

LEGISLATORS TO KNOW ALL FACTS OF ANY TREATIES

President in Address to Congress Says Trip to Europe Is Duty to Heroes.

ASKS AID OF NATION

Declares Many Important Problems Must Be Solved by Lawmakers.

PLANS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Seizure of Cables, He Says, Aids in Keeping Members of Congress Posted on Parleys—Favors Federal Control of Railroads—Will Insist on World Justice at Peace Conference.

Washington—In his address before Congress in joint session President Wilson formally announced his intention to go to Paris for the peace conference, saying the allied governments have accepted principles enunciated by him for peace and it is his paramount duty to be present.

The president said he will be in close touch by cable and wireless and that Congress will know all that he does on the other side.

Referring to his announcement that the French and British governments had removed all cable restrictions upon the transmission of news of the conference to America, the president said, he had taken over the American cable system, on expert advice, so as to make a unified system available.

The president said he hoped to see formal declaration of peace by treaty "by the time spring has come."

He expressed the hope that he would have the co-operation of the public and Congress, saying through the cables and wireless constant counsel and advice would be possible.

Takes Up Railroad Problems.
Much of the address was devoted to the railroad problem, for which the president said he now had no solution. He recommended careful study by Congress, saying it would be a disservice to the country and to the railroads to permit a return to old conditions under private management without modifications.

The president declared he stood ready to release the railroads from government control whenever a satisfactory plan of readjustment could be worked out.

No Reconstruction Plans Yet.
No definite program of reconstruction can be outlined now, Mr. Wilson said, but as soon as the armistice was signed government control of business and industry was released as far as possible. He expressed the hope that Congress would not object to conferring upon the war trade board or some other agency the right of fixing export priorities to assure shipment of food to starving people abroad.

As to taxation, the president favored the plan for levying \$3,000,000,000 in 1919 and for notifying the public in advance that the 1920 levy will be \$4,000,000,000.

The new three-year naval building program was endorsed because, the president said, it would be unwise to attempt to adjust the American program to a future world policy as yet determined.

Again Urges Votes for Women.
Paying tribute to the people's support in war, he spoke particularly of the work of women and again appealed woman suffrage by federal amendment.

Declaring he had no "private thought purpose in going to France, but that regarded it as his highest duty," the president added: "It is now my duty to play my full part in making good that the American soldiers offered their life's blood to obtain."

Text of President's Address.
The president said: "Gentlemen of the Congress: The time has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give to the Congress a time to time information on the affairs of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes, great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its sections or of the far-reaching issues which have been wrought in life of our nation and the world. I have yourselves witnessed these things, as I have. It is too soon to attempt them and we stand in the front of them and are part of them. Less qualified than men of another nation will be to say what they mean or even what they have seen. Some great outstanding facts are stakeable and constitute in a sense of the public business with which our duty to deal.

I state there is to set the stage for legislative and executive action must grow out of them and

which we have yet to shape and determine.

Tells of Troop Shipments.
A year ago we had sent 145,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 192,542 each month, the number in fact rising in May last to 245,951, in June to 278,760, in July to 307,182, and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September—in August 289,570 and in September 257,438.

No such movement of troops ever took place before, across 3,000 miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely more difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 738 men were lost by enemy attacks—430 of whom were upon a single English transport which was sunk near the Orkney islands.

I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material. It is not invidious to say that back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and all its productive activities more complete, more thorough in method and effective in results, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort than any other great belligerent had ever been able to effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, their proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were the pupils.

U. S. Learns Quickly.
But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and a readiness of co-operation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply, equipment and dispatch that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and of the sailors who kept the seas, and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them.

No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph may now forget all that and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did.

Why to Be Thankful.
What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle—turn it once over for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the central empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation!

And throughout it all how fine the spirit of the nation was. What unity of purpose, what untiring zeal! What elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, its untiring accomplishment. I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that we had been with the men whom we sustained by our labor; but we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors, day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea. And not the men here in Washington only. They have but directed the vast achievement.

Plan to Steady Business.
For the steadying and facilitation of our own domestic business readjustments nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919 and 1920. As much as the burden of taxation must be lifted from business as sound methods of financing the government will permit, and those who conduct the great essential industries of the country must be told as exactly as possible what obligations to the government they will be expected to meet in the years immediately ahead of them.

It will be of serious consequence to the country to delay removing all uncertainties in this matter a single day longer than the right processes of debate justify. It is idle to talk of successful and confident business reconstruction before those uncertainties are resolved.

Troops Must Stay in Europe.
If the war had continued it would have been necessary to raise at least \$5,000,000,000 by taxation, payable in the year 1919, but the war has ended and I agree with the secretary of the treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to \$3,000,000,000. An immediate rapid decline in the expenses of the government is not to be looked for. Contracts made for war supplies will, indeed, be rapidly canceled and liquidated, but their immediate liquidation will make heavy drains on the treasury for the months just ahead of us.

The maintenance of our forces on the other side of the sea is still necessary. A considerable proportion of

these forces must remain in Europe during the period of occupation, and those which are brought home will be transported and demobilized at heavy expense for months to come.

The interest on our war debt must, of course, be paid and provision made for the retirement of the obligations of the government which represent it. But these demands, will, of course, fall much below what a continuation of military operations would have entailed, and \$6,000,000,000 should suffice to supply a sound foundation for the financial operations of the year.

I entirely concur with the secretary of the treasury recommending that the \$2,000,000,000 needed in addition to the \$4,000,000,000 provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contracts and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be confined to the war profits accruing in 1918, or in 1919, from business originating in war contracts.

Asks Aid for Belgium.
May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and northern France? No sums of money paid by the way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely find the money. If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world tomorrow—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered and many of their markets will be taken by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in. I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the war trade board the right to establish priority of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war. The secretary of the navy has submitted to your committee for authorization that part of the program which covers the building plans of the next three years. These plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with the policy which the Congress established, not under the exceptional conditions of the war, but with the intention of adhering to a definite method of development for the navy.

I earnestly recommend the uninterrupted pursuit of that policy. It would clearly be unwise for us to attempt to adjust our programs to a future world policy as yet undetermined.

Worried About Railroads.
The question which causes me the greatest concern is the question of the policy to be adopted toward the railroads. I frankly turn to you for counsel upon it. I have no confident judgment of my own. I do not see how any thoughtful man can have who knows anything of the complexity of the problem. It is a problem which must be studied, studied immediately and studied without bias or prejudice.

It was necessary that the administration of the railroads should be taken over by the government so long as the war lasted. It would have been impossible otherwise to establish and carry through under a single direction the necessary priorities of shipments. It would have been impossible otherwise to combine maximum production at the factories and mines and farms with the maximum possible car supply to take the products to the ports and markets; impossible to route troops shipments and freight shipments without regard to the advantage of the roads employed; impossible to subordinate, when necessary, all questions of convenience to the public necessity; impossible to give the necessary financial support to the roads from the public treasury. But all these necessities have now been served, and the question is, what is best for the railroads and for the public in the future.

Roads Could Not Co-operate.
Exceptional circumstances and exceptional methods of administration were not needed to convince us that the railroads were not equal to the immense tasks of transportation imposed upon them by the rapid and continuous development of the industries of the country. We knew that already, and we knew that they were unequal to it partly because their full co-operation was rendered impossible by law and their competition made obligatory, so that it has been impossible to assign to them severally the traffic which could best be carried by their respective lines in the interest of expedition and national economy.

The full equipment of the railroads which the federal administration had planned could not be completed within any such period. The present law does not permit the use of the revenues of the several roads for the execution of such plans except by formal contract with their directors, some of whom will consent, while some will not, and therefore does not afford sufficient authority to undertake improvements upon the scale upon which it would be necessary to undertake them. Every approach to this difficult subject matter of decision brings us face

to face, therefore, with this unanswered question. What is right that we should do with the railroads in the interest of the public and in fairness to their owners?

Several Plans Possible.

I believe that it will be serviceable for me to set forth as explicitly as possible the alternative courses that lie open to our choice. We can simply release the roads and go back to the old conditions of private management, unrestricted competition and multifarious regulation by both state and federal authorities; or we can go to the opposite extreme and establish complete government control, accompanied, if necessary, by actual government ownership; or we can adopt an intermediate course of modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected, as, for example, by regional corporations under which the railways of definable area would be in effect combined in single systems.

The one conclusion that I am ready to state with confidence is that it would be a disservice alike to the country and to the owners of the railroads to return to the old conditions unmodified. Those are conditions of restraint without development. There is nothing affirmative or helpful about them. What the country chiefly needs is that all its means of transportation should be developed, its railways, its waterways, its highways and its countryside roads.

New Policy Necessary.
Some new element of policy, therefore, is absolutely necessary—necessary for the service of the public, necessary for the release of credit to those who are administering the railroads, necessary for the protection of their security holders. The old policy may be changed much or little, but surely it cannot wisely be left as it was.

I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have been associated in the war against the central empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

Accept U. S. Bases of Peace.

The allied governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the 8th of January last, as the central empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our government to contribute without selfish purpose of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest.

The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they know to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible effort omitted to realize them.

It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered in their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

Praises War Agencies.

Never before have there been agencies in existence in this country which knew so much of the field of supply, of labor and of industry as the war industries board, the war trade board, the labor department, the food administration and the fuel administration have known since their labors became thoroughly systematized; and they have not been isolated agencies; they have been directed by men who represented the permanent departments of the government and so have been the centers of unified and co-operative action. It has been the policy of the executive, therefore, since the armistice was assured (which is in effect a complete submission of the enemy) to put the knowledge of these bodies at the disposal of the business men of the country and to offer their intelligent mediation at every point and in every matter where it was desired. It is surprising how fast the process of return to a peace footing has moved in the three weeks since the fighting stopped. It promises to outrun any inquiry that may be instituted and any aid that may be offered. It will not be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American business man is of quick initiative.

The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not, however, provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. Those who are of trained capacity, those who are skilled workmen, those who have acquired familiarity with established businesses, those who are ready and willing to go to the farms, all those whose aptitudes are known or will be sought out by employees will find no difficulty. It is safe to say, in finding place and employment, but

there will be others who will be at a loss where to gain a livelihood unless pains are taken to guide them and put them in the way of work. There will be a large floating residuum of labor which should be left wholly to shift for itself. It seems to me important, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be created, for unskilled labor in particular, and that plans should be made for such developments of our unused lands and our natural resources as we have hitherto lacked stimulation to undertake.

Cites Practical Plans.

I particularly direct your attention to the practical plans which the secretary of the Interior has developed in his annual report and before your committee for the reclamation of arid, swamp and cut-over lands which might, if the states were willing and able to co-operate, redeem some 300,000,000 acres of land for cultivation. There are said to be 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 acres of land in the West at present arid, for whose reclamation water is available, if properly conserved. There are about 230,000,000 acres from which the forests have been cut but which have never yet been cleared for the plow, and which lie waste and desolate. These lie scattered all over the Union. And there are nearly 80,000,000 acres of land that lie under swamps or subject to periodical overflow or too wet for anything but grazing which it is perfectly feasible to drain and protect and redeem.

Problem Economic One.

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned the problem of our return to peace is a problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered the disarrangements and the losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose, and self-reliant in action.

While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to render, by which to make sure of an abundant supply of the materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the government a certain control over the prices of essential articles and materials, by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping, and systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion—by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to draw the common load and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task. But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the government had kept its hand for fear there should not be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for the uses of the government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly the control of foodstuffs and of shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as possible and more and more as the weeks go by.

I entirely concur with the secretary of the treasury in recommending that the two billions needed in addition to the four billions provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contracts and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be confined to the war profits accruing in 1918, or in 1919 from business originating in war contracts.

I urge your acceptance of his recommendation that provision be made now, not subsequently, that the taxes to be paid in 1920 should be reduced from six to four billions.

Asks Support of Congress.

May I not hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking. I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments.

I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

HAND OVER PLANES

TEUTONS SURRENDERING AIR FLEET TO ENTENTE ALLIES.

ENEMY ABANDONS MACHINES

Transfer of Such a Huge Air Squadron Requires Considerable Time—Rulers of Europe to Visit U. S.

London, Dec. 10.—The surrender of the 2,000 German airplanes required under the terms of the armistice convention has been proceeding during the past week and it is expected that full complement of enemy machines will shortly be in the allies' hands.

The taking over, examining and parking of so vast a fleet of machines has necessarily taken time, as the German armies in their retirement are leaving the planes behind in their evacuated areas.

Some light is thrown upon what this gigantic surrender of aircraft means to the Germans by the official British figures of air fighting upon the British western front from January 1, 1918, to the date of the armistice. These figures show the number of enemy machines destroyed in aerial combats by the British to have been 3,000, while enemy machines driven down out of control numbered 1,174.

Germany is known to have lost well over 6,000 airplanes, destroyed and surrendered, during the present year. On the other hand, the resources of the allies are being reinforced by 2,000 German machines of modern type and in good serviceable condition.

European Rulers Coming to U. S.

New York, Dec. 10.—The United States government will have as its guests in the near future President Poincaré of France, King George of England, King Albert of Belgium, King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and the heads of any other nations President Wilson may visit during his trip to Europe. Stéphane Lauzanne, editor of the Paris *Matin*, declared here just before he sailed for France.

M. Lauzanne has been in the United States several months on an official mission.

"It has been a diplomatic custom from time immemorial," M. Lauzanne said, "that the head of one government who entertains the head of another invariably repays the visit."

Predict Another "Flu" Epidemic.

Chicago, Dec. 10.—One out of every five soldiers in the United States suffered from influenza; of these, one in six developed pneumonia, and of the pneumonia patients, two out of five died. This statement was made here by Dr. George A. Soper of the United States surgeon general's staff. Dr. Soper predicted another epidemic of the disease. Apparently there have been three visitations, each succeeding one being more severe, more widespread and more fatal than its predecessor," Soper said.

Eight-Hour Day for Railroaders.

London, Dec. 10.—The British government has agreed to the principle of an eight hour day for all members of the wages staff on the railways of the united kingdom in fulfillment of the pledge given the railway men recently by the president of the board of trade. The eight-hour day will come into operation next February. Leaders of railway men in the united kingdom express satisfaction over the government's action.

Urges All to Join Red Cross.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 10.—President Wilson, in a proclamation made public last Sunday, calls on every American to join the American Red Cross during Christmas roll call week, December 16 to 23, "and thus send forth to the whole human family the Christmas greeting for which it waits and for which it stands in greatest need." The proclamation was prepared before the president departed for Europe.

Won't Let War Board Rule.

Omaha, Neb., Dec. 9.—Striking street car men in Omaha and Council Bluffs by an almost unanimous vote refused to submit the differences between their union and the traction company to the war labor board for settlement. Street car service in the two cities has been at a standstill since last Wednesday.

Blood Flows in Berlin Streets.

Berlin, Dec. 10.—The clash between government troops and followers of the Spartacists, or radical group, resulted in more than 180 persons being killed or wounded.

New Features for County Fairs.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 10.—Art will replace the snake charmer and "Fat Lady" as an attraction at county fairs next summer, it was announced by speakers at the annual convention of American Association of Fairs and Expositions here. H. A. Brown of Birmingham, Ala., was elected president; C. V. Walborn, Columbus, O., vice president; E. R. Daniels, Lincoln, Neb., secretary; and Frank D. Fuller, Memphis, Tenn., was elected treasurer.