WANTS TRIBUNAL FOR SETTLEMENT

President Suggests a Body to Hear Industrial Disputes.

MUST REMOVE CAUSES

Underlying Reason for Unrest Must Be Studied and Remedy Applied.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

committee of congress charged with the budget legislation.

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Simplify Taxes

I trust that the congress will give its immediate consideration to the problem of future taxation. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed indispensable services during the war. They must, however, be simplified not only to raise the taxpayer's revenues and expense, but in order that his liability may be made certain and definite.

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"The problem is not an easy one. A fundamental change has taken place with reference to the position of America in the world's affairs. The prejudice and passions engendered by decades of controversy between two schools of political and economic thought—the free traders in protection or American industries, the other believers in tariff for revenue only—must be subordinated to the consideration of the public interest in the light of altogether changed conditions. Before the war America was heavily the debtor of the rest of the world and the interest payments she had to make to foreign examples on American securities held abroad, the expenditures of American travelers abroad and the ocean freight charges she had to pay to others about balanced the value of her pre war favorable balance of trade. During the war America's exports have been greatly stimulated, and increased prices have increased their value. On the other hand, she has purchased a large proportion of the American securities previously held abroad, has loaned some $9,000,000,000 to foreign governments and has built her own ships. Our favorable balance of trade has thus been greatly increased and Europe has been deprived of the means of meeting the favorable balance of trade in peace times. Its imports into this country of gold or of goods, or by establishing new credits. Europe is in no position at the present time to ship gold to us now could we contemplate large further imports of gold into this country without concern. The time has nearly passed for international governmental loans and it will take time to develop in this country a market for foreign securities. Anything, therefore, which would tend to prevent foreign countries from settling for our exports by shipments of goods into this country could only have the effect of preventing them from paying for our exports and therefore of preventing the exports from being made. The productivity of the country greatly stimulated by the war, must find an outlet by exports to foreign countries and any measures taken to prevent imports will inevitably curtail exports, force curtailment of production, lead the banking machinery of the country with credits to carry unsold products and produce industrial stagnation and unemployment. If we want to sell we must be prepared to buy. Whatever, therefore, may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust our own economic life to a changed condition, growing out of the fact that American business is full grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world.

Isolation Ended.

"No policy of isolation will satisfy the growing needs and opportunities of America. The provincial standards and policies of the past, which have held American business as if in a straitjacket, must yield and give way to the needs and exigencies of the new day in which we live, a day full of hope and promise for American business, if we will but take advantage of the opportunities that are ours for the asking. The recent war has ended our isolation and thrown upon us a great duty and responsibility. The United States must share the expanding world market. The United States desires for itself only equal opportunity with the other nations of the world and that through the process of friendly co-operation and fair competition the legitimate interests of the nations concerned may be successfully and equitably adjusted.

"There are other matters of importance upon which I urged action at the last session of congress which are still pressing for solution. I am sure it is not necessary for me again to remind you that there is one immediate and very practicable question resulting from the war which we should meet in the most liable spirit. It is a matter of recognition and relief to our soldiers.

* * * *

Must Increase Production.

"During the war the farmer performed a vital and willing service to the nation. By materially increasing the production of his land he supplied America and the allies with the increased amounts of food necessary to keep their immense armies in the field. He indispensably helped to win the war. But there is now scarcely less need of increasing the production of food and the necessaries of life. I ask congress to consider means of encouraging efforts along these lines. The importance of doing everything possible to promote production along economical lines to improve marketing and to make rural life more attractive and healthful is obvious. I would urge approval of the plans already proposed to the congress by the secretary of agriculture to secure the essential facts required for the proper study of this question, through the proposed enlarged program for farm management studies and crop estimates. I would urge also the continuance of federal participation in the building of good roads under the terms of existing law and under the auspices of present agencies. The need of further action on the part of the states and the federal government to preserve and develop our forest reserves especially through the practice of better methods on private holdings and the extension of the public ownership policy and support for reclamation projects and the more definite direction of their purposes of study along lines related to rural problems and fuller provision for participation in reclamation districts and the building up of needed hospital and medical facilities in these districts. Perhaps the way might be cleared for many of these desirable reforms and a fresh comprehensive survey made of rural conditions by a conference composed of representatives of the farmers and of the agricultural agencies responsible for leadership.

Nation Is Restless

"I would call your attention to the widespread condition of industrial restlessness in our body politic. The causes of this unrest, while various and in part related, are superficial rather than deep seated. Broadly they arise from or are connected with the failure on the part of our government to arrive speedily at a just and permanent peace permitting return to normal conditions from the transition of radical theories from seething European centers pending such peace from hostilities profiteering resulting in the increase in the cost of living and battle from the elimination of inadequate and extremist agitators. With the return to normal conditions this unrest will rapidly disappear. In the meantime, if during this period it seems to me that it is up to us as a national congress should not be impatient or drastic, but should seek rather to remove the causes. It should endeavor to apply our century here speedily to a peace with associated living conditions. The maintenance of industrial peace involves the question of industrial justice and equal liberty that is inseparable with our social structure. Industrial unrest almost from the beginning of the present government has caused us deep concern, and I have given to it the best thought of which I am capable in the belief that the remedy must come through the action of the parties themselves. Without the free expression of opinion and the free exercise of judgment, which are the foundations of our institutions, we should not be a free people. Liberty of speech and of action, however, does not include the right to destroy the liberty of others. We have been tolerant to the point of weakness in our attitude toward those who would by force and violence overthrow our government. Laws should be enacted to deal with such cases. Our immigration laws should be made more effective to exclude and deport those who would do us harm. The present unrest of capital and labor is largely in the mind. If the people generally can be brought to be reasonable and thoroughly up to the fundamentals of the situation, I am sure it is not necessary that the other steps suggested should be acted on at once.

"I believe and strongly urge the necessity of the extension of the present food control act as to the period of time in which it shall remain in operation. The attorney general has submitted a bill providing for an extension of this act for a period of six months. As it now stands it is limited in operation to the period of the war and becomes inoperative upon the formal declaration of peace. It is important that it should be extended at once. The department of justice has built up extensive machinery for the purpose of enforcing its provisions, all of which must be abandoned upon the proclamation of peace unless the provisions of this act are extended.

* * * *

"No one who has observed the march of events in the last year can fail to note the absolute need of a definite program to bring about an improvement in the conditions leading to increased production and a reduction in the cost of living if labor and capital are to be antagonists instead of partners. Second thinking and an honest desire to serve the interests of the whole nation as distinguished from the interests of a class must be applied to the solution of this great and pressing problem. The failure of other nations to consider this matter in a vigorous way has produced bitterness and jealousies and antagonisms the food of radicalism. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances. An unwillingness even to discuss the matters produces only dissatisfaction and gives comfort to the extreme elements in our country which endeavor to stir up disturbances in order to provoke governments to embark upon a course of retaliation and repression. The seed of revolution is repression. The remedy for these things must not be negative in character. It must be constructive. It must comprehend the general interest. The real antidote for the unrest which manifests itself is not suppression, but a deep consideration of the wrongs that beset our national life and the application of a remedy.

Congress Acts.

"Congress has already shown its willingness to deal with these industrial wrongs by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard in every field of labor. It has sought to find a way to prevent child labor. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding lives and health in dangerous industries. It must now help in the difficult task of finding a method that will bring about a genuine democratization of industry, based upon the full recognition of the right of those who work in whatever rank to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare. It is with this purpose in my mind that I call a conference to meet in Washington on December 1 to consider these problems in all their broad aspects with the idea of bringing about a better understanding between these two interests.

"The great unrest throughout the world, out of which has emerged a demand for an immediate consideration of the difficulties between capital and labor, bids us put our own house in order. Frankly, there can be no permanent and lasting settlements between capital and labor which does not recognize the fundamental concepts for which labor has been struggling through the years. The whole world gave its recognition and endorsement to these fundamental purposes in the league of nations. The statesmen gathered at Versailles recognized the fact that world stability could not be had by reverting to industrial standards and condition of which the average workman of the world had revolted. It is, therefore, the task of the statesmen of this new day of change and readjustment to recognize world conditions and to seek to bring about, through legislation, conditions that will mean the ending of age-long antagonisms between capital and labor, and that will hopefully lead to the building up of a comradeship which will result not only in greater contentment among the mass of workmen but also bring about a greater production and a greater prosperity to business itself.

"To analyze the particulars in the demands of labor is to admit the justice of their complaint in many matters that lie at their basis. The workman demands an adequate wage sufficient to permit him to live in comfort, unhampered by the fear of accidents and want in his old age. He demands the right to live and the right to have a home and the right to educate his children's wants in the matter of health and education in other words, he has the desire to make the conditions of his life and the lives of those dear to him easier and more to your.

"The application of the principles regarding what lies in the covenant of the league of nations offers us the way to industrial peace and conciliation. No other road can and will be so. Not to pursue this method may lead to long, soulless, bitter wars and arrangements which in the end only lead to industrial and social disaster. The way to peace is not a profitable secret. An example is found in Australia. Its adopted a system which, under certain conditions, which it did not create and over which it has no control, lacks that fine spirit of enthusiasm and voluntary effort which are the essential ingredients of a great production system. Yet we be frank about this system with the glamor of world-wide peace which the market to be found in the strength of the world to us cannot but strengthen the belief that this contrivance is a great step forward. Its strength lies in appealing to the very vitality of the nation, that we may gain strength by withholding the remedy. Or is it not the business of the government to treat these great instances of unrest which point as we every hand as evidence of an economic disorder and to apply constructive remedies wherever necessary, being sure that in the application of the remedy we touch not the vital nerve of our industrial and economic life. There can be no remedy of the kind of recent and destructive instrumentalities are set up to stem that tide.

For Collective Bargaining.

"Governments recognize the right of men to bargain for common objects that have at their base the mutual protection and welfare of those engaged in an occupation. Labor must not be longer treated as a commodity. It must be regarded as the activity of human beings. Universal democratic and social desires. The laborer must share up and down in the results which his efforts help to create. He must be given a place in the industrial machine which after all propels the machinery of the world, and the great dynamic force that lies back of all industry and progress. He must be in the end a partner of wage and industry in employment. He must share in the profits of the business. The fact the prosperity of the world, which has just ended and which has brought the world to the verge of ruin and disaster would be in vain if there were not a service to be rendered. Labor is the last Paradise itself, whence has come the power to do, to have, to be. Labor is the source of all wealth, the creator of all beauty, the maker of all civilization. Human matters which have to do with the welfare of the people are the concern of all the people. Labor must be accorded its place in the sun. Labor must be protected against the rapacity of the profiteer. Labor must be given the right of organization, of association, of protected activity, the right of collective bargaining, and decent wages must be assured by the governments and America should be the first to lay the foundation stones upon which industrial peace shall be built.

"Labor not only is entitled to an adequate wage, but capital should receive a reasonable return upon its investment and is entitled to protection at the hands of the government in every emergency. No government worthy of the name can play favorites as between each other for there is a mutuality of interest between them which the government must seek to express and to be safeguard at all costs.

Must Protect People.

"The right of individuals to strike is inviolable and ought not to be interfered with by any process of government, but there is a predominant right and that is the right of the government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and

CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE

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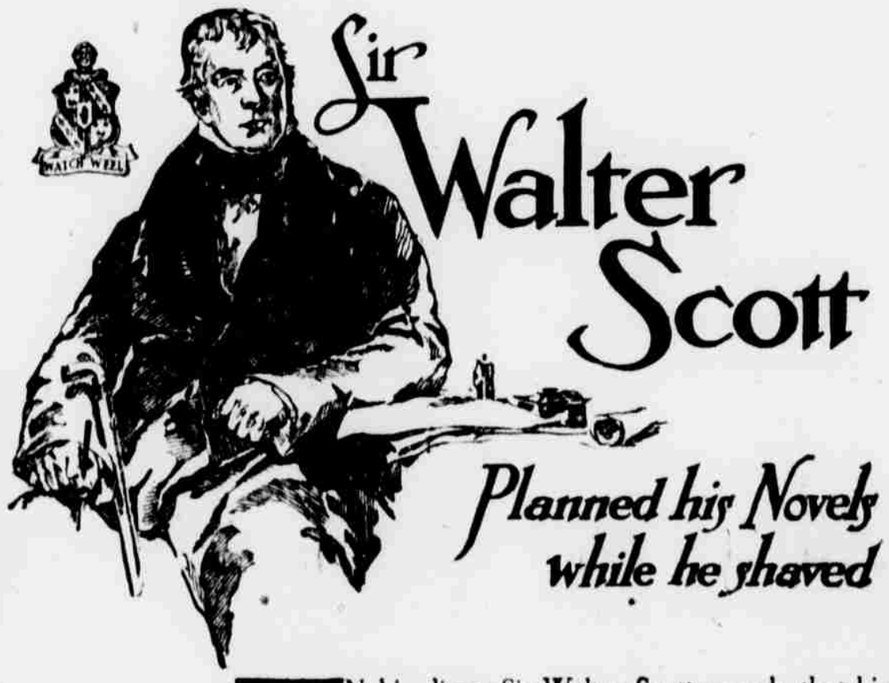

Sir Walter Scott

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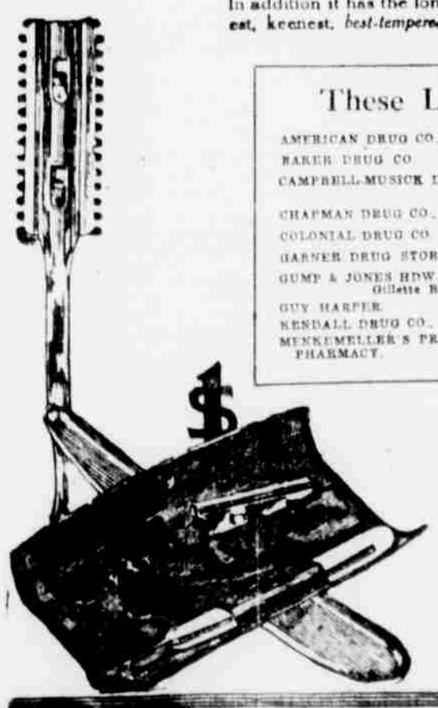

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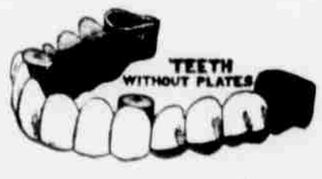

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