

# President Harding's Address to Special Session Congress

Washington, April 12.—The complete text of President Harding's address to Congress follows:

Members of the Congress:

You have been called in extraordinary session to give your consideration to National problems far too pressing to be long neglected. We face our tasks of legislation and administration amid conditions as difficult as our government has ever contemplated. Under our political system the people of the United States have charged the new Congress and the new administration with the solution—the readjustments, reorganizations, and restoration which must follow in the wake of War.

It may be suggested that we were so little prepared for War's aftermath, so little ready to return to the ways of peace, but we are not to be discouraged. Indeed, we must be the more firmly resolved to undertake our work with high hope, and invite every factor in our citizenship to join in our effort to find our normal, onward way again.

The American people have appraised the situation, and with that tolerance and patience which go with understanding they will give to us the influence of deliberate public opinion which ultimately becomes the edict of our popular government. They are measuring soundly the stern necessities, and will join in the give-and-take which is so essential to firm reestablishment.

First in mind must be the solution of our problems at home, even though some phases of them are inseparably linked with our foreign relations. The surest procedure in every government is to put its own house in order. I know of no more pressing problem at home than to restrict our national expenditures within the limits of our national income, and at the same time measurably lift the burdens of war taxation from the shoulders of the American people.

One cannot be unmindful that economy is a much-employed cry. Most frequently stressed in pre-election appeals, but it is ours to make it an outstanding and ever-increasing purpose in both legislation and administration. The unrestrained tendency to heedless expenditure and the attending growth of public indebtedness, extending from Federal authority to that of state and municipal governments, constitute the most dangerous phase of government today. The nation cannot restrain itself in its own activities, but it can be exemplar in a wholesome reversal.

The staggering load of war debt must be cared for in orderly fashion and gradual liquidation. We shall hasten the solution and will effectively lift the tax burden if we strike resolutely at expenditure. It is far more wisely said that done. In the fever of war our expenditures were so little questioned, the emergency was so compelling, appropriation was so unimpeded that we little noted millions and counted the treasury inexhaustible. It will strengthen our resolution if we ever keep in mind that the continuation of such a course means inevitable disaster.

Our current expenditures are running at the rate of approximately five billions a year, and the burden is unbearable. There are two agencies to be employed in correction: One is rigid resistance in appropriation and the other is the utmost economy in administration. Let us have both. I have already charged department heads with this necessity. I am sure Congress will agree; and both Congress and the administration may safely count on the support of all right-minded citizens, because the burden is theirs. The pressure for expenditure, swelling the flow in one healthy stream, is being met by the other in the imposition of just burdens, and the effect of our citizenship protesting outlay will be wholesome and helpful. I wish it might find its reflex in economy and thrift among the people themselves, because therein lies quicker recovery and added security for the future.

**Would Revise Internal Tax Laws**  
The estimates of receipts and expenditures and the statements as to the condition of the treasury which the Secretary of the Treasury is prepared to present to you will indicate what revenues must be provided in order to carry on the government's business and meet its current requirements and future obligations. There are striking cuts in the important fields of expenditure, receipts from internal taxes cannot safely be permitted to fall below \$4,000,000,000 in the fiscal years 1922 and 1923. This would mean total internal tax collections of about one billion less than in 1920 and one-half billion less than in 1921.

The most substantial relief from the tax burdens must come from the present from the adjustment of internal taxes and the revision or repeal of those taxes which have become unproductive and are so artificial and burdensome as to defeat their own purpose. A prompt and thorough-going revision of the internal tax laws with due regard to the protection of the revenues, in my judgment, a requisite to the revival of business activity in this country. It is earnestly hoped, therefore, that the Congress will be able to meet without delay a revision of the revenue laws and such emergency tax measures as are necessary to protect American trade and industry.

One who values American prosperity and maintained American standards of wage and living can have no sympathy with the proposal that easy entry and the flood of imports will cheapen our costs of living. It is more likely to destroy our capacity to buy. Today American agriculture is menaced, and its products are down to pre-war normal, yet we are endangering our fundamental industry through the high cost of transportation from farm to market and through the influx of foreign farm products, because we offer, essentially unprotected, the best market in the world. It would be better to err in protecting our basic food industry than paralyze our farm activities in the world struggle for restored exchange.

The mature revision of our tariff laws should be based on the policy of self-sufficiency, that selfishness which turns to greed, but ever concerned with that productivity at home which is the source of all abiding good fortune. It is agreed that we cannot sell unless we buy, but ability to sell is based on home development and the fostering of home markets. There is little sentiment in the trade of the world. Trade can and ought to be honorable, but it knows no sympathy. While the delegates of the nations at Paris were debating peace terms at Paris, and while we later debated our part in completing the peace, commercial agents of other nations were opening their lines and establishing their outposts, with a forward look to the morrow's trade. It was wholly proper and has been advantageous to them. Tardy as we are, it will be safer to hold our own markets secure, and build thereon for our trade with the world.

**The National Budget System.**  
A very important matter is the establishment of the government's budget on a business basis. There was toleration of the easy-going, unsystematic method of handling our fiscal affairs, when indirect taxation held the public unmindful of the Federal burden. But there is knowledge of the high cost of government today, and high cost of living is inseparably linked with high cost of government. There can be no complete correction of the high living cost until government's cost is notably reduced.

Let me most heartily commend the enactment of legislation providing for the national budget system. Congress has already recorded its belief in the budget. It will be a very great satisfaction to know of its early enactment, so that it may be employed in establishing the economies and business methods so essential to the minimum of expenditure.

I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business and more business in government. It is to be sure that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate and righteous way unimpeded, and it ought have no call to meet government competition where all risk is borne by the public treasury. There is no challenge to honest and lawful business success. But government approval of fortunate, untrammeled business does not mean toleration of a restraint of trade or of maintenance of artificial methods. It is well known to all government, mindful of the interests of all the people, has a right to expect the co-operation of that legitimate business in stamping out the practices which add to unrest and impose restrictive legislation. Anxious as we are to restore the onward flow of business, it is fair to combine assurance and warning in one utterance.

**H. C. L. Still Needs Studying.**  
One condition in the business world may well receive your inquiry. Deflation has been in progress but has failed to reach the mark where it can be profitable to the mass of consumers. Reduced cost of basic production has been recorded but high cost of living has not yielded in like proportion. For example, the prices on grains and live stock have been deflated, but the cost of bread and meats is not adequately reflected therein. It is to be expected that non-perishable staples will be slow in yielding to lowered prices, but the maintained retail costs in perishable foods cannot be justified.

I have asked the Federal Trade Commission for a report of its observations, and it attributes, in the main, the failure to adjust consumers' cost to basic production costs to the exchange of information by "open-price associations," which operate, evidently, within the limits of the very great advantage of their members in the usual disadvantage of the consuming public. Without the spirit of hostility or haste in accusation of profiteering, some suitable inquiry by Congress might speed the price readjustment to normal relationship, with helpfulness to both producer and consumer. A measuring rod of fair prices will satisfy the country and give us a business revival to end all depression and unemployment.

**The Problem of the Railroads.**  
The great interest of both the producer and consumer—indeed, all our industrial and commercial life, from agriculture to finance—in the problem of transportation will find its reflex in your concern to aid re-establishment, to restore efficiency, and bring transportation cost into a helpful relationship rather than continue it as a hindrance to our activities.

It is little to be wondered that ill-considered legislation, the war strain, government operation in heedlessness of the cost, and the conflicting programs, or the lack of them, for restoration have brought about a most difficult situation, made doubly difficult by the low tide of business. All are so intimately related that no improvement will be permanent until the railways are operated efficiently as a cost within that which the traffic can bear.

and deserve your most earnest attention, because we are laying a foundation for a long time to come, and the creation is very difficult to visualize in its great possibilities. . . . The Federal government can place no inhibition on the expenditure in the severe stress; but since Congress has embarked upon a policy of assisting the states in highway improvement wisely, I believe, it can assert a wholly beneficial influence in shaping policy.

With the principle of Federal participation acceptably established, probably never to be abandoned, it is important to exert Federal influence in developing concrete plans looking to the promotion of commerce, and apply our expenditure in the surest way to guarantee a public return for money expended. I know of nothing more shocking than the millions of public funds wasted in improved highways, wasted because there is no policy of maintenance. There is nothing the Congress can do more effectively to end this shocking waste than condition all Federal aid on provisions for maintenance.

**Merchant Marine Needed.**  
Linked with rail and highway is the problem of water transportation—inland, coastwise, and trans-oceanic. It is not possible, on this occasion to suggest to Congress the additional legislation needed to meet the aspirations of our people for a merchant marine. In the emergency of American fair play will assert itself to give American carriers their equality of opportunity. This republic can never realize its righteous aspirations in commerce, can never be worthy the traditions of the early days of the expanding republic until the millions of tons of shipping which we now possess are co-ordinated with our inland transportation and our shipping has government encouragement, not government operation, in carrying our cargoes and our flag, over regulated routes, to every market in the world agreeable to American exchanges. . . .

**Cables Present Problem.**  
It is proper to invite your attention to the importance of the question of radio communication and cables. To meet strategic commercial and political needs, active encouragement should be given to the extension of American-owned and operated cable and radio services. . . . Private monopolies tending to prevent the development of needed facilities should be prohibited. Government owned facilities, wherever possible without unduly interfering with private enterprise or government needs, should be made available for general use. Particularly desirable is the provision of ample cable and radio services at reasonable rates for the transmission of press matter, so that the American reader may receive a wide range of news, and the foreign reader receive full accounts of American activities. The daily press of all countries may well be put in position to contribute to international understandings by the publication of interesting foreign news.

Practical experience demonstrates the need for effective regulation of both domestic and international radio operation if this newer means of inter-communication is to be fully utilized. . . . Aviation is inseparable from either the army or the navy, and the government must, in the interests of national defense, encourage its development for military and civil purposes. . . .

**Should Regulate Air Navigation.**  
The national advisory committee for aeronautics, in a special report on this subject, has recommended the establishment of a bureau of aeronautics in the Department of Commerce for the Federal regulation of air navigation, which recommendation ought to have legislative approval. I recommend the enactment of legislation establishing a bureau of aeronautics in the Navy Department to centralize the control of naval activities in aeronautics, and removing the restrictions on the personnel detailed to aviation in the navy.

The army air service should be continued as a co-ordinate complement of the army and its existing aviation utilized in co-operation with other agencies of the government in the establishment of national transcontinental air ways and in co-operation with the states in the establishment of local air-dromes and landing fields.

**Must Care for Soldiers.**  
The American people expect Congress unfailingly to voice the gratitude of the Republic in a generous and practical way to its debtors of the World War who need the supporting arm of the government. Our very immediate concern is for the crippled soldiers and these deeply needing the helping hand of government. Conscious of the generous intent of Congress, and the public concern for the crippled and dependent, I invited the services of a volunteer committee to inquire into the administration of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Federal Board of Vocational Training and other agencies of government in caring for the ex-soldiers, sailors, and marines of the World War. . . .

This committee has recommended and I convey the recommendations to you with cordial approval, that all government agencies looking to the welfare of the ex-service men should be placed under one directing head, so that the welfare of these disabled soldiers, the victors of the war, International association for permanent peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yesterday and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by any such association so long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the attachment of the special aims of any nation or group of nations. . . .

the expenditure of billions in the half century before us. . . . During the recent political canvass the proposal was made that a department of public welfare should be created. . . . In the realm of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects, the government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities. I assume the maternity bill already strongly approved, will be enacted promptly, thus adding to our maintenance of human interest. But these undertakings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without co-ordination and with much overlapping of functions which fritters energies and magnifies the cost. . . . To bring these various activities together in a single department, where the whole field could be surveyed, and where their interrelations could be properly appraised would make for increased effectiveness, economy, and intelligence of direction. . . .

There need be no fear of undue centralization or of creating a Federal bureaucracy to dominate affairs better to be left in State control. . . . **World Study Lyrching Problem.**  
Somewhat related to the foregoing human problems is the race question. Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly, representative democracy. We face the fact that many millions of American citizens are numbered among our population and that in a number of States they constitute a very large proportion of the total population. It is unnecessary to recount the difficulties incident to this condition, nor to emphasize the fact that it is a condition which cannot be removed. There has been suggestion, however, that some of its difficulties might be ameliorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects, and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a national attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations between the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing representatives of both races, to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that the spirit of American democracy, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship lies the road to righteous adjustment. . . .

It is needless to call your attention to the unfinished business inherited from the preceding Congress. The appropriation bills for army and navy will have your early consideration. . . . **Must Not Disarm Alone.**  
Neither branch of the government can be mindful of the call for reduced expenditures for these departments of our National defense, if the wish to eliminate the burdens of heavy armament. The United States ever will be in harmony with such a movement toward the higher attainments of peace. But we shall not entirely discard our agencies for defense until there is removed the need to defend. We are ready to cooperate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but mere prodigal forbids that we disarm alone. . . .

The naval program which had been beginning in what seemed the highest assurance of peace can carry no threat after the latest proof of our national unselfishness. The reasonable limitation of personnel may be combined with economies of administration to lift the burdens of excessive outlay. . . . The War Department is reducing the personnel of the army from the maximum provided by law in June 1920, to the minimum directed by Congress in subsequent enactments. When further reduction is compatible with National security, it may well have the sanction of Congress, so that a system of voluntary military training may offer to our young manhood the advantages of physical development, discipline, and commitment to service and constitute the army reserve in return for the training. . . .

**Turns His Back On League.**  
Nearly two and a half years ago the world war came to an end, and yet we find ourselves today in the technical state of war, though actually at peace, while Europe is at technical peace far from tranquillity and little progressed toward the hoped for restoration. . . .

It ill becomes us to express impatience that the European belligerents are not yet in full agreement, when we ourselves have been unable to bring constituted authority into accord in our own relations to the formally proclaimed peace. . . . Little evils in reciting the causes of delay in Europe or our own failure to agree. But there is no longer excuse for reciting the reasons of some phases of our foreign relationship. In the existing League of Nations world-governing with its super-powers, this republic, will have no part. There can be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general, and to our associates in war in particular, that the League covenant can have no sanction by us. . . .

The aim of the associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a commitment to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority. . . .

**Advocates Association of Nations.**  
Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making in the enforcing agency of the victors of the war. International association for permanent peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yesterday and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by any such association so long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the attachment of the special aims of any nation or group of nations. . . .

prevention of war and pointing the way to a higher civilization and international fraternity in which all the world might share. In rejecting the League covenant and uttering that rejection to our own people and to the world we make no surrender of our hope and aim for an association to promote peace in which we would most heartily join. We wish it to be conceived in peace and dedicated to peace, and will relinquish no effort to bring the nations of the world into such fellowship, not in the surrender of national sovereignty but rejoicing in a nobler exercise of it in the advanced maintenance of human interest. . . .

In the National referendum to which I have adverted we pledged our efforts toward such steps and the pledge will be faithfully kept. In the plight of policy and performance, we told the American people we meant to seek an early establishment of peace. The United States alone among the allied and associated powers continues in a technical state of war against the Central Powers of Europe. The assent of Congress could not be permitted to continue. To establish the state of technical peace without further delay, I should approve a declaratory resolution by Congress to that effect, with the qualifications essential to protect all our rights. Such action would be the simplest keeping of faith with ourselves and could in no sense be construed as a desertion of those with whom we shared our sacrifices of war, for these powers are already at peace. . . .

It would be unwise to undertake to make a statement of future policy with respect to European affairs in such a declaration of a state of peace. In correcting the failure of the executive in negotiating the most important treaty in the history of the world, we must size the constitutional powers of the Senate we would go to the other extreme, equally objectionable, if Congress or the Senate should assume the function of the executive. Our highest duty is the preservation of the constituted powers of each, and the promotion of the spirit of co-operation so essential to our common welfare. . . .

It would be idle to declare for separate treaties of peace with the Central Powers on the assumption that these alone would be adequate because the situation is so involved that our peace engagements can not ignore the old world relationship and the settlements already effected, nor is it desirable to do so in preserving our own rights and contracting our future relationships. . . .

**Would Adopt Existing Treaty.**  
The wisest course would seem to be the acceptance of the confirmation of our rights and interests as already provided and to engage under the existing treaty, assuming of course, that this can be satisfactorily accomplished by such explicit reservations and modifications as will secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests. . . .

Neither Congress nor the people needs my assurance that a request to negotiate separate treaties of peace would be as superfluous and unnecessary as it is technically ineffective, and I know in my own heart there is none who would wish to embarrass the executive in the performance of his duty when we are all so eager to turn disappointment and delay into gratifying accomplishment. . . .

Problems relating to our foreign relations have upon the present and the future, and are of such a nature that the all-important future must be deliberately considered with greater concern than mere immediate relief from unhappy conditions. We have witnessed, you have participated in the supremely tragic episode of war, but our deeper concern is in the continuing life of nations and the development of civilization. . . .

We must not allow our vision to be impaired by the conflict among our selves. The weariness at home and the disappointment to the world have been compensated in the proof that this Republic will surrender none of the heritage of nationality, but our rights in international relationship have to be asserted; they require establishment in felt all run down but now is well again. . . .

compact of unity; our part in readjustment and restoration can not be ignored, and must be defined. . . . With the super-governing league definitely rejected and with the world so informed, and with the status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationships so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuit of peace once more. . . .

Our obligations in effecting European tranquillity because of war's involvement, are not less compelling than our part in the war itself. This restoration must be wrought before the human procession can go onward again. We can be helpful because we are moved by no hatreds and harbor no fears. Helpfulness does not mean antagonism, and participation in economic adjustments does not mean sponsorship for treaty commitments which do not concern us, and in which we will have no part. . . .

**Will Invite Senatorial Advice.**  
In an all-impelling wish to do the most and best for our own Republic and maintain its high place among nations and at the same time the fullest offering of justice to them, I shall invite in the most practical way the advice of the Senate, after acquainting it with all the conditions to be met and obligations to be safeguarded. Prudence in making the program and confident co-operation in making it effective cannot lead us far astray. We can render no effective service to humanity until we prove anew our own capacity for co-operation in the coordination of powers contemplated in the constitution and no covenants which ignore our associations in the war can be made for the future. . . .

More helpful society of nations can be founded on justice and committed to peace until the covenants re-establishing peace are sealed by the nations which were at war. To such accomplishments—the complete re-establishment of peace and its contracted relationship—to the realization of our aspirations for nations associated for world helpfulness without world government for world stability on which humanity's hopes are founded, we shall address ourselves, fully mindful of the high privilege and the paramount duty of the United States in this critical period of the world. . . .

Our own people have appraised the situation, and with that tolerance and patience which go with understanding they will give to us the influence of deliberate public opinion which ultimately becomes the edict of our popular government. . . .

Our current expenditures are running at the rate of approximately five billions a year, and the burden is unbearable. . . .

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There is one simple, safe and sure way that never fails to get rid of blackheads and that is to dissolve them.

To do this get two ounces of cologne powder from any drug store—sprinkle a little on a hot wet sponge—rub over the blackheads briskly—wash the parts and you will be surprised how the blackheads have disappeared. Big blackheads, little blackheads, no matter where they are, simply dissolved and disappeared leaving the parts without any mark whatever. Blackheads are simply a mixture of dust and dirt and secretions from the body that form in the pores of the skin. Pinching and squeezing only cause irritation and make the pores and do not get them out after they become hard. The cologne powder and the water simply dissolve the blackheads so they wash right out, leaving the pores free and clean and in their natural condition. Anyone troubled with these unsightly blemishes should certainly try this simple method.—Adv.

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