.

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LABOR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I

LABOR—THE PLAIN PEOPLE.

Those who work have always constituted a majority of the people in any organized society. To-day, nine-tenths of the adult population is employed at some productive or useful occupation.

Editors and public men use the term "middle class" as though the members of this class constituted a majority or at least a very large minority of the American population. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The middle class in any modern nation is but a tiny fraction of the whole.

The latest detailed figures published by the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue (1916) show that while the total population of the United States was about 102 millions, less than half a million individuals paid income taxes. The minimum at that time was $3,000 for single individuals and $4,000 for persons with dependants. The total number who declared incomes in excess of these amounts was 429,401 or less than one in 200 of the entire population. Of these, 157,149 declared incomes of less than $5,000 and only 121,691 declared incomes of $10,000 and over. There were, of course, a number of farmers whose incomes "in kind" were not included in the returns. There were, doubtless, individuals who dodged the income tax. The figures, however, show what a tiny minority of the American people receive incomes that could be called "middle class."
The same fact appears from a study of the "Statistics of Occupation" published in connection with the United States Census. These figures show that in an ordinary industrial city the druggists, undertakers, grocers, butchers, manufacturers, corporation officials, superintendents, managers, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, dentists and all other members of the professional and business classes do not make up over one-sixth of the total number of gainfully occupied persons. In many cases they constitute less than one-eighth of the total.

This one-sixth or one-eighth, which, as a matter of occupation, might be classed as "middle class," is not necessarily middle class when it comes to income. Many of the small tradesmen earn less than the going rate of day wages. Many lawyers and teachers are in the same predicament. A fact which accounts for the difference in proportion between the middle class as shown in occupational statistics, and the middle class as shown in income figures. Even when the entire business and professional group is lumped together, however, without any reference to income, it makes a very small part of the total population.

The vast majority of people, who do not make income tax returns; the wage earners and clerks who are not included in the business and professional class; the farm laborers, the tenant farmers and many farm owners make up the body of what is sometimes called the "plain people." Most of these plain people work for their living as wage earners.

The relation which has grown up in modern industry between officials and wage-workers is startling. The latest report of the United States Census dealing with the manufacturing industries (1914, page 427) shows that the total number of persons engaged in manufacturing was 8,263,153. Of this number only 61 in 1,000 were proprietors and officials; the clerks and other subordinate salaried employees made up 88 in each 1,000; the wage earners, 851. Thus 17/20 of those engaged in the manufacturing industries in
the United States are wage earners, and 19/20 are wage earners and clerks.

The facts are brought out even more emphatically by an examination of particular industries. In the cotton goods industry and similar highly concentrated industries, the wage earners make up over 95 per cent. and the wage earners and clerks over 98 per cent. of the total number of occupied persons. The latest figures for the railroad industry are as follows: General officers, 5,740; other officers, 11,153; office clerks, 87,106; total employees, 1,710,296. Here general officers are about 3 in 1,000 and general and minor officers 10 in 1,000, or 1 per cent. of the whole. Wage earners and clerks make up the other 99 per cent.

The census figures show 12,659,000 persons occupied in agricultural pursuits. Of this number over half are hired laborers. Of the remainder the vast majority are working farmers.

The United States is made up of people who work as wage earners or farmers. The overwhelming majority of the population falls into this class. The plain people of the United States are the working people. Any matter, therefore, of national or international importance must, in the final analysis, rest back upon this question,—Will it benefit labor?

The League of Nations has been suggested as a remedy for the critical situation in which the world finds itself to-day. Every thinking person, interested in the greatest good for the greatest number, must ask,—Will the League of Nations benefit labor?

II

WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

The League of Nations, according to the "Covenant" published on April 28, 1919, and adopted unanimously by the Peace Conference, is an organization of 32 nations, in which 13 other nations are invited to membership.
The organization of the League is simple. There is, first of all, an Assembly, consisting of not more than 3 delegates from each nation which is a member of the League. This would mean, at the present time, an Assembly of 96 delegates. The Constitution states that the "Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." (Art. III.) The Covenant, however, gives no real power to the Assembly, which is merely a "paper" legislature.

The real power in the League of Nations is vested in an Executive Council of 9 members. "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 4 other members of the League." (Art. IV.) These 4 members are to be selected by the Assembly. "With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council." (Art. IV.) The Council is required to meet at least once a year. At these meetings it may deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." (Art. IV.) These are the same words which are used in Article III with reference to the Assembly.

The Council is empowered to elect the Secretary-General with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

This is the basic machinery of the League. An Assembly of, say 100 members without important powers; an Executive Council of 9 members, 5 of whom must always come from the "Big Five" Allied nations, and a Secretary-General elected by the Executive Council. All real power is vested in the Executive Council.

The League Constitution (Art. V) makes it virtually impossible for even the Executive Council to take any important step without the unanimous consent of all important members of the League. "De-
visions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.'’ Under this provision any one nation with a representative on the Executive Council could block every vital League activity.

The Constitution contains three main provisions and several minor ones. The three chief provisions are concerned with armaments, war and colonies.

The article dealing with armaments (Art. VIII) begins with a statement that “the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with the national safety.” Therefore, “the Council . . . shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.” In other words, any provision regarding armament reduction must be ratified by the nations in question before they become effective. In case a new member desires to enter the League it “shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.” (Art. I.)

The initiators of the League reserve to themselves the right to retain their own armaments and at the same time the League as a body is in a position to limit the armaments of any new members admitted. Under these circumstances it is interesting to note that neither Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Ukraine, Mexico, Finland, nor Russia is on the list of states which are to be invited to accept the Covenant in its present form. These states, when applying for membership in the League, would have their armaments limited at the discretion of the League and without any necessary relation to the armaments of League members.

The League Covenant is concerned chiefly with war. Its preamble opens with the words, “In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security.” Sections XI to XVII deal exclusively with the problem of war. Section
XI begins as follows: "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

"The members of the League agree (Article XII) that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or an inquiry by the Council."

There is a further provision in Article XIII that in case of a dispute between members of the League "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."

The next article (XIV) provides for a permanent court of international justice. This 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 Assembly."

Should any nation violate its pledges with regard to war, under Article XVI it will be deemed "to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League." Thereupon the other members agree to subject the offending nation to an economic, commercial and financial boycott, and "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 needed by the League.

All of the "war" provisions of the Covenant deal rather with the regulation than the prevention of war.

Nowhere among these vitally important sections is there any provision that will give the League effective power. The League has no army. The League has no navy. The League is without a treasury. Nations are to submit to arbitration questions which they
recognize as suitable. The international court has power in all disputes which the parties submit to it. The League Council is to enforce decisions by recommending that nations provide certain military and naval forces. The organization lacks backbone, vitality, unity and executive authority.

The third important provision of the Covenant relates to colonies and dependencies. During the war there was a great deal of talk of self-determination. In the League Covenant the word is neither mentioned nor hinted at. Each of the Allied nations keeps its own colonies and dependencies without let or hindrance. With respect to enemy possessions, however, Article XXII provides that their well-being and development shall “form a sacred trust of civilization” and that the tutelage of such people shall be entrusted to advanced nations which “can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it.” In certain cases, however, where the possession in question “can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory,” the mandatory nation is permitted to absorb the mandatee.

Like cargoes of silk and spices, like so much brick and mortar, like chattels in the world’s markets, the tens of millions of people inhabiting the German colonies and the Turkish possessions are thus distributed among the Allied nations without being permitted a word in the decision of their own fate.

“Open Covenants of peace openly arrived at” was included by President Wilson in the first of his 14 points. Article XVIII, dealing with treaties, provides that “every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it.” Treaties are to be made, registered and then “opened” to the world.

The Covenant contains two obscure references to labor. Article XXIII states that “the members of
the League will endeavor to secure and maintain fair
dand humane conditions of labor for men, women and
children, both in their own countries and in all coun-
tries to which their commercial and industrial rela-
tions extend.” Later, in the same article, there oc-
curs this extraordinary language, “the members of
the League will entrust the League with the general
supervision over the execution of agreements with re-
gard to the traffic in women and children, and the
traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.” There
is no indication as to what “traffic in women and chil-
dren” is contemplated.

The League Covenant is practically unamendable.
Section XXVI provides that amendments are to take
effect “when ratified by the members of the League
whose representatives compose the Council and by a
majority of the members of the League whose repre-
sentatives compose the Assembly.” This means ap-
proval by the Governments of the “Big Five,” of the
four other nations represented in the Council and of
enough additional nations to give a majority in the
Assembly.

The League of Nations as proposed in this Cove-
nant consists of a political arrangement between the
Allied and certain neutral nations. The document
contains no important economic provisions. The ma-
chinery is intensely undemocratic. Under the Cove-
nant as drawn, every member of the Assembly and
of the Executive Council may be appointed by the
Premiers of the nations involved. Not only is there
no provision for the general election of delegates, but
there is no provision for recall or for the responsibil-
ity of the delegates to the people of their respective
countries. Furthermore, the five nations with the
big armies and the big navies always select five out
of nine members of the Council and thus may always
direct the affairs of the League. In addition, any one
nation by veto may hold up any single important
League decision.

The organization of the League is undemocratic.
Its machinery is impotent. The Council is vested with authority but it has no real power. The League is little more than a voluntary association of Governments—a treaty more general than those which have proved so ineffective in the past.

III

WHO MADE THE "COVENANT"?

So much for the text of the League Covenant. Who wrote it?

The League Covenant was originally written behind closed doors by a commission of the Peace Conference. It was amended in the same manner. Eventually, it was adopted without alteration or amendment by the entire Conference.

The Peace Conference is an extraordinary gathering,—one of the most extraordinary in the history of international negotiations. Five nations have organized and dominated the entire Conference. These nations are: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. The decision of the "Big Five" to run the entire conference was announced on January 20th, 1919, when the rules of the conference were published. Rule 1 read as follows:

"The belligerent powers with general interests—the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan—shall take part in all meetings and commissions. The belligerent powers with particular interests—Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions...shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed."

What was the meaning of the phrases, "general interests" when applied to the "Big Five," and "particular interests," when applied to Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions, etc.? The answer is plain. The five nations with the big armies and the
big navies had "general interests," and the other nations, irrespective of their relation to the war, had "special interests." Belgium has suffered irretrievably; Japan has suffered not at all, and yet Japan is represented at all of the sessions, and Belgium only when she is invited.

Such was the spirit behind the organization of the Conference. A big army and a big navy was made the price of admission to the inner circle. The centre of organized might had shifted from Berlin to Paris.

The delegates to the Conference were appointed by their respective governments. Not one member was elected by the people whom he purported to represent. The Peace Conference was a conference of representatives chosen by governments—not by peoples.

This fact is clearly reflected in the names and positions of the conferees. The war was fought presumably for democracy and liberty, yet three of the "Big Five" are monarchies and only two are republics. The representatives of these monarchies were counts, dukes and barons. England sent Bonar Law and Balfour; Italy sent Sonnino and Orlando; Japan sent one marquis, one count and three barons.

The names of the Peace conferees are not the names of the well-known champions of democracy. On the contrary, they are the names of the men who have been playing the vicious game of back-stairs European diplomacy for a generation. Among them are the same men who signed arbitration treaties and broke them; who established the Hague Tribunal, and ignored it, and who finally drew up the infamous "secret treaties," under which they agreed for a price upon the conditions of war and bloodshed.

France in her secret understanding prescribed:—

1. "Alsace and Lorraine to be returned to France.

2. "The boundaries will be extended at least to the limits of the former principality of Lorraine and will be fixed under the direction of the French Govern-
ment. At the same time strategic demands must be taken into consideration, so as to include within the French territory the whole of the industrial iron basin of Lorraine, and the whole of the industrial coal basin of the Valley of the Saar."

Alsace and Lorraine are thus re-christened Iron and Coal.

Italy made a bargain under which the Allies agreed to give her Trentino and the entire Southern Tyrol; the province of Dalmatia; "her right to receive on the division of Turkey an equal share with France, Great Britain and Russia in the basin of the Mediterranean," and a share in the division of Africa. In addition (Article XIV), "England obligates herself to assist Italy immediately to negotiate on the London market on advantageous terms of a loan in a sum not less than 50,000,000 pounds sterling"—whereupon Italy entered the war.

Similar treaties were drawn up between Russia and Japan with regard to the partition of spheres of influence in China.

The statesmen, who brought Europe to the verge of chaos, who were the leaders in guiding civilization to the precipice, sat down at Paris and drew up the Covenant for the League of Nations. The empires which have been contending for the world's mastery, the governments partially responsible for precipitating the world war, are, many of them, the powers in the League of Nations.

IV

AN ORGANIZATION OF CAPITALIST EMPIRES

A peculiar method of production prevails in the modern world. A few people own the mines, mills, factories, banks and railroads. The masses of the people depend for their livelihood upon the resources and machines in the hands of the few.
The few who own the machinery of production likewise own the product. The worker in a steel mill does not own the rail that he turns out, nor does the worker in a shoe factory own the leather which he is fashioning into shoes.

The surplus of production goes to the owner of the productive machinery. The worker receives, in the form of wages, a part of the product which he creates. The remainder, in the form of interest, dividends, rents and profits, is paid to the owning class.

The system under which one class in the community owns the capital, the product and the surplus, while another class works with the capital to create the product and the surplus, is called Capitalism. It is the system universally accepted in the industrial life of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States.

This system places huge surpluses in the hands of the few who comprise the owning class. The last detailed report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shows that 67 individuals in the United States were in receipt of 299 million dollars of annual income, 99½ per cent. of which was derived from interest, rents, dividends and profits. Those 67 people together with the 30,000 other millionaires in the United States, find it impossible to spend their income on the comforts and luxuries of life. Therefore, they take this surplus, add to it the savings from banks and insurance companies and invest it at home or abroad—wherever the rate of return is more satisfactory.

The “Big Five” all are investing nations. At the beginning of the war Japan had her investments in Korea. Italy had her investments in Africa and Asia Minor. France had her investments in Russia and in other undeveloped countries. Great Britain had twenty billions of dollars invested abroad in 1914. The United States at the present time, is busy investing in Mexico, Central America, South America and China.
Great capitalist nations are compelled, whether they will or not, to invest surplus, otherwise it piles up, creating financial difficulties. They invest the surplus where it will bring the largest return, which usually means in the development of unexploited countries.

The last forty years have witnessed the growth of capitalist imperialism—the foreign investment of economic surplus. Frederick C. Howe has described the process ably in his "Why War?" The same field is well covered by an English economist, J. A. Hobson, in his "Imperialism."

Each of the "Big Five" nations is busy with its policy of financial imperialism. Within each of the "Big Five," the working class has been struggling for generations. In Japan, the labor movement has been stamped out with unexampled bitterness. In the United States, a vigorous attempt is now being made to crush it. In Great Britain, France and Italy, the labor movement has gained some power, but no visitor to any of these countries in 1913, could fail to observe the frightful havoc that capitalist exploitation had wrought among the industrial workers.

While the few grew rich, fattening on the surplus of production, the many toiled and slaved for starvation wages. Their wives were overworked, and their children grew up stunted weaklings. The British Parliament issued a report in 1905 on Physical Deterioration, which set forth the facts in horrible detail.

Each of the "Big Five" nations has witnessed and is witnessing, a tremendous struggle between the classes who work with the productive machinery, and the classes who own the productive machinery. The working class struggles for liberation; the owning class struggles to maintain its supremacy—its right to say to the workers, "You work and toil and earn bread, and we will eat it."

Will an organization dominated by the "Big Five" capitalist empires of the world benefit labor? Will
an organization of exploiters help the exploited? Will a league of capitalist empires benefit wage slaves?

V

A LEAGUE OF ROBBER NATIONS

The "Big Five" control the brute force of the world. They have all of the important naval power; they have most of the important military power, and they dominate the manufacturing industries upon which the success of warfare depends. The union of the "Big Five" is brute force enthroned.

The record of the "Big Five" is a record of conquest, and in too many cases a record of tyranny.

The people of the United States took this country from the American Indians, for the most part by conquest. From Mexico, they took the southwest by conquest. From Spain, they took Porto Rico and the Philippines by conquest, and from Colombia, by the same method, thinly disguised, they took the Panama Canal Zone.

Japan took Korea by conquest and she holds it by a reign of military terror.

France and Italy took their African colonies by conquest, and they hold them with armies and with navies.

Great Britain has laid her conquering hand on one quarter of the territory of the Earth's surface. Today she holds Ireland under her domination with tens of thousands of British soldiers. Egypt is being controlled with machine guns. Forty-five million people in the British Isles, are ruling over the destinies of three hundred million people in India, and crushing out in the most arbitrary and tyrannous manner, every effort of the Indians to liberate themselves. Her record in South Africa during the Boer War is no better than the record of the United States in the Philippines, during our conquest of those possessions.

The "Big Five" have secured their empires by resort to force. All are champions of the right of
might. They rule their dependent peoples with battle
ships and artillery. At home they rule the working
population with policemen's clubs and constables'
baton's, and where necessary, they use rifles and ma-
chine guns.

Five capitalist empires have set themselves the
task of making peace. In order to do so, they have
drawn up a Covenant which shall bind these five
empires together.

Why did not the Peace Conference invite delegates
from the Socialist countries of Europe? Did they
refuse to seat envoys from Germany, Austria and
Hungary, because they were "enemy" Socialist gov-
ernments? On what ground, then, did they exclude
Russia, an "allied" Socialist government?

Capitalist empires refuse to deal with Socialist Re-
publics because they have nothing in common with
them. A capitalist empire aims to maintain exploita-
tion and industrial slavery. A Socialist Republic
aims to emancipate mankind from economic thraldom.

The League of Nations turns back the clock of
civilization to the age of rule by violence. It shuts
out every consideration of national and international
democracy. It threatens every revolution and every
effort of the working classes to improve their condi-
tions for themselves. The League of Nations is the
last stand of capitalism—the last obstacle in the way
of the economic emancipation of labor.

VI

THE LEAGUE WILL NOT PREVENT WAR

There is another matter of supreme importance
that is inseparably connected with any consideration
of the League of Nations. Will the League prevent
war?

Plain people everywhere are asking that question.
Statesmen have answered that the League could be
relied upon as an agency for the promotion of peace.
The first words in the League Covenant are: "In
order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.”

The world has passed through five years of anguish; it faces a generation of hardship; the frightfulness of war never has been more clearly demonstrated than during this period. Peoples never make wars; despite temporary outbursts of patriotism, they soon tire of the hardship that war imposes. In every country to-day the peoples are yearning for peace. In every country they are looking to the League as a means of preserving peace.

This is not the first time that people have yearned for peace. The Napoleonic wars ended the sixty-year struggle between France and Great Britain for the control of the Eighteenth Century world. Peoples in 1815 were yearning for peace as ardently as they yearn to-day. A treaty was signed. A League of Nations initiated by the Emperors of Austria, Prussia and Russia was organized on September 26, 1815, “to protect Religion, Peace and Justice.” This “Holy Alliance” had the support of millions then just as the League has the support of millions now.

But the Holy Alliance did not preserve peace. Soon it degenerated into an organization for fighting the new political democracy that was flooding Europe. Since its organization a century ago there have been a score of first class wars ending with the catastrophe of 1914.

The plain people want peace. They look eagerly to the League as a means for its establishment. Their desire, however, will not bring them peace in 1919 any more than it brought peace to their ancestors in 1815. Behind the desire for peace there must be an intelligent understanding of the methods necessary for the establishment of peace.

War has its specific causes, just as typhoid fever has its specific causes. A desire to prevent typhoid is futile unless it is coupled with an intelligent idea of the method to be used in destroying the germ. A desire to prevent war is equally futile unless it is
coupled with an intelligent idea of the methods necessary for destroying the germs of war.

The League Covenant as published in April, 1919, will not prevent war—no covenant drawn by the Paris Peace Conference could be expected to prevent war. Those who rely on the League of Nations as a means of preserving the peace of the world are doomed to the same bitter disappointment suffered by those who expected the Holy Alliance to preserve peace.

There are many reasons behind this assertion. The most obvious one is that peace cannot rest upon victory.

President Wilson explained this point very clearly in his address to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

"The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all. . . . They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. . . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in the common benefit."

That is why no peace can be founded upon victory. Equality and a common participation in common benefits is the only possible basis for a lasting peace.

The hope of peace died on November 11, 1918. The signing of the armistice terms spelled victory for the Allies. The declaration of victory was a declaration of future war. No Covenant, no League of Nations, no organization of that system of world empire which triumphed over the Central Powers can be expected to preserve world peace. Only a peace between equals
can last. The Central Empires are humiliated and beaten. The triumphant Allies, unequal in their wealth and in their military strength, already have displayed the most brutal indifference toward colonials, the inhabitants of dependencies, and toward the smaller nations themselves. The "Big Five" have no other method of keeping the peace of the world than that attempted by Germany in 1914—the appeal to organized might. This appeal is in itself a declaration of war.

There is a far more important reason why the League cannot bring world peace. The causes of modern war are economic. These causes the League Covenant, as it is drawn, ignores utterly.

Markets, trade and investment opportunities are the trinity in the modern commercial world. Each nation seeks to advance itself in these three directions. Each takes such action as is necessary to protect its own investing citizens in their business rights.

The markets and investment opportunities of the world are limited. There is not enough to satisfy the insatiable craving for wealth which capitalism has developed. Therefore, in the scramble for economic opportunity some nations will be left hungry. The scramble, moreover, provokes diplomatic controversy, economic retaliation, and, finally, military conflict.

The part played by these economic considerations in causing modern wars is generally recognized. Professor Seligman of Columbia University, in a chapter entitled "An Economic Interpretation of the War"—(Problems of Readjustment After the War, D. Appleton & Co., 1915), makes it very clear—"if I read history aright the forces that are chiefly responsible for the conflicts of political groups are the economic conditions affecting the group growth."

Professor Seligman then explains the struggle for food, for colonies and for trade. He continues: "After national industry has been built up through a period of protection, and after the developed industrial countries have replaced the export of raw mate-
rials by the export of manufactured commodities there comes a time when the accumulation of industrial and commercial profits is such that a more lucrative use of the surplus can be made abroad in the less developed countries than at home with the lower rates usually found in an older industrial system. In other words, the emphasis is now transferred from the export of goods to the export of capital.” The conclusion of Professor Seligman’s argument is significant: “To say, then, that either Great Britain or Germany is responsible for the war seems to involve a curiously shortsighted view of the situation. Both countries, nay, all the countries of the world, are subject to the sweep of these mighty forces over which they have but slight control, and by which they are one and all pushed on with an inevitable fatality.”

President Wilson has been emphatic in his statement that the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway “was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half-a-dozen other countries.” (Buffalo, November 12, 1917.)

The Department of Commerce in a bulletin on “German Trade and the War,” (No. 65, 1918) shows conclusively that it was Germany’s desire for markets and investment opportunities that brought on the World War.

The Navy League goes farther. As a representative of many of the Big Business activities of the United States it printed in heavy-faced type on page 32 of “Sea Power” (September, 1916),

“The Navy League believes:

“That most modern wars arise largely from commercial rivalries;

“That we are now seizing the world’s trade;

“That following the present war will come the most drastic commercial readjustment and the most dangerous rivalries ever known; and, that, consequently, it is our duty to guard ourselves against these dangers while there is yet time.”

21
This formula is generally accepted in the business world. The masters of American industry are now preparing for the next great war.

The League Covenant dodges the economic issue. There is no section in the entire document which even faces, much less attempts to solve, the problem of markets, trade and investments.

Professor Edwin M. Borchard, Professor of International Law, Yale University, writes (LaFollette's, April, 1919, p. 65): "True, more machinery is created; but it seems calculated merely to prevent the operation of inevitable effects resulting from causes to which very little thought appears to have been given. Tariff barriers, trade and investment preferences and monopolies, racial discriminations, the nationalistic control of important trade routes and of backward areas with their raw materials, military and naval rivalry or attempted monopoly, a more intense economic competition than ever before, all these are given full sway; but we are asked to place our trust in a document by which the now dominant nations expect to prevent the inevitable results of these causes, to save themselves from the consequences of their own acts and weakness."

A widely known English economist, Professor J. A. Hobson, goes still farther: In a pamphlet on "The New Holy Alliance," he says, regarding the proposed plan for the League, "The net result is, not a League of peoples devoted to peace and fruitful international co-operation, but a conspiracy of autocrats designed to hold down its enemies by superior economic and military-naval force, and to exercise a domination over the whole world; a tyranny only qualified by the necessity of preserving the solidarity of the great Powers by means of a sufficient share of the spoils of victory."

Most of the conferees in Paris did not understand economic questions. Most of them were international politicians. Political machinery was their chief concern. They failed to grasp the significance of the
economic forces by which they were surrounded. The League Covenant in its present form, with a few changes in wording, might have been written in 1815, so completely does it overlook the problems which financial imperialism has hurled into the arena of modern economic life.

Competition is war. Competition is becoming more intense. War thus grows more inevitable.

The economic struggle in the modern world points in one direction, and in one direction only—toward a stupendous military conflict between the present victors. The capitalist world is rushing to another great catastrophe.

One thing and one thing only will prevent the next war—that is the elimination of capitalism. President Wilson made this point after his return from his first visit to the Peace Conference. At New York, (March 4, 1919) he said: "The people see that their Governments have never been able to defend them against intrigue and aggression and that there is no force of foresight or of prudence in any modern Cabinet to stop war." The week previous, speaking in Boston (February 24, 1919), the President said, "The peoples are in the saddle, and they are going to see to it that if present governments do not do their will, some other government shall, and the secret is out and the present governments know it."

The peoples of Europe at last are awake to the fact that war will not be prevented by a League of Capitalist Empires. Many of them see farther. They realize that war is an inevitable attribute of capitalism, which relies for its philosophy upon the savage precept "Let him take who has the power and let him keep who can."

VII

WILL THE LEAGUE BENEFIT LABOR?

Will the League of Nations benefit labor? The workers; the nine-tenths; the plain people, who fight
wars, suffer poverty and sweat under oppression—will the League of Nations answer their cry for help?

The plain people want peace, bread, enlightenment, liberty. These things and these alone are benefits. The League of Nations will provide none of them.

The five states which dominate the League of Nations are capitalist empires in each of which the industries are run for the private profit of a favored few.

Capitalism cannot bring peace because it is based upon the principles of war. The League of Nations is a League of Capitalist Governments; not a League of Free Peoples. Capitalist governments in the past have waged war to safeguard dividends, and when the time is ripe, they will do it again.

Bread, under capitalism, goes, not to those who make it, but to those who can pay for it—the property owners. The worker, with his pittance wage, cannot buy back what he produces. The property owner, with his ample income of rents, interest and dividends lives upon the fat of the land. Capitalism to-day is built on the same barbaric system of exploitation that has existed in England since the middle of the eighteenth century, and that exists to-day in Japan, Italy, France and the United States. That system will give the worker neither a fair share of bread nor any of the other opportunities of life. The system has been tried out for generations, and to his sorrow the worker knows it for what he gets.

Even when, for brief periods of prosperity, the workers build up organizations and secure better conditions of life, hard times spell periodic disaster. When the inevitable readjustment is made from war prices to peace prices there will be five, six or, perhaps, even seven millions of men and women on the streets looking for work. What will "war prosperity" amount to then? Of what avail will be their trade and industrial unions? An organization without the ownership of the job at such times amounts to nothing. Capitalism cannot give the workers mas-
tery over their own jobs; if it did it would cease to be capitalism.

Will the League of Nations spread enlightenment through the world? Look over the capitalist countries, and ask whether enlightenment is being spread by individual nations. Are the masters enlightening the workers of Japan? Are they spreading knowledge in France? The Japanese labor agitators are in jail. The French socialist papers still come to the United States with great blotches of "censor" marks on them. Are the masters spreading enlightenment in the United States? They have blanketed every organized avenue of education with ignorance, and individuals who try to illuminate this darkness with the light of truth get from five to twenty years for their pains. The capitalist nations united are not going to spread enlightenment any more than capitalist nations individually. The League of Nations will do no more to enlighten the world than Britain has done to enlighten Egypt. The capitalist nations, united, will practice exploitation, oppression and tyranny just as they have done it individually, with this one difference—"In union there is strength."

Will the League of Nations give the people liberty? Are "the masters of the government of the United States" who are "the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States" going to extend to the other portions of the earth the liberty of Everett, Ludlow, Bisbee and Lawrence? The liberty of Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Kate O'Hare and Eugene V. Debs? Will Britain give more liberty to the world than she has given to Ireland and India? Will Japan spread Korean liberty among the nations?

Labor needs peace, bread, enlightenment and liberty. None of these things will come through the League of Nations, therefore, the League of Nations will not benefit labor.

Furthermore, there is a fundamental principle here involved. Those who have read American history remember the slogan "taxation without representa-
tion is tyranny.” The working people will be asked to abide by the decisions of this League and to pay for them, yet there is not a single representative of labor at the Peace Conference and the League Covenant provides that the Executive Council is to be selected by the governments and not by the peoples.

Who are these governments? Let Woodrow Wilson answer for the United States,—

“We know that something intervenes between the people of the United States and the control of their own affairs at Washington. It is not the people who have been ruling there of late.” “We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments in the civilized world—no longer a government of free opinion, no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority, but a government by the opinion and the duress of small groups of dominant men.” “The organization of business has become more centralized, vastly more centralized, than the political organization of the country itself.” “The incubus that lies upon the country is the present monopolistic organization of our industrial life.” “The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States.” “The government of the United States at present is a foster child of the special interests.” “An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy.” (The New Freedom.)

“The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States,” says Mr. Wilson. That same thing is true to a greater or less extent in the other four empires involved. Therefore, the masters of the League of Nations inevitably will be the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the nations composing the League. How can labor hope to benefit where it is not represented?

The League is in the hands of those who make a profession of exploiting labor. They are riding com-
fortably now,—these combined capitalists and manufacturers—on the backs of the working people. Joining hands, through the League, they will help to support one another should "any little unpleasantness arise," and thus, united, they will continue to ride as long as the workers continue to carry them.

The same thing will happen to labor under the League of Nations that has happened to labor in each of the nations composing the League,—labor will get what it takes,—no more and no less.

Pierre Birzon, in a recent issue of "La Vague" (April 10, 1919) paints this picture of the issue:

"The old world is condemned.
"It plunged the earth into the bloody night of war and the long winters of injustice.
"Never again must we see such horrors.
"Here is the spring of new republics.
"Peace for us!
"Bread for us!
"The earth for us!
"For us, wealth, art and culture, and the joys that are due to labor,—the embellisher of life!
"It is the spring. Long live the sun!
"It is the spring.
"Down with war!
"It is the spring of the new world!"

VIII

ONLY LABOR CAN BENEFIT LABOR

Only labor can benefit labor. Slaves have lived, ere this, in comfort and luxury. Still they were slaves. The worker who values peace, bread, enlightenment and liberty, dare not depend for these necessities upon capitalist exploiters. Only labor can emancipate labor.

The people of the United States have, as their most cherished tradition, the Declaration of Independence of monarchical tyranny, issued in 1776:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by
their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Again tyranny has raised its ugly head in the guise of capitalist imperialism. The day of the people has come. They must write a new Declaration of Independence—indeedence of plutocracy and all of its works. Until labor writes that Declaration of Independence it is helpless.

The path that leads to industrial self-government, almost unknown two years ago, today is blazed and trodden. To-morrow this path will be replaced by a paved road.

Russia has set the example. Her constitution (July, 1918) begins with a bill of rights of which this is the first paragraph: "Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters and the establishment of a socialist society." . . . Later in the same section are the words: "Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the community." Section 18 reads: "The Russian Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: 'He shall not eat who does not work.' "

That is the spirit in which the fundamental law of the new world will be written. Only labor can benefit labor, and labor will be the back-bone of the coming civilization.
While one man can live, without work, upon the proceeds of another’s labor, an economic slavery prevails for which the League of Nations affords no remedy.

The Russians are striving to make labor the basis of society. Hence their constitution provides: “The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

“(a). All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work. . . .

“(b). Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

“(c). Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.”

Under the new world order, the right to vote and to be elected to office is reserved for workers—for those who perform a socially useful service.

The Russians make the negative proposition equally emphatic, in stating who may not vote:

“(a). Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

“(b). Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

“(c). Private merchants, trade and commission brokers.”

The Russian worker is eligible to vote and to hold office because he is a worker.

The Russian profiteer is denied the right to vote and to hold office because he is a profiteer.

The people of Russia have discovered and expounded a new crime, the crime which one member of society commits when he says to a fellow member: “You work and toil and earn bread and I will eat it.”
The workers of Russia have written into their constitution many other provisions, such as those by which all private property in land is abolished; all forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all factories, mills, mines, railways, and all the banks and other financial institutions are transferred to the ownership of the community without compensation to their former owners.

That is the only way in which labor can benefit labor. Sham reforms and patch-work measures are a delusion and snare. The workers must own the works before they can hope to be free.

The forward-looking workers in all countries of the world believe in a League—a League of Socialist Nations. They favor such a League because they believe that the time has come in the evolution of the world when a League of Nations is an imperative necessity. They go far beyond the makers of the League Covenant in that they favor an international delegate body, elected and organized to direct world affairs. Workers believe in a League of Nations, but not in *the* League of Nations as at present constituted, because they cannot see how the present League will benefit labor.

The present, for labor, is the opportunity of a century. It is the end of an epoch. It is the beginning of a new age. It is an opportunity that Labor will not have again in this generation.

Only Labor can benefit labor. What labor to-day wants is not a League of Nations composed of capitalist empires and directed by barons and counts, bankers and railroad magnates, but a League of Socialist Republics organized on the basis of the full product of work for the worker; a League of Socialist Republics in which productive labor is made the keystone of the social structure; a League of Socialist Republics which will make economic parasitism impossible and which will make economic and social opportunities equal for all.
FULL REVISED COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS WITH CHANGES FROM ORIGINAL DRAFT INDICATED

In order to promote international co-operation 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 nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to 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 peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

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

ARTICLE I

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be affected 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 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 armaments.

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 new, embodying with alterations and additions the old Article VII. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members, and adds the entirely new paragraph providing for withdrawal from the League. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.]

**ARTICLE II**

The action of the League under this covenant shall be affected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

[Originally this was a part of Article I. It gives the name Assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the League, formerly referred to merely as “the body of delegates.”]

**ARTICLE III**

The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

[This embodies parts of the original Articles I, II, and III, with only minor changes. It refers to “members of the League” where the term “high contracting parties” originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.]

**ARTICLE IV**

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 repre-
sentatives of four other members of the League. 
These four 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 As-
sembly, representatives of (blank) 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 to 
the Council. 

The Council shall meet from time to time as occa-
sion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat 
of the League, or at such other place as may be de-
cided upon. 

The Council may deal at its meetings with any 
matter within the sphere of action of the League or 
affecting the peace of the world. 

Any 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 original Article III 
designating the original members of the Council. The 
paragraph providing for increase in the membership 
of the Council is new.]

**Article V**

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this 
covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly
or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

[The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both Assembly and Council, except where otherwise provided, is now. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Article IV.]

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ARTICLE VI

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The Secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, with the approval of the Council.

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 Union.

[This replaces the original Article V. 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 VII

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 in connection 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 inviolable.

[Embodying parts of old Article V and VI, 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 new.]

ARTICLE VIII

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information 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 VIII, but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by the nations affected before they become effective.]

ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VII and on military and naval questions generally.

[Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "Article I."]
ARTICLE X

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.

[Virtually unchanged.]

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also 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 either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

[In the original it was provided that the “high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action,” &c., where the revised draft reads, “The League shall take any action.”]

ARTICLE XII

The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or an inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.
In any case under this article the 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 the dispute.

[Virtually unchanged except that some provisions of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.]

**ARTICLE XIII**

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between 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 a 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 XIV**

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 de-
termine 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 Assembly.

[Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.]

ARTICLE XV

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, the 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 appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any members of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

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 dispute, 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 report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve 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 recommendations 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 fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article XII 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 the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each 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 matters of "domestic jurisdiction" from action by the Council is new. In the last sentence the words "if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council," &c., have been added.]
ARTICLE XVI

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII, or XV, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake 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 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 passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect 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.]
ARTICLE XVII

In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI 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 effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article XVI 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 XVIII

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

[Same as original Article XXIII.]
ARTICLE XIX

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 which continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

[Virtually the same as original Article XXIV.]

ARTICLE XX

The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case a member 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 such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

[Virtually the same as original Article XXV.]

ARTICLE XXI

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

[Entirely new.]

ARTICLE XXII

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 by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied
The principle that the well being and development of such peoples form 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 mandataries on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatary until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatary.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatary 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 or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest 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 centres 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 safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous 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, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandataries and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

[This is the original Article XIX, virtually unchanged, except for the insertion of the words, "and who are willing to accept," in describing nations to be given mandates.]

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**Article XXIII**

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 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 for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under 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 to this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection 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 XX, and embodies parts of the original Articles XVIII and XXI. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses (b) and (c).]

ARTICLE XXIV

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 under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary 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.
ARTICLE XXV

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

[Entirely new.]

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

Such amendment shall [not?] 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 a majority of the League instead of three-fourths is required for ratification of amendments, with the last sentence added.]

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

I. Original members of the League of Nations.

Signatories of the Treaty of Peace:

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New South Wales, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia,
Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant:

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

II. First Secretary General of the League of Nations:

(__________)

[The annex was not published with the original draft of the covenant.]
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