

LEAGUE PACT STRENGTHENED BY AMENDMENTS, TAFT SAYS

Ex-President Analyzes Document and Asserts Alterations Remove All Valid Objections

By WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

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The amendments to the covenant of the league of nations adopted in Paris on Monday will bear careful study, and perhaps it is unwise hastily to express a confident opinion. But several readings suggest the following comment:

In the first place, the language and arrangement of the articles have been greatly improved. The use of different terms to mean the same thing, which tended to prevent an easy reading of the document, has been largely avoided. Provisions having immediate relation to one another have been assembled where they belong, avoiding application of them to subjects or countries which they were not intended to affect. Then names, misleading or clumsy, have been changed. The executive council, which was and is not executive but advisory, has become the council. The body of delegates has become the assembly, a much more suitable term.

Second, rules of construction that ought to have obtained in interpreting the original covenant are now made express and relieve the real doubts of friends and supporters of the league. The most important of these, perhaps, is the privilege specially reserved to any member of the league to withdraw from it after two years, notice, and after a compliance with its obligation under international law and the league covenant incurred before withdrawal. This gives any nation an opportunity to test the operation of the league and its usefulness, and to avoid undue and unreasonable danger or burden in the future which actual trial may develop.

Can Revoke Covenant
Moreover, taken with the power of amendment which can be effected by a unanimous vote of the six countries, whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the league, there is ample opportunity for such a country as the United States to secure a revision of the covenant and a re-examination of the status of the states composing the league after peace has stabilized conditions and has shown what changes should be made. We are so important a member of an effective world league, and so indispensable to its successful working, because of our impartial position and world power, that an announcement of our purpose to withdraw unless amendments were made would be most persuasive. In this view Mr. Root's suggestion that it would be well to examine treaty provisions made just after the war in the light of the test of five years or more of peace can be carried out.

Expeditionary Forces Explained
The required unanimity in the action of the council is very important in the answer it gives to the claim that under Article X and Article XVI the United States may be required to send expeditionary forces into distant parts of the world to defend the integrity and independence of a country with which we have no relation of interest or to suppress remote wars not affecting us. Such expeditions are to be planned and recommended by the council, and the plan is to be accepted in the discretion of the countries to whom the recommendation is addressed.

The plan would certainly mark the limit of the obligation of the nations to whom it is presented. The United States will have a representative on the council, whose vote must approve the plan before its presentation. Is it likely, then, that the plan will be unreasonable in proposing an undue share of the league's work to the United States? May we not be sure that what is to be done will be apportioned according to the convenience and natural interest of the members of the league, because it must in effect be by mutual agreement?

It is now made clear that under Article VIII the limit of armament for each country, under a general plan of reduction proposed by the council, is only to be adopted and made binding as a covenant for each member of the

referred to it by the council or assembly.
Monroe Doctrine Recognized
The provision for mediation and recommendation of settlement in the first report of the covenant, which met Mr. Root's unqualified approval, has not been changed, except that the unanimity required for an effective recommendation by the body of delegates is now made unanimity by countries represented in the council and a majority of the assembly, a change which makes for effectiveness. Another important change is the addition of Article XXI, as follows:
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.

To Stop Race of Armaments
Thus we are to stop forever the race of armaments, the truculence and bullying they engender, their temptation to war and their cruel and enormous destructiveness when war ensues. Unless we have this league of nations, this race of armament must go on with the dreary round of events—first, burdensome taxation and conscription and waste of producing capacity, then war, then world suicide. These are the only alternatives to a league.
It is now made an express provision that only nations who choose to accept the duty may be made mandatory of the league. This removes another objection that was strongly pressed. We don't have to take charge of Constantinople or Armenia unless we choose to do so.

One important change made by addition is the result of Mr. Root's constructive criticism. Mr. Root thought, and all who supported the plan of the League to Enforce Peace agreed with him, that the provision for arbitration ought to have required arbitration in justiciable issues, and he defined what he thought was clearly within the meaning of that term. By the present Article XIII the members agree to submit to arbitration any dispute which they recognize as suitable for arbitration. The covenant then declares disputes of the character described by Mr. Root, and as the writer recollects, in Mr. Root's language, to be suitable for arbitration. Disputes as to interpretations of treaties, as to international law, as to facts upon which its application turns and damages for its breach are all declared to be arbitrable, or, in other words, justiciable.

Settlement of Disputes
This imposes on members of the league having a dispute the duty of recognizing such disputes to be arbitrable and to submit them to arbitration. Can this duty be enforced under the league? Practically yes. If a nation declines to arbitrate such an issue, it goes to the council or assembly, with interested members excluded. Such body will at once recommend arbitration or will refer the issue to an international court of the league, as it may, to determine whether the issue is arbitrable under the obligation of the league, and will doubtless follow the judicial advice thus given.
As this machinery thus works out indirectly the result sought for in the plan of the League to Enforce Peace, an amendment to substitute a court of the league to take up and decide such questions directly will doubtless approve itself to the nations.

Mr. Root was anxious that, in addition to the declaration in the preamble, there should be practical recognition of international law as a guiding star of the league, its tribunals and its action. In the addition to Article XIII, which we have been discussing, we find such a recognition in the present Article XIV providing for a permanent international court of justice which is competent to hear and determine any dispute of international character submitted to it and to give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question

take to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of every member of the league. Mr. Root, as the writer understands, strongly favors this article; but he thinks there should be a re-examination of the arrangements made under the influence of the recent war, after conditions have become stabilized by peace, to remedy the possible mistakes made and to avoid too great rigidity. How this can be brought about indirectly through powers of amendment and withdrawal has already been pointed out.

The arguments against Article X which have been most pressed are those directed to showing that under its obligations the United States can be forced into many wars and to burdensome expeditionary forces to protect countries in which it has no legitimate interest. This objection will not be organized another conspiracy of militarism against the world, or if she and her old allies, together with Russia, were to organize a militant campaign for Bolshevism against the world, we should wish to do our share in fighting her, and in doing so quickly.

The International Commitment
If a stronger nation were to attack a weaker nation, a member of the league, our immediate and selfish interest in the matter would be determined by the question whether it would develop into a world war, inevitably dragging us in. But we are interested as a member of the family of nations in maintaining international justice in the interest of international peace everywhere, and we should do our share in maintaining it. It was a mixture of all these motives which carried us into this war and we accepted as a slogan the cry: "The world must be made safe for democracy. We make this war to secure the liberty and independence of nations against the doctrine that might makes right." This is all that Article X proposes. It is an answer to Germany's assertion of her right of conquest. It organizes the powers of the world to maintain the international commitment. "Thou shalt not steal by force."

Domestic Questions Excluded
The exclusion of immigration and tariff and other internal and domestic questions is secured by the following:
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 jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

If anything is clearly settled in international law, it is that except where a nation limits its rights by treaty, it may impose whatever condition it chooses upon the admission of persons or things into its territory. Those who express alarm lest the council should reach a different conclusion, in spite of international law, can hardly be aware how jealous all countries must and will be as to their method of raising taxes and protecting their industries, and how acutely many of the nations exclude persons not desirable as permanent residents. Indeed, Japan has not urged the view that immigration was arbitrary under a domestic question in this conference, but only pressed for an express recognition of racial equality of treatment of foreign persons resident in each country, and even this the conference did not deem it wise to grant.
Finally, we come to Article X, by which the members of the league under-

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Little, if any. In the first place, the universal boycott, first to be applied, will impose upon most nations such a withering isolation and starvation that in most cases it will be effective. In the second place, we'll not be drawn into any war in which it will not be reasonable and convenient for us to render efficient aid, because the plan of the council must be approved by our representative, as already explained.

Boycott Threat Effective
In the third place, the threat of the universal boycott and the union of overwhelming forces of the members of the league, if need be, will hold every nation from violating Article X and Articles XII, XIII and XV, unless there is a world conspiracy, as in this war, in which case the earlier we get into the war the better.
The warning effect of such a threat from a combination of nations, like those in the league, is shown conclusively in the maintenance of our Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine was announced in 1823. Its declaration was deprecated by American statesmen because it would involve us in a continual friction and war. It was directed against most powerful European nations. Yet we have maintained it inviolate without firing a shot or losing a soldier for now near a century.

Article X merely extends the same protection to the weaker nations of the world which we gave to the weaker nations of this hemisphere against the greed of non-American nations. If our declaration accomplished this much, how much more can we count upon the effectiveness of the declaration of a powerful league of world nations as a restraint upon a would-be bully and robber of a small nation?

Ship Line to Scandinavian Ports
Megee, Steer & Co., who recently established a steamship agency in the Drexel Building, announced that the Brooks Steamship Corporation, which maintains regular steamship services out of New York and New Orleans, would place in operation early next month a freight service between Philadelphia and Scandinavian ports.

STRIKE PLANS MUDDLED
Many N. Y. Longshoremen Appear for Work as Usual Today
New York, April 30.—(By A. P.)—The strike vote taken by 3000 members of the International Longshoremen's and Freight Handlers' Union at a meeting here last night, directing from 12,000 to 15,000 men to cease work on fifty-two piers in Manhattan and Brooklyn at 6 a. m. today, is reported to have been disregarded by many of the freight handlers, who appeared at the piers at the regular hour prepared to go to work.

1000 CHURCHMEN MEET
First National Rally of Interchurch Movement Held in Cleveland
Cleveland, April 30.—(By A. P.)—Approximately 1000 officials of national boards representing seventy-six Protestant denominations and 200,000 churches were in attendance today at the opening of the first national meet-

ing of the interchurch world movement of North America. Reconstruction problems in this country and abroad, community and social service and Americanization of immigrants were among the features of the movement's program referred to by Dr. S. Earl Taylor, of New York, general secretary of the movement, in his opening address.

Confusion among the men regarding the summons to strike was shown at union headquarters, where telephone calls were being constantly received. Daniel Walsh, chairman of local No. 915, said he had heard nothing of the strike order.

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It Is Worth Waiting For
Production on large scale is now underway. Dealers will have their demonstrating cars within a few days. You must not fail to see the new Hudson Super-Six. Think of the history of earlier models. They have made a place in every branch of motor car use that has not been matched. The first Hudson Super-Six, four years ago, increased motor power by 72% without added weight. It retained all the simplicity of the six. It minimized vibration.

Isn't such a car worth waiting for? Watch the papers for the arrival of the new Super-Six, then go see it. The New Price Is \$1975 Hudson production will be twice as large this year as last. Because of that the new price for the 7-passenger phaeton will be \$1975.

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You remember how endurance was proved. Nothing to equal Hudson Super-Six records of performance had ever been known. Most of those stand today as achievements that no other car has been able to match. But one thing those feats did, you perhaps do not know. They showed ways for development of subsequent models that find their expression in the new car soon to be offered.

Without the experience we now have such a car would have been impossible at an earlier time, regardless of the price at which it sold. Still, as you know, the Super-Six has always been one of the world's finest cars. You hear that on all sides. It has led all other fine cars in sales. There have never been enough to equal the demand. A like condition must surely obtain this year. But those who buy early will get early delivery. They have the records of every Hudson Super-Six as an assurance of its value. If you are on the point of buying a new car, go or telephone to your Hudson dealer. Perhaps he can tell you when you may see the new Hudson Super-Six,

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