

ASKS ADEQUATE DEFENSE FOR U. S.

President Wilson Pleads for Preparedness Against Foes Abroad and Within.

MESSAGE READ TO CONGRESS

Larger Army and Navy Urged—Trained Citizens the Nation's Greatest Defense—Disloyal Acts of Foreign-Born Citizens Scored—No Fear of War.

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the government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve the needs and make their independence secure—and not their own independence merely but the rights also of those with whom they have made common cause...

It is with these ideals in mind that the plans of the department of war for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed. They seem to me the essential first steps and they seem to me for the present sufficiently broad...

They contemplate an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its present strength of 5,023 officers and 102,935 enlisted men of all arms to a strength of 7,136 officers and 134,707 enlisted men, or 141,843, all told, all services, rank and file, by the addition of 32 companies of coast artillery, 15 companies of engineers, two companies of infantry, four regiments of field artillery, and four aero squadrons, besides 750 officers required for a great variety of extra services, especially the all-important one of training the citizen force of which I shall presently speak, 792 non-commissioned officers for service in drill, recruiting and the like, and the maintenance of enlisted men for the quartermaster corps, the hospital corps, the ordnance department and other similar auxiliary services...

By way of making the country ready to meet some part of its own power promptly and upon a larger scale, on occasion arise, the plan also contemplates supplementing the army by a force of 40,000 disciplined citizens, raised in increments of 12,000 a year through a period of three years. This is proposed to be done by a process of enlistment under which the serviceable men of the country would be asked to bind themselves to serve with the colors for purposes of training for short periods throughout three years, and to come to the colors "furlough" period of three years. This force of 40,000 men would be provided with personal accoutrements as fast as enlisted and their equipment for the field made ready to be supplied at any time. They would be assembled for training at stated intervals at convenient places in association with suitable units of the regular army. Their period of annual training would not necessarily exceed two months in the year...

It would depend upon the patriotic feeling of the younger men of the country whether they responded to such a call to service or not. It would depend upon the patriotic spirit of the employers of the country whether they made it possible for the younger men in their employ to respond under favorable conditions or not. I, for one, do not doubt the patriotic devotion either of our young men or of those who give them employment—those for whose benefit and protection they would in fact enlist...

The program which will be laid before you by the secretary of the navy is similarly conceived. It involves only a shortening of the time within which plans long matured shall be carried out; but it does make definite and explicit a program which has hitherto been only implicit, held in the minds of the congress and naval affairs and disclosed in the debates of the two houses but nowhere formulated or formally adopted. It seems to me clear that it will be to the advantage of the country for the congress to adopt a comprehensive plan for putting the navy upon a final footing of strength and efficiency and to press that plan to completion within the next few years. We have always looked to the navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense; we have always seen it to be our manifest destiny to produce to be strong on the seas. Year by year we have been creating a navy which now ranks very high indeed among the navies of the maritime nations. We should now definitely determine how we will complete what we have begun, and how soon...

The secretary of the navy is asking also for the immediate addition to the personnel of the navy of 25,000 sailors, 2,500 apprentice seamen, and 1,500 marines. This increase would be sufficient to care for the ships which are to be completed within the fiscal year 1917 and also for the number of men which must be put in training to man the ships which will be completed early in 1918. It is also necessary that the number of midshipmen at the naval academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least 200 in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly added to; and authority is asked to appoint for engineering duties only approved graduates of engineering schools and for service in the aviation corps a certain number of men taken from civil life...

If this full program should be carried out we should have built or building in 1921, according to the estimates of survival and standards of classification followed by the general board of the department, an effective navy consisting of 12 battle ships of the first line, six battle cruisers, 25 battleships of the second line, ten armored cruisers, 15 scout cruisers, five first-class cruisers, three second-class cruisers, ten third-class cruisers, 108 destroyers, 18 fleet submarines, 157 coast submarines, six monitors, 29 gunboats, four supply ships, 15 fuel ships, four transport ships, three tenders to transport, eight vessels of special types, and two ammunition ships. This would be a navy fitted to our needs and worthy of our traditions...

Trade and Shipping. But armies and instruments of war are only part of what has to be considered if we are to consider the supreme matter of national self-sufficiency and security in all its aspects. There are other great matters which will be thrust upon our attention whether we will or not. There is, for example, a very pressing question of trade and shipping involved in this great problem of national adequacy. It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and development that we should have a great merchant marine. The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who used to carry our flag in every sea, and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hopelessly blind and provincial policy of so-called economic protection. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas...

trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and the goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-sufficiency. It is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is seriously clouded and complicated indeed...

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own—ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying friendships and renderings indispensable services to all interests on this side of the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence and achievement as it is the arteries of our policy of America for Americans...

The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private enterprise must ultimately undertake and achieve as it has in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence and vigor; and it seems to me the opportunity and advantage that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much to be desired revival of our old industry, and to facilitate in every possible way the building up of an American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, and it is not to be undertaken until the necessary conditions have developed. Something must be done at once: done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped, to create a market where the currents have not yet learned to run—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is not to be undertaken until we can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks...

When the risk has passed and private capital is ready to enter, the government will have to withdraw. But it cannot omit to begin. It should take the first step and should take it at once. Our goods must not be piled up at our wharves and stored upon sidetracks in freight cars which are daily needed on the roads; must not be left without means of exportation; must not be stored in warehouses which must not await the permission of foreign ship owners and foreign governments to send them where we will...

Question of Finance. The plans for the armed forces of the nation which I have outlined, and for the general policy of adequate preparation for the future, which I have outlined, involve of course very large additional expenditures of money—expenditures which will considerably exceed the estimated revenues of the government. It is made my duty to bring this fact to your attention, and to suggest every means which may be wise or possible for me to suggest, and I am ready to believe that it would be my duty to do so in any case; and I feel particularly bound to speak of the matter when you are about to consider the budget directly out of the adoption by the congress of measures which I myself urge it to adopt. Allow me, therefore, to state briefly the present state of the treasury and of the fiscal problems which the next year will probably disclose...

Of the thirtieth of June last there was an available balance in the treasury of \$104,179,105.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue measure passed by the last congress will not be extended beyond its present limit, the thirty-first of December, 1916, and that the present duty of sugar will be discontinued after the first of January, 1917, will be \$770,255,100. The balance of June last and those estimated revenues come, therefore, to a grand total of \$774,434,205.78...

The additional revenues required to carry out the program of military and naval preparation of which I have just spoken, would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917, \$28,800,000. Those figures, taken with the figures for the present fiscal year which I have already given, disclose our financial problem for the year 1917...

How shall we obtain the new revenue? It seems to me clear that a dual system of taxation is not to be undertaken in what we are now, I hope, about to undertake we should pay as we go. The people of the country are entitled to know just what burdens of taxation they are to carry, and to know from the outset. The new bills should be paid by internal taxation. To what sources, then, shall we turn? We would be following an almost universal example of modern governments if we were to draw the greater part or even the whole of the revenues we need from the income tax. It is obvious that lowering the present limits of exemption and the figure at which the surtax shall begin to be imposed, and by increasing the rate of the surtax, the income tax as at present apportioned would yield sums sufficient to balance the books of the treasury at the end of the fiscal year without any other taxing the burden unreasonably or oppressively heavy. The precise reckonings are fully and accurately set out in the report of the secretary of the treasury, which will be immediately laid before you...

And there are many additional sources of revenue which can justly be resorted to by step through the present year, the country or putting any too great charge upon individual expenditure. A one per cent tax per gallon on gasoline...

and naphtha would yield, at the present estimated production, \$10,000,000; a tax of 50 cents to the gallon on alcohol, \$10,000,000; a stamp tax on bank checks, probably \$18,000,000; a tax of 25 cents per ton on pig iron, \$10,000,000; a tax of 25 cents per ton on fabricated iron and steel, probably \$10,000,000. In a country of great resources like this it ought to be easy to distribute the burdens of taxation, without making them any more onerous, too heavily or too exclusively upon any one set of persons or undertakings. What is clear is, that the industry of this generation should pay the bills of this generation...

The Danger Within. I have spoken to you today, gentlemen, upon a single theme, the thorough preparation of the nation to care for its own needs, to have power to make use of its freedom to play the impartial role in this hemisphere and in the world which we all believe to have been providentially assigned to us by our Creator. There is no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is no reason to hope that our relations in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of opinion and policy have been and may yet turn out to be. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured their whole energies wherever they thought it expedient for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debate our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; and it is great enough to have given us deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distemper. I have no words to say of anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free countries as supplied with noble natures and strongest elements of that little, but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations, and to set up a new standard here—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reaction against the government which had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because of the war, however, we have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, and we have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of our neighbors. But the ugly and incredible has actually come about and we are without adequate legal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and to give me in so doing I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation...

Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should crush them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the government, they have sought to pry into every confidential relation of the government, and they have served interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectively. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with. I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the governments under which they were born, had been guilty of this sort of self-possession and misrepresentation of the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it cannot. There are some men among us, and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their duties as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. 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