

# REVISED COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

## FULL TEXT AS ACCEPTED BY PEACE CONFERENCE

Canada, as well as other Self-Governing Dominions, named in Important Annex to Document--Thirteen Neutrals invited to join League.

The revised covenant of the League of Nations, as presented at Paris to the Peace Conference in plenary session includes important amendments.

Attached to the text is the hitherto unpublished "annex" referred to in the covenant, in which are named the 31 states, including Canada and the other self-governing British dominions, which are to be original members of the League of Nations, and states to be invited to accede to the covenant.

The text of the revised Covenant of the League of Nations, with parenthetical insertions showing changes made in the covenant as originally drafted and made public, is as follows:—

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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 honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of 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 ONE.**—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 effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice before 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 alteration and additions the old article seven. 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.)

### NAME "ASSEMBLY" ADOPTED.

**ARTICLE TWO.**—The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent secretariat.

(Originally this was a part of article one. 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 THREE.**—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 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 one, two and three, 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.)

### COUNCIL OF NINE.

**ARTICLE FOUR.**—The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. 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 Assembly, 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 to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

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

The Council may deal at its 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 Three designating the original members of the Council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the Council is new.)

**ARTICLE FIVE.**—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 the Council, including 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 new. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Article Four.)

### CONFERENCE ADOPTS REVISED COVENANT.

The revised covenant of the League of Nations was adopted by the plenary session of the peace conference on April 28 without division and without amendment. The covenant had been moved by President Wilson.

President Wilson, in his speech explaining the revised covenant of the League of Nations, said that Sir Eric Drummond, of Great Britain, had been named as the first Secretary-General of the league. Regarding the composition of the executive council, the President said that Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain would be represented on the council in addition to the five great powers until a permanent choice had been made.

The text of the labour principles for insertion in the treaty was adopted, and the conference adjourned without considering responsibilities.

George Nicoll Barnes, British delegate, explained the nine points which the Labour Commission wished embodied in the peace treaty. Sir Robert L. Borden the Canadian Premier, then read the revised nine points.

The revised clauses say that the standard set by law regarding conditions of labour should have due regard for the equitable and economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident in a country and also that a 48-hour week should be aimed at. The commission had asked for this, except where climatic conditions interfered.

Sir Robert Borden said that the changes in the phraseology were the result of suggestions by the different delegations and they had been accepted by all the great industrial nations.

M. Clemenceau, the President, declared the revised nine points carried.

### PERMANENT SECRETARIAT.

**ARTICLE SIX.**—The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a secretariat-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 five. 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 appointment.)

### GENEVA SEAT OF LEAGUE.

**ARTICLE SEVEN.**—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 the old articles five and six, 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.)

### REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

**ARTICLE EIGHT.**—The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

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

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil fruits attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

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

**ARTICLE NINE.**—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of articles one and eight, and on military and naval questions generally.

(Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "article one".)

### WAR OR THREAT OF WAR.

**ARTICLE TEN.**—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

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