

**"FACT IS SOUND,"  
DR. LOWELL SAYS**

Harvard President, in Debate, Asserts League Draft Needs Clarification

LODGE CALLS IT POROUS

Senator Admits, However, He Will Support It if It Is Amended

Boston, March 20.—"If the league shall be put in such shape that it will promote peace instead of breeding disorder and will work no injustice to these United States I will support it," said Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in replying to a question of President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, during their debate on the league-nations covenant last night.

"I hope from my heart it will be amended," he added. "I hope that such a league will be framed somewhere. In my belief it will not be done in Paris."

A demand from Doctor Lowell that Mr. Lodge say whether he would vote for the covenant if it were amended according to his wishes led to the Senator's declaration.

Addressing an audience of 3000 persons in Symphony Hall, the distinguished speaker was applauded liberally, frequently and apparently impartially.

Senator Lodge outlined his attitude briefly, as in favor of a league of nations but not of the covenant as presented.

Referring to the charge that the critics of the covenant were not constructive, Senator Lodge pointed out a number of ways in which he would amend the treaty, laying especial stress on the need of protection of the Monroe Doctrine.

Doctor Lowell maintained the correctness of the covenant in principle, arguing that while "very defective in its drafting" and "easily misunderstood," it should be "accepted and improved."

He described it as an experiment in open diplomacy.

To meet certain objections raised, Doctor Lowell advanced the insertion of clauses in the covenant permitting withdrawals from the league on reasonable notice, stipulating that no foreign powers shall acquire any positions on the American continent, and making it perfectly clear that immigration and tariff problems are to be regarded as purely internal affairs.

**Lodge Would Guard Monroe Doctrine**

Senator Lodge said, after referring to the existing draft as "porous":

"In Washington, on January 6, 1916, addressing the Pan-American congress, President Wilson said:

"The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained, and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility. I think I am not to blame for wishing it to be maintained now. Now, I am not to be maintained now."

"Now, either the league should be a clause in there saying 'Where not otherwise stated the decision of the executive council shall be by a majority vote' or make the covenant direct that the league shall be a recommendation or a proposal or a decision of any kind."

"The question of immigration, which this treaty reaches under the nonjusticiable questions, I am told, I believe I have followed it through all the winding, that a final decision can only be reached by unanimity, and it is said that the league would not be unanimous. I think that highly probable, but I deny the jurisdiction. It must not be within the jurisdiction of the league at all."

"The tariff is involved in the article for the boycott. The coastwise trade is involved in Article XXII. I think we ought to settle our own import duties. They say it is a domestic question. So it is, so is immigration, but they are domestic questions with international reactions."

**Doctor Lowell's Reply**

Departing from his set address to reply to his opponent, Doctor Lowell said: "We both feel that this covenant is, as it stands, defective; but the difference is that I feel that when those defects have been removed that covenant, with those defects cured, ought to be ratified—and he does not tell us whether he thinks so or not."

In developing the point that universal arbitration treaties would have prevented Germany from precipitating this war, Doctor Lowell remarked that such a system might have prevented our fighting Spain in 1898, but "was taking Cuba worth this war?"

"It is sometimes asked, if the authority of the organs of the league is so important, where is the Monroe Doctrine preventing war? The answer is that it lies in the obligations assumed under the covenant directly by the members of the league; and this is both the most effective and least adventurous method of preventing war. There are in fact two possible forms of league for this purpose. One, that projected in the covenant of Paris."

**Other Forms Objectionable**

"The other form of league to prevent war would be one where the members should agree to comply with the directions of some international body, and in that case the obligation of the members to act would arise until after a deliberation and vote of that body."

"This second form of league has two serious disadvantages. The sanction of the provision against waging war, that is, the penalty for violation of the provision, is neither immediate nor certain, but depends upon the somewhat doubtful process of discussion, where a single negative vote of a powerful nation may virtually prevent action. The second disadvantage is the uncertainty in the obligations assumed by the members of the league, which depend upon the determinations of the international body."

"Another body of an equally unsubstantial kind is that England has in the body of delegates six votes to our one. If the only functions of this body are to talk, to select the four other states to be represented on the executive council, and to make unanimous recommendations after inquiry into a dispute, the number of votes therein are not of much consequence."

"Another objection brought forward by the opponents of the league is that Asiatic immigration, the policy of a protective tariff, or some other matter of vital domestic interest may form a subject of dispute with another nation and may be brought before the executive council for inquiry and decided against us. It would seem to be clear that the framers of the covenant did not intend to submit to the interference of the council the internal affairs of the members of the league, and assumed that the council would in such questions follow the recognized principles of international law."

"Next we come to the greatest bugbear of all, the point on which popular alarm is most readily awakened by vague denunciation without definite explanation. It is the Monroe Doctrine. The covenant extends the doctrine over the whole world, or at least over that part of it which is covered by the league."

"It is a little late in the day for opponents of the covenant of Paris to discover that its treaty obligations are unconstitutionally, and hence that all the foregoing treaties are null and void. This is particularly true of those Senators who voted for many of those treaties."

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