PRESIDENT ADDRESSES SENATE ON PEACE

Wilson Desires End of War in Europe Without Victory to Either Side-Would Extend Monroe Doctrine to All Nations—Freedom of Seas Advocated.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 .- Whether the United States shall enter a world peace league and, as many contend, thereby abandon its traditional policy of isolation and no entangling alliances, was put squarely before Congress and the country today by President Wilson in a personal address to the Senate.

The full text follows:

Gentlemen of the Senate: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state more definitely than had yet been stated by either group of belligrerents the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The central powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The entente powers have replied much more definitely and have stated in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees and acts of reparation which they deem to be indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are much nearer the dis-The full text follows:

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be given by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted. I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of, our international obligations, to disclose to you, without re-

obligations, to disclose to you, without re-

the final determination of, our international obligations, to disclose to you, without reserve, the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in these days to come, when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play ne part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their government ever since the days when they set up a new Nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be chillenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they feel free to render it.

state the conditions under which they feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it cones this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but

to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving a peace that will win the approval of markind; not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims

of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant and our judgment upon what is funda-mental and essential as a condition prece-dent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards, when it may be too late. No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the people of the new world can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be the elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Government, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend. I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon or seek to

Mere agreements may not make peace sure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantee of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind. The terms of the immediate peace agreed

who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said in

men of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said in terms that could not be misinterpreted that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser,

them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the van-quished. It would be made in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights: the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there, of course. vidual strength of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, or for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought

than even equality of rights among organ-ized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and ac-cept the principle that governments de-rive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right any-where exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are a reed that there should be a united, independent and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to faith and purpose hostile to their devoted to faith and purpose hostile to their

own.

I speak of this not because of any desire I speak of this not because of any desire to exait an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable because I wish frankly to uncover realities.

Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not reat upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice and freedom and right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every

freedom and right.
So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the seas. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general reconstruction which will assure the peace. eral guarantee which wilt ascure the geac-itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free ac-cess to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine que sen of peace, equality and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed. easary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circum-stances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or in-timacy between the peoples of the world without them.

without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an

of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely conected with the limitation of naval armaments and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation.

Difficult and delicate as these questions are they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommoda tion if peace is to come with healing in

its wings and come to stay.

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are hence-forth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning deway of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents themselves.

Mere agreements may not make the peak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the pead of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the pead of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the pead of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking, also, of course, as the pead of the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking, also, of course, as the pead of the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the pead of the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the pead of the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the pead of the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the pead of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking also, of course, as the peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking the peace was anywhere to find free world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back.

to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who the silent mass of mankind everywhere have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come

is to endure it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind. The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether there is a peace of which such guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium promise no breach as a nation, but a full there is no have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness, and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach as a nation, but a full the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

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fessed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, untreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivairy fessed or striven for.

them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry and disturb their own affairs with influ-ences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. when all unite to act m the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the con-sent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armles and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

gression or or selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies where, of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

OF CURRENT WEEK Measure to Consolidate State

Brief Resume Most Important Daily News Items.

COMPILED FOR BUSY READERS

Events of Noted People, Governments and Pacific Northwest and Other Things Worth Knowing.

Portugal has issued an official white book explaining its entrance into the

death in the blizzard that swept that state Sunday.

Germany claims to have taken 200,-000 Roumanian prisoners during the campaign in that country.

Mrs. Alice Bennett of New York, 106 years of age, died recenly after the first illness in her life. The U.S. Supreme court has upheld

the so-called blue-sky laws of Ohio, Michigan and South Dakota. The Bethlehem Steel corporation has

declared a stock dividend amounting to

200 per cent, aggregating \$30,000,000. A large cougar visits the outskirts of Hood River, causing a young lady to faint when the two met. The ani-

mal escaped. The mayoress of Umatilla, Oregon, has issued invitations for a grand inaugural ball to be held in that city February first.

One thousand dollars damage is asked of a Surety company and a policeman of Astoria, Oregon, for the death of a Russian spaniel dog.

President Wilson plans to visit the capitol three times a week to urge completion of his legislative program before adjournment of congress.

has been awarded a Portland concern. Two vessels are to be built said to be the largest of their kind in the United A report from Buenos Aires states

that the German raider, which sank several vessels in the South Atlantic, has been sent to the bottom. No details are given.

May 1 has been approved by the American Federation of Labor.

Japan is facing an internal crisis. Opposition to Count Terauchi has opened a vigorous campaign on the ground that the cabinet was formed in violation to the spirit of the constitu-

Franz Bopp, the German consul at San Francisco, convicted of violating the neutrality of this country, has been sentenced to two years at Mc-Neil's Island federal prison and fined

President Wilson addresses the senate on the question of permanent peace. This is the first time in a hundred years a president of the United States discussed foreign relations before that body.

The sudden overflow of the Three Forks river at Butte, Mont., and the descent of mercury caused the overflow to freeze over a square mile of territory, including the railroad tracks of the Northern Pacific. All trains have been halted until the ice can be re-

Potatoes are selling at \$50 a ton in Tacoma.

The Bull Moose party and Prohibitionists are reported about ready to

Baker, Oregon, is having a coal famine, with the thermometer crowd-

Democrat and a noted trial lawyer, is three years. Associations or corporainvestigation, which, it now appears, tion. Land now owned by Japanese, will extend deeply into Wall street Chinese or Hindus, is to escheat to the stock manipulations.

The Canadian contingent on French soil make a successful raid on the German trenches and sweep 1000 yards of line, taking 300 prisoners.

urging the change.

WORLD HAPPENINGS Doings of State Legislators

Boards Makes Long Strides

Salem - Further progress in the economy and consolidation program was made in the house Wednesday. By unanimous vote the house adopted committee of five members to "examine all feasible plans, to receive, prepare and report bills looking toward the abolition, consolidation and merging of various states offices, of a more economical and efficient government."

Speaker Stanfield appointed on the committee Representatives Brownell, Thomas, Ritner, Portwood and Porter.

The resolution under which this action was taken was a substitute for Representative Brownell's resolution, debated on the floor of the house Tues-A North Dakota farmer is frozen to day, and providing for a consolidation program by the revision of the laws committee.

Chairman Stott and other members of the revision committee protested against the Brownell plan because, they explained, it would throw additional work on a committee that already is one of the hardest worked committees of the legislature.

The resolution seemed to be satisfactory all around, and members who discussed it insisted that the committee should get to work right away.

"I consider that I won my fight, commented Brownell. "What I want is an intelligent consolidation program.

In his argument on the floor Brownell said that he was willing to give his time and his clerk's time to the consolidation work, and it is apparent that the speaker has taken him at his word by making him chairman of the com-

Want Oregon Troops Returned.

Salem - After a deal of high-flung oratory, Democratic senators professing to believe that criticism of President Wilson was intended, the senate Monday adopted Senator Lewis' joint memorial asking the President for the speedy return of Oregon troops on the Mexican border. Another big shipbuilding contract

What made the memorial obnoxious to Democratic political sensibilities appeared to be that it was addressed to the President, as well as a section reading: "Whereas, there is no imperative need for said members of the the state of Oregon that they be returned to their homes. .

The New York daylight-saving com- made, first by Senator Garland, then formatory plans for children. These mittee's plan to advance the clock one by Senator Wilbur, and finally by Sen- are assertions which were offered by hour during the five months beginning ator Strayer, all Democrats, that there Governor Withycombe in discussing was political significance in the request for the return of the troops.

> in spots like last fall's election campaigning, the memorial was adopted, 20 votes to 9. It now goes to the house.

Rural Credits Act Causes Friction.

ment provides for a state bond issue of \$18,000,000.

Senator Shanks, of Gilliam, Sherman and Wheeler counties, introduced think it over. a bill that is now before the senate committee on argiculture and forestry that represents one view of the situaleave the administration of the law with the State land board, as the amendment requires, but it puts certain restrictions upon the administrative power of the board and provides a superintendent for the direct supervision of the fund.

Anti-Alien Law is Proposed.

Salem, Or.—Japanese ownership of land, so strenuous an issue in California a few years ago, is made an Oregon issue by Senate bill No. 61, introduced by Senator Wilbur. It prohibits aliens, who are not eligible for citizenship, including Japanese, Chinese and Hindus, from owning land in Oregon, Sherman L. Whipple, of Boston, a or from leasing land for more than invited by the house rules committee tions, a majority of whose stock is so to act as counsel in the peace note leak owned, are subject to the same restricstate on their death.

8-Hour Bill Appears.

Salem-Senator Gill Wednesday introduced the expected eight-hour law for women. His measure, S. B. 78. Change of name of the Danish West changes the word "ten" to "eight" in Idies to the "Dewey Islands," in honor the 1909 law fixing the hours of day of Admiral Dewey, was proposed in a work for women, and reduces from 60 signed house bill No. 50, the first bill joint resolution introduced by Repre- to 48 the number of hours a week that to be signed by the executive at this sentative Allen, of Ohio. Mr. Allen women employes may work. The rul- session. It was introduced by the announced that he was submitting let- ing of the Industrial Welfare commis- joint ways and means committee and ters to President Wilson and to the sion permitting women to work 54 provides an appropriation of \$25,000 foreign affairs committees of congress hours a week would be superseded by as a part of the expenses of the legisthis amendment.

\$1,8000,000 Road Fund Bill

Passes to Equal Government Aid

Salem-Most of the important business of the house the latter part of the week was transacted in committees.

The judiciary committee conducted an open hearing on a number of bills the resolutions committee's resolution intended to improve the operation of providing for the appointment of a the initiative and referendum; the consolidation commttee conferred with Governor Withycombe to gain his views on the work expected of them; the committee on alcoholic traffic held an informal meeting to consider the "bone-dry" prohibition bill, and many boards and commissions in the interest other committees held both day and night sessions to consider questions of varying degrees of importance.

The house passed Representative Bean's bill authorizing the State board of control to issue bonds, if necessary, to match the Federal appropriation of \$1,800,000 for road improvement work in Oregon. The expenditure is to be spread over a period of five years, and the state need bond itself only enough to complete the \$1,800,000 fund if that amount is not available from other sources. The government requires the state to spend dollar for dol-

Proposed increases in automobile license fees and on gasoline distribution, it is believed, will go far toward meeting the government's requirements.

Boycott Meets Opposition.

Salem-The proposed anti-picketing, anti-banner and anti-boycott measure asked by the Employers' association and Portland business interests, with an emergency clause attached, has hit a snag in the Multnomah delegation. For a time Friday it looked as if all further consideration of the measure would be indefinitely postponed, which would be equivalent to killing it off, so far as the delegation is concerned.

Senator Orton even made a motion to that effect, but Senator Moser interposed the suggestion that District Attorney Evans, Sheriff Hurlburt, Chief of Police Clark, Mayor Albee and Municipal Judge Langguth be invited to appear before the delegation at 8 o'clock Friday night and explain why the present law providing penalties for intimidation or force to prevent a person from continuing or accepting employment cannot be enforced.

Prison Held Unfit.

Salem - The penitentiary, state training school and tuberculosis sanatorium main buildings are antiquated, Oregon National Guard at said place, unfit, and have outlived their usefuland it is the desire of the people of ness; the building at the training school is like a prison, with narrow windows, dingy rooms, no cheerful-Whatever it was, the charge was ness - a relic of poor methods in resome phases of the situation at the institutions around Salem, and inciden-After an hour's talk, which sounded tally commenting upon the recent report of the committee named to survey the boy's and girls' state schools here.

Strict Anti-Boycott Bill Presented.

Salem-An anti-picketing, anti-banner, anti-boycott measure, submitted Salem - A lively fight is brewing by Thomas McCusker, of the Employover the enacting law which the pres- ers' association, was put up to the ent legisature must pass to put into Multnomah delegation for approval by effect the rural-credits amendment to Representative Kubli, of Multnomah, the state constitution adpoted by the at a special meeting of the delegation people last November. This amend- at noon Monday. It carries an emergency clause.

After considerable discussion, the delegation decided to take a day to

The measure is based on the present law prohibiting use of force or intimidation to prevent any person from contion. This measure, of course, would tinuing at work, or from accepting employment. It goes much further, however, by prohibiting picketing of any kind, peaceable or otherwise.

Schools Lose Funds.

Salem - The long-expected fight over state appropriations to sectarian institutions broke unceremoniously in the house Friday, and the house went decisively on record against such appropriations.

The question arose over the favorable report of the committee on health and public morals on Representative Bowman's bill prohibiting further appropriations to sectarian institutions.

Water-Power Bill is Urged.

Salem-Senator John Gill has introducted in the senate a joint memorial to congress urging the enactment of water power legislation by that body. The memorial, which was referred to the committee on resolutions, asks for legislation to develop the water resources of the Nation, but speaks especially of Oregon and other Western states.

First Bill is Signed.

Salem-Gov. Withycombe Thursday lative assembly.