

Americanize Europe, Not Europeanize America, Sen. Smoot's Advice on Policy

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only of the literature of the first years of the republic, but of the 'forties and 'fifties of the nineteenth century, is needed to show that the faith that we were politically centuries ahead of Europe was early and deeply implanted in the hearts of the American people, and with this faith went the conviction that we must be on our guard against the advances of the medieval governments on the other side of the water.

American Ideals Never to Die

In the hearts of the people this sentiment of Americanism, as an inimitable ideal, has never died out, and, for the future welfare and preservation of America, I pray it never will.

Let us, by our example, our patriotism, our love of country, our willingness to fight for righteousness and against evil, for liberty and against autocracy, Americanize Europe, rather than under the league, Europeanize America.

I have absolute faith in the American people, and their undying faith in their form of government, and I do not believe the American people will be content to surrender their birthright in return for a world government that will be two and three-quarters per cent American. Do you or the people at home believe that, as soon as normal conditions return, when every nation will be struggling to secure the commerce of the world, passing laws to protect the interest of its own citizens as against the balance of the world when petty jealousies will arise, and race hatred is in flame, the two and three-quarters per cent can dictate or to control the warring ninety-seven and one-quarter per cent?

The world is sick of war today, and the nations, most of them, are on the verge of bankruptcy. All this, however, will be changed some time in the future. For a decade to come, the league may not involve us in serious trouble, but what is a decade in the life of a nation?

Power to Proxy Is Forbidden

You know that under our constitution the President and the Senate have no power to delegate to a council or assembly the conduct of the foreign relations of our government. The President and the Senate have their respective spheres of authority and under the constitution, cannot pass beyond. Combined, they have been clothed with the treaty-making power, but this power is clearly defined. It is an absurdity to hold that a treaty can be made which would abolish the sovereignty of the United States, or transfer any part of that sovereignty to a league of nations.

Your position as an editor of a public journal and your duty as a citizen of this country require you to think for yourself on this question and without regard to what any without passion, without partisan, other individual might think or say, but always with the thought in mind as to what effect it will have upon our country. I want you to dig in to and study this subject, for it concerns the future independence and freedom of our country.

I now call your attention to the reservations which, I have concluded, must be made to the covenant.

Monroe Doctrine Safeguard Asked

I take it for granted that you yourself will admit that the Monroe doctrine is essentially a national policy whose application and enforcement must be determined by the United States alone. I shall vote for a reservation to make this clear. The present form of the covenant does not.

I take it for granted that you will admit that internal questions, entirely domestic in character, such as immigration and the tariff, are to be

determined solely by the country in which they arise. The present form of the covenant transfers this power to the league of nations.

I take it for granted that you will admit that, under the constitution, the United States cannot bind itself in advance to make war without the express authorization of Congress at the time. The present form of the covenant specifically provides otherwise, as stated in a cablegram from President Wilson at Paris on May 10, 1919, addressed to his secretary for publication, as follows:

"Happily there is no mystery or privacy about what I have promised the government here. I have promised to propose to the senate a supplement in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the council of the league of nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the covenant of the league of nations."

I take it for granted that you will admit that the United States should have the right to withdraw from the league and determine for itself whether it has fulfilled its obligations as provided in the covenant or not. The present form of the covenant gives this right to foreigners to decide.

Shantung Is Indefensible

The Shantung settlement, as provided in the peace treaty, is indefensible and never would have been included in the treaty if President Wilson had not decided that it was necessary to include it, in order to secure Japan's signature to the treaty of peace. Shantung was given to Japan as a bribe, so admitted upon the floor of the Senate by no less authority than Senator Williams, a member of the foreign relations committee and spokesman for the President.

Accepts League With Provisions

With these reservations made to the treaty I shall vote for it, but even then I will do so with a great deal of apprehension.

The draft of the covenant is a British draft from beginning to end. It cleverly makes the league covenant simply an alliance for the maintenance of Great Britain's dominion of the seas and the permanence of her conquests and annexations in every part of the habitable globe.

I ask you what has Great Britain given up and what new responsibility does she assume? She gets the German colonies under a mandate of the league just as effectively as if they were taken by direct annexation. There is no disposition on her part, nor will she ever consent, to abandon her supremacy of the seas. She demands the recognition of five of her dependencies, whose foreign affairs she controls and which she will control in all decisions as members of the assembly on a plane of equality with the United States. England, by the terms of the peace treaty, secures 1,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface, in addition to her present holdings.

American Plan Against British

Do you know of any reason why the league should, if it is to exist, be on the plan of the English empire and not on the plan of our American ideals? And if we are to make sacrifices, as Lord Robert Cecil has stated it is our duty to do, is there any reason why we should not be permitted to judge what sacrifices we are prepared to make?

You must know that the United States cannot be ruled by Washington and by London at the same time with any advantage to the United States. No man can serve two masters, no man can serve the American people and the British government at the same time, no man can be a whole hearted American and a pro-foreign propagandist at the same time, no man can have his true citizenship in America and his allegiance in another country.

Prayer Is His Guide

You ask me if I want to disappoint the church and the state in my stand on this question. Certainly I do not, but have taken an oath of office to defend the constitution of the United States. I have prayed as much over this question as any member of the church and I think I have studied it with more care than any member of the church. The responsibility of my vote is upon me. If my vote is cast wrongly I am the one that in the future will be condemned not the members of the church at home.

Yes, I do believe that the framers of the constitution were inspired of God. I do believe that America, this land of ours, was served by God for the establishment of truth and liberty thereon, but I am not prepared to admit that President Wilson has been inspired of God in effecting the covenant of the league of nations either in its original or in its present form. I do not believe that God had anything to do with the Shantung matter, nor do I believe that He was pleased with the action of President Wilson affecting Flume or the Saar valley. I might add that there may be room for difference of opinion, as to Flume and the Saar valley, but there cannot be any difference of opinion as to Shantung.

The moral sense of the world has been outraged in the provision relating to Shantung. It is true that President Wilson states he did the best he could in the Shantung matter in order to secure the signature of Japan to the treaty. The President has secured a statement from Viscount Uchida, foreign minister of Japan, issued a few days ago, which purports to be a reassurance to the world that Japan contemplates no aggression against China in Shantung. The statement declares that, "Japan does not intend to claim any rights affecting the territorial sovereignty of China in Shantung." That has a plausible sound, but it is utterly misleading, and, unfortunately, it must have been intended to mislead, for it conceals the material effect of Japan's aggression, and the manner in which it is accomplished.

Jap Declarations in Past Recalled

No nation has been more emphatic than Japan in proclaiming respect for the integrity of China, and that all the forms of interchange between them are scrupulously observed by Japan; yet it has been demonstrated over and over again that China has not been permitted by Japan to pursue an independent policy, even in political matters, while, economically, China is tied hand and foot to Japan. It may be true that Japan does not intend to claim any rights affecting the "territorial sovereignty" of China, but it is undeniably true that Japan intends to claim all the economic rights in China granted her in the treaty, and they affecting the future protection, welfare and happiness of the Chinese people.

If this treaty of peace and covenant is adopted, look out for the greatest war in the history of the world, beginning with Japan undertaking to subjugate China.

The world's governments sent their agents to make a secure peace based upon right and justice. They yielded to the persuasion and threats of Japan.

Shantung Is Nation's Stain

The treaty of peace, without a disavowal on our part of the Shantung outrage, places an indelible stain upon the good name of the nation, and will tend to stir up war in Asia. If I know the temper of the senate a disavowal will be made so that this nation will not put the stamp of its approval upon the wrongs committed against China, one of our allies.

The truth is that the situation in Paris is growing dangerous and the sooner this is recognized the better it will be for all of us. Shantung is a great moral failure; Flume a great political joke, and now comes the heralded effort to whitewash the Turk at the expense of Armenia.

I would consider that I was violating my oath of office, if I failed to vote for the suggested reservations. Let me tell you that it would not surprise me to see President Wilson, whom you think has been directed by inspiration, approve of the reservations that I have above outlined. I have no doubt but that the controlled Associated Press would put the question in such a way as to make it appear as a complete victory on the part of the President.

I wish you could spend a short time in Washington or other centers of population in the east, and I am quite sure that your ideas of the divinity of the league of nations would be quickly shattered. You have no idea how rapidly the sentiment of the country, and particularly in the east, is crystallizing against any form of a league. For months my mail brought me fifty letters favorable to the league as against one opposing it. Today I receive at least ten letters protesting against the league to one in favor of it.

Democrats Are Now Opposed

So strong has the sentiment become that the president of the Democrat club of the state of Massachusetts, in a letter addressed to the chairman of the Democrat national committee and endorsed by two state senators and fifteen national committee members repudiate the actions of President Wilson. The letter is as follows:

"We the undersigned Democrats of Massachusetts, request you to call a meeting of the northern and western members of the national committee and repudiate the actions of Woodrow Wilson, who wrecked the party after we had lifted him from obscurity, making him a governor and then President.

"He has held the party up to ridicule by the following facts:

"First, by appointing incompetent men to positions of responsibility, the most glaring examples of which are Postmaster General Burleson, Secretary of War Baker and Fuel Administrator Garfield.

"Second, by leaving the country at a time when the great problems of reconstruction and the high cost of living, confronted Congress, camouflaging through Europe and causing us to lose the friendship of Italy and other countries by his actions.

Pact Called English Covenant

"Third, by attempting to force an English covenant called the league of nations upon the American people at the cost of destruction of the Declaration of Independence, of tolerating the larceny of Shantung from China by Japan and the robbery of India and Egypt by Great Britain.

Fourth, by his idle promises at Washington's tomb when he declared he would demand the independence of small nations, and by refusing to take up the question at the peace table of the liberty of Egypt, India, Ireland and South Africa and recognizing England's right to govern Egypt.

"Fifth, by his advocating internationalism, which means the loss of the national spirit of patriotism and the birth of socialism.

"Sixth, by placing American troops in Russia, a country against which Congress has not declared war, and his attempt to kill the spirit of America for only Americans.

"Seventh, by his policy in Mexico, his recognition of Carranza, an anarchist, and anti-American, and the toleration of the murder of over 300 Americans in Mexico without a declaration of war.

"Eighth, by his refusing the request of both branches of congress that he take up the Irish question at the peace table.

"Ninth, by his partisanship toward the south at the cost of the rest of the country.

"Tenth, by his signing of the wartime prohibition act after the armistice was signed.

"Eleventh, by his policy of rehabilitation of bankrupt European nations at the expense of the impoverishment of the American government.

"Twelfth, by his disregard of the Baltimore platform, which pledged him to aid the passage of the Panama canal free tolls.

"Thirteenth, by his disregard of the right of suffrage, which belongs to hundreds of thousands of negroes of the south.

"Fourteenth, by his policy of shipping vast amounts of foods to Europe and spending \$100,000,000 for food at the expense of America, thus causing the present high cost of living which confronts the American people.

"Fifteenth, by his policy of taking so that we can build up our party new and let the people forget that he ever was a member of our party and make it possible for us to elect a northern or western Democrat President in 1920."

States Back Pack Opponents

Utah may as you state, repudiate me for my position in regard to the league, but I assure you that few states of the Union will repudiate the senators who have made the fight for reservations to the covenant of the league that are vital to the preservation of our present form of government.

There was an election for congressman in Kentucky a few days ago, in a district that has been overwhelmingly Democratic in the past. The issue was narrowed down to one question, that of approving or disapproving the league of nations. The Democrat candidate declared for President Wilson and the league of nations, and the Republican candidate against the league of nations. The result was a majority for the Republican candidate in that rock-ridden Democrat district in Kentucky of nearly 1500 votes.

Take my word for it, reservations will be made to the covenant of the league or the Senate will not ratify the same.

When the first draft was brought from Paris by the President, there was a great mass meeting held at the Salt Lake Tabernacle. At that mass meeting a vote was taken on the league of nations and the telegram stated that there 9999 votes for the league of nations and 1 vote against it. I doubt whether you could mind many people in the United States today that would approve the league of nations in the form in which it was first presented.

Article Ten Binds U. S.

It is true that the original has been amended in a number of particulars, all of which I approve. But as long as article 10 remains in the covenant without reservation, we pledge ourselves to maintain the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations members of the league.

Ask any mother in Utah if she wants her son to be drafted and sent to offer, and more than likely sacrifice, his life to settle a quarrel in which America has no interest whatever, between, say, two of the Balkan states, or two other countries located in the farthest ends of the earth, and see what she will say. Yet, under section 10 of the covenant, as now formed, America, if called upon, will have to pour out her billions of dollars and give the blood of the best of her young men, in order to assist in settling just such quarrels as repudiate the obligations assumed under the provisions of the league.

In answer to a resolution of the Senate, President Wilson sent to the Senate a copy of the proposed American league of nations, the one he took with him to Paris. The senators were not only surprised, but humiliated to find that the objectionable article 10 was the product of the brain of President Wilson.

Prophecies Tell Of Future Wars

You evidently think, as many of the people of Utah are led to think that when this covenant is ratified we will have no more wars. Do not be deceived, for such will not be the case. If so, the revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith as recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants

are not true. I cannot understand why you take it for granted that the league of nations will do more for the world than the teachings of the Savior have been able to do. I ask you to read the many passages of the Book of Mormon referring to this nation, as well as the many revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith, as to the destiny of the same.

A few days ago there was presented in the Senate a bill by Senator Wadsworth, prepared by the War department. It represents the views of this administration as to the size of the American army. It provides for an army of over a million men and of that million there is to be regular standing army in times of peace of between 500,000 and 600,000 men. Does this look as if the dove of peace is to hover over the world as soon as the covenant is ratified? This administration is asking for nearly one billion dollars to be spent this year in increasing the navy.

England's Army 2,000,000 Men

England is preparing for an army of 2,000,000 men and in this connection I call your attention to an article in Collier's Weekly which says:

"That August day in 1914 when the war broke out, the British navy had a tonnage of 2,500,000 and a personnel of 145,000 officers and men. Today it has a tonnage (including the auxiliary fleet) of 8,000,000 and a personnel of almost 500,000. This does not include the mercantile marine or patrol vessels, mine sweepers, etc., in the auxiliary fleet. There are 50,000 men serving in these."

In commenting on the above article Mr. Hannis Taylor author of "International Public Law," makes the following statement:

"In addition, the British empire holds in its hands the surrendered German colonies and the long coveted Dardanelles, besides the Suez canal and a kind of overlordship over our own Panama canal, which can be defended only by sea power. When to all that is added the combined sea power of her allies, France, Italy, and Japan, she is not only mistress of the seas, but the empress of the world in a way in which no world power has ever been since the fall of the Roman empire. The newspapers report that the building of British dreadnaughts is now progressing more rapidly than ever before. With her hated commercial rival prostrated in the dust, with its greatest ships at the bottom of the sea, Great Britain has now no one in her way but ourselves. Our day will surely come the moment that our growing merchant marine dares to conflict with her commercial interests on the high sea. After the first gun fires, southern cotton, Montana copper and western food supplies will appeal in vain to neutrality laws which President Wilson has agreed to abolish absolutely. With starvation blockades in full force Britain will rule the waves, if the league of nations is adopted, entirely unopposed for the first time by neutrality laws. Cleared EIGHT

made no mistake when he said "that he who gains the command of the sea must obtain supreme power."

France Fails In Confidence

France evidently has no confidence in the efficacy of the league of nations to protect her, for she insists that there be a separate treaty between France, England and the United States, in which America and England pledged themselves to come immediately to France's assistance in case an unprovoked attack is made upon her by Germany and, in my opinion, France will not ratify the covenant and treaty of peace until she feels sure America will first ratify the separate treaty.

The people want peace. The world is a seething mass of race antipathies, social theories, ambitions to govern from the top, ambitions to govern from the bottom, races, just emerging from savagery, races that have been all their lives subject to tyrannical government and who hate all government. We are now asked to

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