

# President's Message Deals With Return of Nation to Peace Standards; Treaty Up Later

## LAWYERS TO COMBAT H. C. OF L. URGED

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effectively with "those persons who by violent methods would abrogate our time-tested institutions."

### Bring Down Prices

Several recommendations, some renewals of previous ones, were made by the President to bring down the cost of living. Among them were extension of the food control law to peace times for the emergency; regulations for transportation of foods in interstate commerce; a cold storage law modeled after the law in New Jersey; a law requiring marks to show the length of time foods are kept in storage and a law to secure "competitive selling and prevent unconscionable profits," by Federal license of corporations selling food in interstate commerce.

### Long Labor Discussion

A long portion of the message was devoted to a discussion of the condition and rights of labor. "A definite program to bring about an improvement in the conditions of labor" and bring about a genuine democratization of industry was recommended.

"The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances," said the President. "At another point it declared 'the seed of revolution is repression.'"

"The establishment of the principles regarding labor, laid down in the covenant of the League of Nations," said the message, "offers us the way to industrial peace and conciliation. No other road lies open to us."

"Governments must recognize the right of men to bargain collectively for human objects. Labor must no longer be treated as a commodity."

"The right of individuals to strike is inviolable," continued the message, "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 majesty against the challenge of any class."

The President was referring to the government's recent injunction against the coal strike.

### Russia an Object Lesson

The message closed with a pointed reference to radicalism and Red doctrines and referred to "Russia to-day with its blood and terror" as a "painful object lesson of the power of minorities."

"There are those in this country," said the message, "who threaten direct action to force their will upon a majority. \* \* \* It makes little difference what minority it is; whether capital or labor, or any other class, no sort of privilege will ever be permitted to dominate this country."

Orderly processes, the message declared, were the only ones by which relief and reform could be obtained.

"Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country," the message said. "Let those beware who take the shorter road of disorder and revolution."

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## Text of President's Message to Congress

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increased prices have increased their value. On the other hand, she has purchased a large proportion of the American securities previously held abroad, and loaned some \$9,000,000, 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 it heretofore existing. Europe can have only three ways of meeting the favorable balance of trade in peace times:

### Must Find Outlet

By 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 nor could we contemplate large further imports of gold into this country without concern. The time is 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 bank 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. What, therefore, may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust to economic life to changed conditions growing out of the fact that American business is full grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world.

### Against Isolation

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 strait jacket, 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. It is our duty to take advantage of the opportunities that are ours for the asking. The recent war has ended our great duty. The United States must share the standing 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 cooperation and fair competition, the legitimate interests of the nations concerned may be successfully and equitably adjusted.

### Urges Soldiers' Relief

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 practical question resulting from the war, which we should meet in the most liberal spirit. It is a matter of recognition and relief to our soldiers. I can do no better than to quote from my last message urging this very action:

"We must see to it that our returning soldiers are assisted in every practicable way to find the places for which they are fitted in the daily work of the country. This can be done by developing and maintaining upon an adequate scale the admirable organization created by the Department of Labor for placing men seeking work; and it can also be done, in at least one very great field, by creating new opportunities for individual enterprise. The Secretary of the Interior has pointed out the way by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the country which the Federal government has already prepared or can readily prepare for cultivation and also on many of the cut-over or neglected areas which lie within the limits of the United States; and I once more take the liberty of recommending very urgently that his plans shall receive the immediate and substantial support of the Congress."

### Touches on Tariff

In the matter of tariff legislation, I beg to call your attention to the statements contained in my last message urging legislation with reference to the establishment of the chemical and dyestuffs industry in America:

"Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relation between the manufacture of dyestuffs, on the one hand, and of explosives and poisonous gases on the other, moreover, has led to the manufacture of these materials in this country, with which we will be brought into competition with, and may well be again, a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind."

### Encourage Farmer

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 in food and the necessities of life. I ask the Congress to consider means of encouraging efforts along these lines. The importance of doing everything possible to promote production along economic 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 programs for farm management studies and crop estimates would urge also, the continuance of Federal participation in the building of good roads, under the terms of existing legislation, and the extension of Federal agencies; further Federal action on the part of the states and the Federal government to preserve and develop our forest resources, especially through the practice of better forestry methods on private holdings and the extension of the publicly owned forests; better support for country schools and the most definite direction of Federal study along lines related to rural provision for sanitation in rural districts and the building up of needed health and medical facilities in these localities; and that these might be cleared for many of these desirable reforms by a fresh, comprehensive survey made of rural conditions by a conference composed of representatives of the State and of the agricultural agencies responsible for leadership.

### Political Restlessness

I would call your attention to the widespread condition of political restlessness in our country, the causes of this unrest, while various and complicated, are superficial rather than deep seated. Broadly they are connected with the failure on the part of government to arrive speedily at a just and permanent peace permitting return to normal conditions. From the manufacturing centers, from the seething European centers pending such delay, from heartless profiteering resulting in the increased cost of living, and lastly from the selfish and malevolent agitators. With the return to normal conditions, this unrest will rapidly dissipate. In the meantime, it does much evil. It suggests to the people that in this situation Congress should not be impatient or drastic but should seek rather to remove the cause.

### Speedy Return to Peace

It should endeavor to bring our country back speedily to a peace basis with ameliorated living conditions. In the meantime, it does much evil. It suggests to the people that in this situation Congress should not be impatient or drastic but should seek rather to remove the cause.

### Democratization of Industry

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 the health and life of our industries. It must now help in the difficult task of finding a method that will bring about a genuine democratization of industry, based on 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 mind that I called 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.

### Pleads With World Unrest

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 do not recognize the fundamental concept 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 in Versailles recognized the fact that world stability could not be had by reverting to industrial standards and conditions against which the average workmen of the world have revolted. It is 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

## Remove Grievances

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 of labor. There can be no settled conditions leading to increased production and a reduction in the cost of living if labor and capital are to be antagonistic instead of partners. Sound 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 the food of radicalism. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances. The unwillingness even to discuss these 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.

### Collective Bargaining

Governments must recognize the right of men collectively to bargain for humane objects that have at their base the mutual protection and welfare of those engaged in all industries. Labor must not be longer treated as a commodity. It must be regarded as the activity of human beings, possessed of deep yearnings and desires. The businessman gives his best thought to the repair and replenishment of his machinery, so that its usefulness will not be impaired and its power to produce may always be at its height and kept in full vigor and motion. No less regard ought to be paid to the human machine, which after all propels the machinery of the world and is the great dynamic force that lies back of all industry and progress. Return to the old standards of wage and industry in employment are unthinkable. The terrible tragedy of war which has just ended and which has brought the world to the verge of chaos and disintegration, would be in vain if there should ensue a return to the conditions of the past. Europe, itself, labor, or any other class—no sort of

## privilege will ever be permitted to dominate this country. We are a partnership or nothing that is worth while. We are a democracy, where the majority are the masters, or all the hopes and purposes of the men who founded this government have been defeated and forgotten. In America there is but one way by which great reforms can be accomplished and the relief sought by classes obtained, and that is through the orderly processes of representative government. Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country. America will not be daunted by threats nor lose her composure or calmness in these distressing times. We can afford, in the midst of this day of passion and unrest, to be self-contained and sure. The instrument of all reform in America is the straight road of justice to all classes and conditions of men. Men have but to follow this road to realize the full fruition of their objects and purposes. Let those beware who would take the shorter road of disorder and revolution. The right road is the road of justice and orderly processes.

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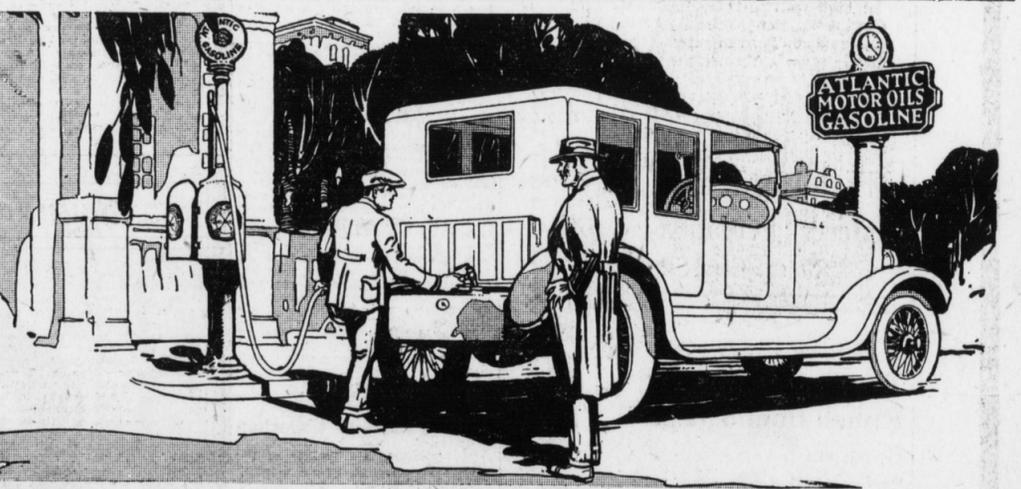
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