WILL VOTE MONDAY ON KNOX MEASURE

Lodge Predicts Quick Action in Senate on Separating League From Treaty.

BORAH SOUNDS WARNING

Declares New Party May Arise to Fight Internationalism —Root Clears the Air.

Special Despatch to THE SUN.

WASHINGTON, June 21.—That a vote will be reached Monday in the Senate on the Knox resolution for separation of the peace terms from the League of Nations covenant in the treaty with Germany was predicted by Senator Lodge (Mass.) to-day. The Republican leader would not go further. Nothing was vouchsafed as to the parliamentary procedure by which the vote could be reached, although it had been known for a day or two that a plan had been figured out by experts in Senate proceedings for forcing such a test.

This announcement, along with the sensational speech of Senator Borah (Idaho) late in the day, and the issuance of a letter by former Senator Root indorsing the Knox resolution, suddenly changed completely the complexion of affairs in the Senate. For three days the opponents of the league have been undeniably in a state of fear. They feared they were not going to be able to force an expression of Senate opinion before the peace treaty should be signed; moreover, some of them feared that with the treaty once signed it would be more than ever difficult to compel a division, which would prove there are not sufficient votes in the chamber to ratify it.

Advocates of the League were jubilant in the early part of the day. They declared the Republicans were divided as to the proper policy, and Senator Hitchcock (Neb.), in charge of the Democratic interests, insisted that perhaps a dozen of the Republicans were preparing to vote for ratification and against the Knox amendment. Mr. Hitchcock would not give names, but insisted that he knew.

Senators Wadsworth (N. Y.) and Calder (N. Y.) declined to take seriously the Wickersham-Taft petition of twenty-eight New York Republicans of wide note in favor of ratifying the treaty, league and all. Mr. Calder said he was "glad to have the opinion of these gentlemen, but have not yet received his copy of the petition; had merely seen it in a newspaper, and had not had time to read it. I will take it along to read on the train on the way to New York," he said, with a smile. "Anyhow, I have never said that I was opposed to a League of Nations."

Mr. Wadsworth said he was opposed to a league and would stay that way.

Asserting that no power could bind him to a non-committal policy toward the League of Nations Senator Borah demanded that the Republican party make itself the voice of national opposition to the league, saying if it did not do so a new party would be brought into existence that would present a rallying point for the millions of opponents of the Wilson policy of internationalism. Senator Borah said that Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee by maintaining silence on this issue could not commit the party to an attitude of neutrality.

"If there is one other to stand with me," he said, "and I know there is one other, at least, we will have a party of our own if need be. God Almighty and one make a majority."

The speech was inspired by the publication of the petition of twenty-eight New York Republicans in favor of ratification. Incidentally Mr. Borah defied the Democrats to join with him in securing enactment of a law for a nationwide plebiscite on the subject of the league. Mr. Hitchcock, acting Democratic leader, after evading the question two or three times, finally refused the challenge.

"We expect to ratify the treaty here in the Senate," he said. "We are confident there are enough independent Republicans to insure that outcome, and therefore there will be no need of a plebiscite to insure that the public demand shall be obeyed."

R-34 TO SAIL NEXT MONTH.

Start of British Dirigible Deferred Until July 4.

WASHINGTON, June 21.—Information has been received at the Navy Department that the British dirigible R-34 probably will not leave Great Britain on the round trip across the Atlantic before July 4. It is understood the start next month is dependent upon the signing by the Germans.

EAST FORTUNE, Scotland, June 21.—A large force of mechanics began overhauling the engines of the R-34 to-day. The motors were found in good shape after her long flight to the Baltic, but they will be put in as perfect a condition as possible before she essays the Atlantic journey.

It was reported unofficially here to-day that the R-33, stationed at Selby, had been prepared for a long flight, having taken on an enormous quantity of fuel.

WANT OPEN ROAD TO ARMENIA.

Powers Asked to Retain British Force in Transcaucasus.

By the Associated Press.

PARIS, June 21.—The Council of Four has been asked to intervene to secure the retention of the British military expedition to the Transcaucasus, which is about to be withdrawn.

The American relief authorities say that the expedition is essential to keep open communication with the Armenians, whose condition is represented to be desperate from shortage of food.

Petition for Ratification of League Without Amendment Called Worthless

Special Despatch to THE SUN.

MEDIA, Pa., June 21.—The petition said to have been drafted by George W. Wickersham urging the Senate to ratify the covenant of the League of Nations without amending was shown to-day to George Wharton Pepper, vice president of the League for Preservation of American Independence, which is a non-partisan organization engaged in advocating the amendment of the covenant before ratification.

Mr. Pepper said this petition means either nothing that is important or something that is not true. If it is no more than a declaration that a man should not be for or against the league merely because he is a Democrat or a Republican it asserts what nobody questions and therefore is at best a waste of words. If, however, it means Republican partisanship is the real reason for opposition to the league it asserts something which its draftsman and signers know to be contrary to fact.

ROOT WOULD LOP OFF COVENANT

Continued from First Page.

a system of arbitration or judical decision upon questions of legal right. Nothing has been done toward providing for the revision or development of international law. In these respects principles maintained by the United States without variation for half a century are still ignored, and we are left with a programme which rests the hope of the world for future peace in a Government of men and not of laws following the dictates of expediency and not of right. Nothing has been done to limit the vast and incalculable obligation which Article X. of the covenant undertakes to impose upon each member of the league to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the league all over the world.

"The clause authorizing withdrawal from the league upon two years notice leaves a doubt whether a mere charge that we had not performed some international obligation would not put it in the power of the council to take jurisdiction of the charge as a disputed question and keep us in the league indefinitely against our will.

"The clause which has been inserted regarding the Monroe Doctrine is erroneous in its description of the doctrine and ambiguous in meaning. Other purely American questions, as, for example, questions relating to immigration, are protected only by a clause apparently empowering the council to determine whether such questions are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States. I do not think that in these respects the United States is sufficiently protected against most injurious results which are wholly unnecessary for the establishment and maintenance of this League of Nations.

"On the other hand it still remains that there is in the covenant a great deal of very high value which the world ought not to lose. The arrangement to make conferences of the Powers automatic when there is danger of war; provisions for joint action, as of course by representatives of the nations concerned in matters affecting common interests; the agreement for delay in case of serious disputes with opportunity to bring the public opinion of the world to bear on the disputants and to induce cool and deliberate judgment; the recognition of racial and popular rights to the freedom of local self-government, and the plan indispensable in some form for setting up governments in the vast regions deprived by the war of the autocratic rule which had maintained order—all these ought not to be lost if that can possibly be avoided.

"The condition of Europe requires prompt action. Industry has not revived there. Its revival requires raw materials. To obtain those credit is necessary, and for this there must be security for the fruits of enterprise, and for this there must be peace. Satan is finding evil work for idle hands to do in Europe—evil work that affects the whole world, including the United States.

What Ought to Be Done.

"Under these circumstances what ought to be done?

"I am clear that if the covenant has to be considered with the peace terms included the Senate ought to include in its resolution of consent to the ratification any expression of such reservations and understandings as will cure, so far as possible, the defects which I have pointed out. You will probably be unable to do anything now about the system of arbitration and the development of international law. You can, however, put into the resolution of consent a reservation refusing to agree to Article X., and I think you should do so; you can clarify the meaning of the withdrawal article, and you can also include in your resolution the substance of the third amendment, which I proposed in my letter to Mr. Hays of March 29 relating to purely American questions, and I think you should do so. These clauses of the resolution shape themselves in my own mind as follows:

"The Senate of the United States advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty with the following reservations and understandings to be made a part of the instrument of ratification, viz:

"1. In advising and consenting to the ratification of the said treaty the Senate reserves and excludes from its consent the tenth article of the covenant for the League of Nations as to which the Senate refuses its consent.

"2. The Senate consents to the ratification of the said treaty reserving Article X. aforesaid, with the understanding that whenever two years notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations shall have been given as provided in Article I. no claim, charge or finding that international obligations or obligations under the covenant have not been fulfilled will be deemed to render the two years notice ineffectual or to keep the power giving the notice in the league after the expiration of the time specified in the notice.

"(3). Inasmuch as in agreeing to become a member of the League of Nations the United States of America is moved by no interest or wish to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or international administration of any foreign State and by no existing or anticipated dangers in the affairs of the American continents, but accedes to the wish of the European States that it shall join its power to theirs for the preservation of general peace, the Senate consents to the ratification of the said treaty excepting Article X, aforesaid, with the understanding that nothing therein contained shall be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions or to require the submission of its policy regarding questions which it deems to be purely American questions to the decision or recommendation of other Powers.

Following of Precedent.

"This reservation and these expressions of understanding are in accordance with long established precedent in the making of treaties. When included in the instrument of ratification they will not require a reopening of negotiations, but if none of the other signatories expressly objects to the ratification with such limitations the treaty stands as limited between the United States and the other Powers.

"If any doubt were entertained as to the effect of such action the doubt could be readily dispelled by calling upon the four other principal Powers represented in the council to state whether they do in fact object to the entrance of the United States into the league with the understandings and reservations stated in the resolution.

"As to these limiting clauses I wish to say something further. As to Article X:

"First. It is not an essential or even an appropriate part of the provisions for a League of Nations to preserve peace. It is an independent and indefinite alliance which may involve the parties to it in war against Powers which have in every respect complied with the provisions of the League of Peace. It was not included in Gen. Smut's plan, the provisions of which have been reproduced almost textually in the league covenant. It stands upon its own footing as an independent alliance for the preservation of the status quo.

"Second. If we agree to this article it is extremely probable that we shall be unable to keep our agreement. Making war nowadays depends upon the genuine sympathy of the people of the country at the time when the war has to be an action. The people of the United States certainly will not be willing ten years or twenty years hence to send their young men to distant parts of the world to fight for causes in which they may not believe or in which they have little or no interest. If that is the attitude of the people when we are hereafter called upon to wage war under Article X. no general indefinite agreement made years before will make them disposed to fight. And we shall be in about the worst position possible of having made an agreement and not keeping it.

"Our people ought not to be forced into such a position and we ought not to make any agreement that is liable to force them into such a position.

"The recent controversies over the disposition of Kiao-Chau and of Fiume illustrate very well the way in which territorial arrangements are likely to be made in councils of the great Powers controlled by expediency. I would not vote to bind our country to go into a war in years to come in defence of those arrangements.

Against Vague Obligation.

"If it is necessary for the security of western Europe that we should agree to go to the support, say, of France, if attacked, let us agree to do that particular thing plainly so that every man and woman in the country will understand the honorable obligation we are assuming. I am in favor of that. But let us not wrap up such a purpose in a vague universal obligation under the impression that it really does not mean anything likely to happen.

"Third—It is reported that Switzerland is much disturbed over the invitation to join the League of Nations and wishes to preserve her neutrality, because her people are partly French, partly German and partly Italian, and she wishes to keep out of all quarrels which may involve those nationalities. In this country the census of 1910 showed that 35 per cent. (more than one-third) of our people were of foreign birth or the children of foreign parents. We can call upon these people to stand by America in all American quarrels, but how can we control their sympathies and their action if America interferes in foreign quarrels and takes sides in those quarrels against the countries to which they are attached by tradition and sentiment?

"How can we prevent dissension and hatred among our own inhabitants of foreign origin when this country interferes on foreign grounds between the races from which they sprung? How can we prevent bitterness and disloyalty toward our own Government on the part of those against whose friends in their old homes we have intervened for no cause of our own? Article X. confronts us with consequences very similar to those which Washington had in mind when he advised us to keep out of the quarrels of Europe and to keep the quarrels of Europe out of America. It is by following this wise policy that the United States has attained a position of unity and of disinterestedness which enables her to promote peace mightily because she is not a party to the quarrels that threaten to disturb peace.

"She is free from suspicion; she is not the object of hatred or distrust; her friendship is valued and her word is potent. We can be of infinitely more value to the peace of the world by keeping out of all the petty and selfish quarrels that arise than we can by binding ourselves to take part in them. Just so far as it is necessary to modify this settled historic American policy in order to put into effect a practical plan for a League of Nations to preserve peace we ought to go, and we ought not to go one step further. The step proposed by Article X. is not necessary for such a plan and we ought not to take it.

"As to the statement of understanding about American questions contained in the foregoing paragraph numbered 3, the most ardent advocates for accepting the league covenant exactly as it stands insist that the provisions already inserted about the Monroe Doctrine and other purely American questions mean just what this proposed resolution says. If that be true, then nobody can object to the resolution which puts the meaning beyond question.

"It is important not only for the interest of America but for the peace of the world that such provisions should be free from doubt and occasion for dispute. If, on the other hand, their view is wrong and the provisions already inserted may be construed not to mean what the resolution says, then the resolution certainly ought to be included in the consent to the ratification.

Meddling in Foreign Quarrels.

"There is one other thing to be mentioned: That is the recital of the proposed resolution (No. 3) disclaiming any intention by the United States to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or internal administration of any foreign state. I think that to be of real importance because I perceive evidences of an impression in Europe that the part taken by the representatives of the United States at Paris in the local questions and controversies of Europe indicates an abandonment by the United States of her traditional policy and a wish on her part to dictate to European states and control European affairs, thus assuming responsibility for those affairs. That impression should be dissipated. It is not well founded.

"I am sure that the people of the United States have no such intention or wish. Such interposition in the affairs of Europe as our representatives have been engaged in was properly but a temporary incident to the fact that we had engaged in the war and had therefore to discuss the terms of peace; and we should make it clear that we neither assume responsibility for nor intend interference with the affairs of Europe beyond that necessary participation under the organization of the league of peace which we enter upon at the request of the European nations themselves.

"To return to the subject of arbitration and the development of international law I certainly should not advise regarding the league covenant in its present form as the final word upon an organization for the preservation of the peace of the world. I think that when the Senate consents to the ratification of the treaty with some such reservations as I have indicated it ought also to adopt a separate resolution, not a part of the action upon the treaty, but practically at the same time, formally requesting the President without any avoidable delay to open negotiations with the other Powers for the reestablishment and strengthening of a system of arbitration for the disposition of international disputes upon questions of right and for periodical meetings of representatives of all the Powers for the revision and development of international law.

"I think that hereafter when the life of Europe has become settled, when credit and industry are reestablished there and Governments are stable and secure and we know what reduction of armaments the Powers are going to consent to, the United States should insist upon a revision of the league covenant. I am sure that the changed circumstances will then permit material improvement.

"Faithfully yours,
"ELIHU ROOT."

HAYS DECLARES FOR KNOX RESOLUTION

Republican Chairman Says People Resent Dictation.

Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who has been in Washington for several days conferring with the Republican Senators, was asked on his return last night what his attitude was on the Knox resolution for a separate consideration of the League of Nations covenant and the peace treaty.

"Of course I am for the Knox resolution," he replied. "The American people will not stand for this 'sign here' attitude. That is the way they make mortgages. Our Senators are simply insisting that the client is entitled to consider the contents of his own contract and just what it will entail. The citizenship of America is the client. That is all that is involved in the Knox resolution."

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Hats, Wraps, Summer Furs, Blouses, Negligees and all the minor accessories of the mourning outfit may be selected in the same Department.