

"If I am elected president, during the next four years no American soldiers will go abroad unless you direct me to send them."—James M. Cox, in speech at Orville, O., August 21, 1920.

FULL TEXT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 1
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 accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notices 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 accession is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air 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 it shall have fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article 2
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.

Article 3
The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

Article 4
The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, 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 Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece 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 members of the Council; the Council, with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

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.

Article 5
Except when otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions 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, 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.

(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.

Article 8
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, the 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 effects 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, naval and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Article 1 and 8 and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

Article 10
The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11
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 friendly 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 international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12
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 to 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.

Article 13
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 can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

AT LAST.
(Editorial in Oregon Journal.)

The truth is out at last. Elihu Root, Charles C. Hughes and William Howard Taft helped make the League Covenant. Five out of seven amendments suggested by Charles C. Hughes and five out of six suggested by Elihu Root were put into the Covenant and Wilson was in constant communication, Taft in America and Wilson at Paris, while the final draft of the Covenant was being framed, as shown by nine cablegrams just made public by Governor Cox.

Taft proposed four amendments. They were: First, covering the Monroe Doctrine; second, fixing a term for the duration of the League and the limitation of armaments; third, expressly requiring unanimity of action in the executive council, and fourth, amending Article XV to make clear that the League shall have no jurisdiction over strictly domestic affairs.

In making these recommendations, Taft declared in a cablegram to Wilson that the "ground would be completely cut from under opponents of the League in the Senate."

Wilson replied to Taft's cablegram thanking him for the suggestions and saying he hoped they would prove useful. All four amendments were incorporated in the League Covenant. In the ninth cablegram, Taft urged the president to make appeal to the people directly in behalf of the League. Taft even outlined some of the points that should be emphasized in the Wilson appeals.

Here is light that has long been needed. Taft and Wilson were working side by side in preparing the Covenant. In one of the first cablegrams, Wilson thanked Taft for offering to make suggestions and requested Taft to hurry them to him.

The Covenant then is not a Wilson Covenant. It is a Taft-Wilson Covenant. It is also a Hughes Covenant and a Root Covenant. Instead of resisting suggestions, as has been claimed, Wilson gratefully accepted them and introduced the Paris conference to incorporate them into the pact.

It will also be remembered that on his return from Paris with the first draft, Wilson invited every member of the foreign relations committee to a meeting at the White House where the Covenant was discussed and suggestions invited. Lodge was there. Harding was there. Borah refused to attend. Lodge walked through the meeting and went back into the Senate to carry on his fight.

The cable correspondence between Taft and Wilson exposes the injustice and duplicity of the whole campaign against the League. Accepting suggestions from Taft, Root and Hughes, Wilson, in his desire to make the League acceptable to its opponents, secured adoption of the changes in the Covenant.

It was of no avail. Ten million dead in the war were of no avail. Ten million human beings starved to death by the war were of no avail. The war taxes that every man, woman and child in America is paying every day to meet the war bills, were of no avail. The fact that the whole purpose of the League was to prevent the recurrence of another horrible world war was of no avail.

Nothing was of avail before the grim purpose of the Senate brigadiers to destroy the League and through that destruction discredit Wilson. Nothing was of avail in the terrible resolve of the Senate politicians to make a campaign issue at whatever cost to civilization and crucifixion of mankind.

It is on the false claim that the Covenant is solely a Wilson Covenant that Mr. Harding is making his campaign. It is on the insistence that the Covenant was framed by Wilson's "single track" mind that he says "the League is already scrapped."

It is in the face of the fact that Taft worked constantly with Wilson in framing the pact that Harding says "IT IS REJECTION OF THE LEAGUE THAT I AM SEEKING."

Many a mother who kissed goodbye to a son who never came back from the war will rue the day if the League is rejected. And many a child yet unborn, will rue that day.

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 with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the 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.

The Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed 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 resisting any special measure 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 cooperating 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.

Article 17
In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or 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 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose 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.

Article 18
Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and shall as soon as possible be published by him. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 19
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 any 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.

Article 21
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.

Article 22
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 should be embodied in this Covenant.

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

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions 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 Mandatory 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 Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject 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 or 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 South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the 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 shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

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

Article 23
Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their own 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 intrust 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 intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the region devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24
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.

No such amendment shall 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.

SIX VOTES ARGUMENT SHOWN TO BE FRAUD BY SENATOR M'CUMBER

Prominent Republican Senator Shows That the United States Will Have All Advantage in Assembly.

(From a speech in the Senate October 6, 1919, by P. J. McCumber, Republican, United States Senator from North Dakota.)

And now comes the Johnson amendment and demands that the United States shall have six votes on every dispute and each of these other countries but one vote. And, Mr. President, the very Senators who are making this most selfish demand are shouting from the housetops that Great Britain has packed the jury because Canada and Australia, not as a part of Great Britain but as wholly self-governing nations, who fought this grim war to a finish, demand and which Great Britain is not a party, a recognition equal to that of a score of other little insignificant States that never turned a hand to safeguard the world when all that civilization holds dear was at stake. The only nation that would hold a real advantage over the other nations in this League is the United States of America.

By virtue of our peculiar situation we would have an advantage over not only Great Britain but over every other nation in the world. We not only enter this League with special reservations in our favor, such as that relating to the Monroe doctrine, but also other proposed reservations intended to relieve us from duties imposed on our allies. But these are the least important of our advantages. The far greater advantage lies in the fact that we shall, by reason of our relationship with other countries, control an overwhelming voting strength in every controversy.

At a mere nod United States our begotten child Panama, our foster-son Cuba, our wards Nicaragua, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras, Uruguay, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and even Brazil declared war on Germany. If by the mere raising of a finger these 10 countries declared war against a country that had certainly committed no offense against them, can any unprejudiced mind fail to understand that in every controversy that can affect our interest in the remotest degree the votes of all these States will be cast en bloc for whatever we may desire?

Yes, Mr. President, not only these countries but practically every country in the Western Hemisphere would follow our lead.

Talk about Great Britain having an advantage. Why, Mr. President, if Great Britain should have a quarrel with Guatemala about an oil lease, Great Britain and her dominions would be eliminated. But these children and step-children and wards of the United States, numbering a score, would follow the lead of this great country just as surely as the stallion follows the course of the planet.

GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX

(Continued from page 1.)

The Man to Meet Any Emergency.
In 1912, during his first term, Ohio was devastated by one of the worst floods in the history of the country. It was a matter of speculation how the new governor would meet the situation. The answer was written afterward in a New York newspaper: "The man who dominated the situation in Ohio is Governor Cox. He has been not only chief magistrate and commander in chief, but the head of the life-saving service, the greatest provider of food and clothing the state has ever known, the principal health officer, the sanest counselor, the severest disciplinarian, the kindest philanthropist and the best reporter."

HARDINK SPOKE
(Continued from page 1.)

armor plate among the existing private plants, and on top of that, voted for the largest navy anybody had ever cared to propose. Armor plate had to be purchased for every one of the large fighting vessels.

For Secret Government
Senator Harding voted against making facts concerning profiteering public. He voted against making income return public. He voted against making the profits of corporations public. He didn't want the people to know how much the corporations made. He voted for secret diplomacy and opposed the abolition of secret sessions of the Senate.

Harding Wet
Senator Harding has a record on prohibition—a very wet record. In the Senate of August 1, 1917, he said: "I am not a prohibitionist. Mr. President, and never have pretended to be. I do not claim to be a temperance man. I do not approach this question from a moral viewpoint, because I am

unable to see it as a great moral question."

In 23 votes in the Senate on prohibition, he voted 20 times with the wets, the two dry votes coming after Ohio had adopted prohibition and Governor Cox had been elected to enforce it. Although Senator Harding voted for the national prohibition amendment, he had previously proposed an amendment making the law imperative unless it was ratified by the states within six years.

Harding voted against prohibition in the District of Columbia. He voted prohibition in the Philippines. He voted with the wets in the prohibition tests on the army reorganization bill, the espionage act, and the food and fuel control measures. He voted to make the prohibition act red "spirited" rather than "intoxicating" liquors. He voted against an amendment prohibiting the sale of intoxicants. He voted against prohibiting the importation of withdrawal of distilled liquors from bond for beverage purposes. He voted to have beer and light wines.

In addition to opposing the only means of preventing war now before the country—the League of Nations—Senator Harding opposed the farm loan act. Opposing that act, he said in the Senate on April 26, 1918: "I will not assume to say that conditions in Ohio are altogether like those of other States of the Union, but I believe I can state an absolute truth when I say that there is no more need for a measure of this kind for the agriculturists of the State of Ohio than for the government to try to step in and take charge of all our industrial and productive affairs in that State."

Harding introduced a statement from banker of Ohio branding the farm loan system as an attempt to use the credit of the government for a special class of individuals, meaning, of course, the farmers.

Senator Harding didn't want farmers to receive \$2.26 for their wheat. He was for dollar wheat. In the Senate he said: "In this latter day farming has become an occupation for profit; and I happen to know that under normal conditions, dollar wheat makes it a very profitable occupation."

Opposed Labor and Soldiers
Harding voted against labor time after time in the Senate. He voted for the bill including the anti-strike provision. He voted for compulsory lengthening of the working day for certain government employees. He voted for the stop-watch time measuring device. He voted against a federal employment bureau, favoring the employers who preferred chaotic employment conditions. Harding voted against raising the pay of soldiers serving abroad. He voted against providing a district rent administrator to prevent rent profiteering in the District of Columbia.

Reserve Bank Threatened
Although Senator Harding was not in the Senate when the federal reserve law was created, the men to whom he owes his nomination, and who, like himself, are reactionaries, opposed it. Smoot and Brandegee spoke and voted against the federal reserve system. Penrose voted against it. Lodge was paired against it. Senator Harding says these men should be consulted by the executive of the nation in performing the duties of his office. Are they to be consulted as to whether the federal reserve bank is to be continued or is to be wrecked?

Big Business Friends
Among the men who contributed financially to the "book of faith," a book written by Ross Barnes setting forth reasons why the Democratic party should be shorn of power, and endorsed in a letter by Senator Harding, are the two Rockefellers, Teague of Standard Oil, and William Wood of the American Woolen Company. What interest have these men in the candidacy of Harding, and what interest have they in Oregon?

An Senator
In describing Senator Harding, his fitness for the presidency, and his position, the Washington, D. C. Searchlight, a non-political publication maintained to report the official records of Senators and congressmen, sums up: "Harding probably ranks below every other senator in initiative, activity and accomplishment."

"Neither his friends nor his enemies can connect his name with a single outstanding issue, good or bad."

"He neither introduced nor championed even one big constructive measure."

"He was absent or dodged 1163 roll calls or quorum calls."

"All the bills and resolutions he introduced were local or private in character, except eight."

"None of these eight exceptions was of big importance."

"His Senate speeches were halting, inconsistent, and generally illogical, with always a reactionary point of view."

"As a follower, politically and economically, he stood with his party bosses—Penrose, Smoot and Lodge."

"In all matters of spots and organization, he was with the Old Guard."

"On issues at all important, he voted with the progressive group only nine times in six years."

"He favored woman suffrage after much reluctance and indecision."

"He stood consistently against conservation."

"On every important test between capital and labor, he voted with the former."

"On revenue measures, he voted against every amendment to increase the tax upon profiteering and large incomes."

"He opposed the appointment of Louis D. Brandeis, a great progressive, to the Supreme Court."

"He opposed a tax on campaign contributions."

"He opposed adequate appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission."

"He opposed the European food relief bill."

"He opposed Philippine independence and was against self-determination whenever that issue appeared."

"He opposed a referendum on war as a peace policy."

"He opposed disarmament for all nations."