

MAY 25, 1961

NOTICE: There should be no premature release of this message to Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this speech until 12:30 p.m., May 25, 1961, which includes any and all references to any material in this message.

Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

SPECIAL MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT ON URGENT NATIONAL
NEEDS

TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS -- (As Actually Delivered)

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, my co-partners in government, Gentlemen -- and Ladies: The Constitution imposes upon me the obligation to "from time to time give to the Congress information of the State on the Union". While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, this tradition has been broken in extraordinary times.

These are extraordinary times. And we face an extraordinary challenge. Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed upon this nation the role of leader in freedom's cause.

No role in history could be more difficult or more important. We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves -- that is our only commitment to others. No friend, no neutral and no adversary should think otherwise. We are not against any man -- or any nation -- or any system -- except as it is hostile to freedom. Nor am I here to present a new military doctrine, bearing any one name or aimed at any one area. I am here to promote the freedom doctrine.

I.

The great battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom today is the whole southern half of the globe -- Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East -- the lands of the rising peoples. Their revolution is the greatest in human history. They seek an end to injustice, tyranny, and exploitation. More than an end, they seek a beginning.

And theirs is a revolution which we would support regardless of the Cold War, and regardless of which political or economic route they should choose to freedom.

For the adversaries of freedom did not create the revolution; nor did they create the conditions which compel it. But they are seeking to ride the crest of its wave -- to capture it for themselves.

Yet their aggression is more often concealed than open. They have fired no missiles; and their troops are seldom seen. They send arms, agitators, aid, technicians and propaganda to every troubled area. But where fighting is required, it is usually done by others -- by guerrillas striking at night, by assassins striking alone -- assassins who have taken the lives of four thousand civil officers in the last twelve months in Vietnam alone -- by subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

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With these formidable weapons, the adversaries of freedom plan to consolidate their territory -- to exploit, to control, and finally to destroy the hopes of the world's newest nations; and they have ambitions to do it before the end of this decade. It is a contest of will and purpose as well as force and violence -- a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. And in that contest, we cannot stand aside.

We stand, as we have always stood from our earliest beginnings, for the independence and equality of nations. This nation was born of revolution and raised in freedom. And we do not intend to leave an open road for despotism.

There is no single simple policy which meets this challenge. Experience has taught us that no one nation has the power or the wisdom to solve all the problems of the world or manage its revolutionary tides -- that extending our commitments does not always increase our security -- that any initiative carries with it the risk of a temporary defeat -- that nuclear weapons cannot prevent subversion -- that no free peoples can be kept free without will and energy of their own -- and that no two nations or situations are exactly alike.

Yet there is much we can do -- and must do. The proposals I bring before you are numerous and varied. They arise from the host of special opportunities and dangers which have become increasingly clear in recent months. Taken together, I believe that they can mark another step forward in our efforts as a people. I am here to ask the help of this Congress and the nation in approving these necessary measures.

II. Economic and Social Progress at Home

The first and basic task confronting this nation this year was to turn recession into recovery. An affirmative anti-recession program, initiated with your cooperation, supported the natural forces in the private sector; and our economy is now enjoying renewed confidence and energy. The recession has been halted. Recovery is under way.

But the task of abating unemployment and achieving a full use of our resources does remain a serious challenge for us all. Large-scale unemployment during a recession is bad enough -- large-scale unemployment during a period of prosperity would be intolerable.

I am therefore transmitting to the Congress a new Manpower Development and Training program, to train or retrain several hundred thousand workers particularly in those areas where we have seen chronic unemployment as a result of technological factors and new occupational skills over a four-year period, in order to replace those skills made obsolete by automation and industrial change with the new skills which the new processes demand.

It should be a satisfaction to us all that we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the outflow of gold and improving our balance of payments. During the last two months, our gold stocks actually increased by seventeen million dollars, compared to a loss of 635 million dollars during the last two months of 1960. We must maintain this progress -- and this will require the cooperation and restraint of everyone. As recovery progresses, there will be temptations to seek unjustified price and wage increases. These we cannot afford. They will only handicap our efforts to compete abroad and to achieve full recovery here at home. Labor and management must -- and I am confident that they will -- pursue responsible wage and price policies in these critical times. I look to the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to give a strong lead in this direction.

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Moreover, if the budget deficit now increased by the needs of our security is to be held within manageable proportions, it will be necessary to hold tightly to prudent fiscal standards; and I request the cooperation of the Congress in this regard -- to refrain from adding funds or programs, desirable as they may be, to the Budget -- to end the postal deficit, as my predecessor also recommended, through increased rates -- a deficit incidentally, this year, which exceeds the fiscal year 1962 cost of all the space and defense measures that I am submitting today -- to provide full pay-as-you-go highway financing -- and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Our security and progress cannot be cheaply purchased; and their price must be found in what we all forego as well as what we all must pay.

III. Economic and Social Progress Abroad

I stress the strength of our economy because it is essential to the strength of our nation. And what is true in our case is true in the case of other countries. Their strength in the struggle for freedom depends on the strength of their economic and their social progress.

We would be badly mistaken to consider their problems in military terms alone. For no amount of arms and armies can help stabilize those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social and economic reform and development. Military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invite insurgency and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts cannot succeed where the local population is too caught up in its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism.

But for those who share this view, we stand ready now, as we have in the past, to provide generously of our skills, and our capital, and our food to assist the peoples of the less-developed nations to reach their goals in freedom -- to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

This is also our great opportunity in 1961. If we grasp it, then subversion to prevent its success is exposed as an unjustifiable attempt to keep these nations from either being free or equal. But if we do not pursue it, and if they do not pursue it, the bankruptcy of unstable governments, one by one, and of unfulfilled hopes will surely lead to a series of totalitarian receiverships.

Earlier in the year, I outlined to the Congress a new program for aiding emerging nations; and it is my intention to transmit shortly draft legislation to implement this program, to establish a new Act for International Development, and to add to the figures previously requested, in view of the swift pace of critical events, an additional 250 million dollars for a Presidential Contingency Fund, to be used only upon a Presidential determination in each case, with regular and complete reports to the Congress in each case, when there is a sudden and extraordinary drain upon our regular funds which we cannot foresee -- as illustrated by recent events in Southeast Asia -- and it makes necessary the use of this emergency reserve. The total amount requested -- now raised to 2.65 billion dollars -- is both minimal and crucial. I do not see how anyone who is concerned -- as we all are -- about the growing threats to freedom around the globe -- and is asking what more we can do as a people -- can weaken or oppose the single most important program available for building the frontiers of freedom.

IV.

All that I have said makes it clear that we are engaged in a world-wide struggle in which we bear a heavy burden to preserve and promote the ideals that we share with all mankind, or have alien ideals forced upon them. That struggle has highlighted the role of our Information Agency. It is essential that the funds previously requested for this effort be not only approved in full, but increased by 2 million, 400 thousand, to a total just 121 million dollars.

This new request is for additional radio and television to Latin America and Southeast Asia. These tools are particularly effective and essential in the cities and villages of those great continents as a means of reaching millions of uncertain peoples to tell them of our interest in their fight for freedom. In Latin America, we are proposing to increase our Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts to a total of 154 hours a week, compared to 42 hours, today none of which is in Portuguese, the language of about one-third of the people of South America. The Soviets, Red Chinese and satellites already broadcast into Latin America more than 134 hours a week in Spanish and Portuguese. Communist China alone does more public information broadcasting in our own hemisphere than we do. Moreover, powerful propaganda broadcasts from Havana, now are heard throughout Latin America, encouraging new revolutions in several countries.

Similarly, in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the communist tide in that continent ultimately depend. Our interest is in the truth.

V. Our Partnership for Self-defense

But while we talk of sharing and building and the competition of ideas, others talk of arms and threaten war. So we have learned to keep our defenses strong -- and to cooperate with others in a partnership of self-defense. The events of recent weeks have caused us to look anew at these efforts.

The center of freedom's defense is our network of world alliances, extending from NATO, recommended by a Democratic President and approved by a Republican Congress, to SEATO, recommended by a Republican President and approved by a Democratic Congress. These alliances were constructed in the 1940's and 1950's -- it is our task and responsibility in the 60's to strengthen them.

To meet the changing conditions of power, and power relationships have changed, we have endorsed an increased emphasis on NATO conventional strength. At the same time we are affirming our conviction that the NATO nuclear deterrent must also be kept strong. I have made clear our intention to commit to the NATO command, for this purpose, the 5 POLARIS submarines originally suggested by President Eisenhower, with the possibility, if needed, of more to come.

Second, a major part of our partnership for self-defense is the Military Assistance Program. The main burden of local defense against local attack, subversion, insurrection or guerrilla warfare must of necessity rest with local forces. Where these forces have the necessary will and capacity to cope with such threats, our intervention is rarely necessary or helpful. Where the will is present and only capacity is lacking, our Military Assistance Program can be of help.

But this program, like economic assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political and military reforms essential to internal respect and stability. The equipment and training provided must be tailored to legitimate local needs and to our own foreign and military policies, not to our supply of military stocks or a local leader's desire for military display. And military assistance can, in addition to its military purposes, make a contribution to economic progress, as do our own Army Engineers.

In an earlier message, I requested 1.6 billion dollars for Military Assistance, stating that this would maintain existing force levels, but that I could not foresee how much more might be required. It is now clear that this is not enough. The present crisis in Southeast Asia, on which the Vice President has made a valuable report -- the rising threat of Communism in Latin America -- the increasing arms traffic in Africa -- and all the new pressures on every nation found on the map by tracing your finger along the borders of the Communist bloc in Asia and the Middle East -- all make clear the dimension of our needs.

I therefore request the Congress to provide a total of 1.885 billion dollars for Military Assistance in the coming fiscal year -- an amount less than that requested a year ago -- but a minimum which must be assured if we are to help those nations make secure their independence. This must be prudently and wisely spent -- and that will be our common endeavor. Military and economic assistance has been a heavy burden on our citizens for a long time, and I recognize the strong pressures against it; but this battle is far from over, it is reaching a crucial stage, and I believe we should participate in it. We cannot merely state our opposition to totalitarian advance without paying the price of helping those now under the greatest pressures.

VI. Our Own Military and Intelligence Shield

In line with these developments, I have directed a further reinforcement of our own capacity to deter or resist non-nuclear aggression. In the conventional field, with one exception, I find no present need for large new levies of men. What is needed is rather a change of position to give us still further increases in flexibility.

Therefore, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to undertake a reorganization and modernization of the Army's divisional structure, to increase its non-nuclear firepower, to improve its tactical mobility in any environment, to insure its flexibility to meet any direct or indirect threat, to facilitate its coordination with our major allies, and to provide more modern mechanized divisions in Europe and bring our equipment up to date, and new airborne brigades in both the Pacific and Europe.

And secondly, I am asking the Congress for an additional 100 million dollars to begin the procurement task necessary to re-equip this new Army structure with the most modern material. New helicopters, new armored personnel carriers, and new howitzers, for example, must be obtained now.

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Third, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to expand rapidly and substantially, in cooperation with our Allies, the orientation of existing forces for the conduct of non-nuclear war, para-military operations and sub-limited or unconventional wars.

In addition, our special forces and unconventional warfare units will be increased and reoriented. Throughout the services new emphasis must be placed on the special skills and languages which are required to work with local populations.

Fourth, The Army is developing plans to make possible a much more rapid deployment of a major portion of its highly trained reserve forces. When these plans are completed and the reserve is strengthened, two combat-equipped divisions, plus their supporting forces, a total of 89,000 men, could be ready in an emergency for operations with but 3 weeks notice -- 2 more divisions with but 5 weeks notice -- and six additional division and their supporting forces, making a total of 10 divisions, could be deployable with less than 8 weeks notice. In short, these new plans will allow us to almost double the combat power of the Army in less than two months, compared to the nearly nine months heretofore required.

Fifth, to enhance the already formidable ability of the Marine Corps to respond to limited war emergencies, I am asking the Congress for 60 million dollars to increase Marine Corps strength to 190,000 men. This will increase the initial impact and staying power of our three Marine divisions and three air wings, and provide a trained nucleus for further expansion, if necessary for self-defense.

Finally, to cite one other area of activities that are both legitimate and necessary as a means of self-defense in an age of hidden perils, our whole intelligence effort must be reviewed, and its coordination with other elements of policy assured. The Congress and the American people are entitled to know that we will institute whatever new organization, policies, and control are necessary.

VII. Civil Defense

One major element of the national security program which this nation has never squarely faced up to is civil defense. This problem arises not from present trends but from national inaction in which most of us have participated. In the past decade we have intermittently considered a variety of programs, but we have never adopted a consistent policy. Public consideration have been largely characterized by apathy, indifference and skepticism; while, at the same time, many of the civil defense plans have been so far-reaching and unrealistic that they have not gained essential support.

This Administration has been looking hard at exactly what civil defense can and cannot do. It cannot be obtained cheaply. It cannot give an assurance of blast protection that will be proof against surprise attack or guaranteed against obsolescence or destruction. And it cannot deter a nuclear attack.

We will deter an enemy from making a nuclear attack only if our retaliatory power is so strong and so invulnerable that he knows he would be destroyed by our response. If we have that strength, civil defense is not needed to deter an attack. If we should ever lack it, civil defense would not be an adequate substitute.

But this deterrent concept assumes rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet, and particularly the history of the 20th century, is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a

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miscalculation, an accidental war, or a war of escalation in which the stakes by each side gradually increase to the point of maximum danger which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. It is on this basis that civil defense can be readily justifiable -- as insurance for the civilian population in case of an enemy miscalculation. It is insurance we trust will never be needed -- but insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe.

Once the validity of this concept is recognized, there is no point in delaying the initiation of a nation-wide long-range program of identifying present fallout shelter capacity and providing shelter in new and existing structures. Such a program would protect millions of people against the hazards of radioactive fallout in the event of a large-scale nuclear attack. Effective performance of the entire program not only requires new legislative authority and more funds, but also sound organizational arrangements.

Therefore, under the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958, I am assigning responsibility for this program to the top

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civilian authority already responsible for continental defense, the Secretary of Defense. It is important that this function remain civilian, in nature and leadership; and this feature will not be changed.

The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization will be reconstituted as a small staff agency to assist in the coordination of these functions. To more accurately describe its role, its title should be changed to the Office of Emergency Planning.

As soon as those newly charged with these responsibilities have prepared new authorization and appropriation requests, such requests will be transmitted to the Congress for a much strengthened Federal-State civil defense program. Such a program will provide Federal funds for identifying fallout shelter capacity in existing structures, and it will include, where appropriate, incorporation of shelter in Federal buildings, new requirements for shelter in buildings constructed with Federal assistance, and matching grants and other incentives for constructing shelter in State and local and private buildings.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in fiscal 1962 under this program will in all likelihood be more than triple the pending budget requests; and they will increase sharply in subsequent years. Financial participation will also be required from State and local governments and from private citizens. But no insurance is cost-free; and every American citizen and his community must decide for themselves whether this form of survival insurance justifies the expenditure of effort, time and money. For myself, I am convinced that it does.

VIII. Disarmament

I cannot end this discussion of defense and armaments without emphasizing our strongest hope: the creation of an orderly world where disarmament will be possible. Our arms do not prepare for war -- they are efforts to discourage and resist the adventures of others that could end in war.

That is why it is consistent with these efforts that we continue to press for properly safeguarded disarmament measures. At Geneva, in cooperation with the United Kingdom, we have put forward concrete proposals to make clear our wish to meet the Soviets half way in an effective nuclear test ban treaty -- the first significant but essential step on the road towards disarmament. Up to now, their response has not been what we hoped, but Mr. Dean returned last night to Geneva, and we intend to go the last mile in patience to secure this gain if we can.

Meanwhile, we are determined to keep disarmament high on our agenda -- to make an intensified effort to develop acceptable political and technical alternatives to the present arms race. To this end I shall send to the Congress a measure to establish a strengthened and enlarged Disarmament Agency.

IX. Space

Finally, if we are to win the battle that is now going on around the world between freedom and tyranny, the dramatic achievements in space which occurred in recent weeks should have made clear to us all, as did the Sputnik in 1957, the impact of this adventure on the minds of men everywhere, who are attempting to make a determination of which road they should take. Since early in my term, our efforts in space have been under review. With the advice of the Vice President, who is Chairman of the National Space Council, we have examined where we are strong and where we are not, where we may succeed and where we may not. Now it is time to take longer strides -- time for a great new American enterprise -- time for this nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement, which in many ways may hold the key to our future on earth.

I believe we possess all the resources and talents necessary. But the facts of the matter are that we have never made the national decisions or marshalled the national resources required for such leadership. We have never specified long-range goals on an urgent time schedule, or managed our resources and our time so as to insure their fulfillment.

Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets with their large rocket engines, which gives them many months of lead-time, and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead for some time to come in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless are required to make new efforts on our own. For while we cannot guarantee that we shall one day be first, we can guarantee that any failure to make this effort will make us last. We take an additional risk by making it in full view of the world -- but as shown by the feat of astronaut Shepard, this very risk enhances our stature when we are successful. But this is not merely a race. Space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others. We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share.

I therefore ask the Congress, above and beyond the increases I have earlier requested for space activities, to provide the funds which are needed to meet the following national goals:

First, I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth. No single space project in this period will be more impressive to mankind, or more important for the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. We propose to accelerate development of the appropriate lunar space craft. We propose to develop alternate liquid and solid fuel boosters, much larger than any now being developed, until certain which is superior. We propose additional funds for other engine development and for unmanned explorations -- explorations which are particularly important for one purpose which this nation will never overlook: the survival of the man who first makes this daring flight. But in a very real sense, it will not be one man going to the moon -- if we make this judgment affirmatively, it will be an entire nation. For all of us must work to put him there.

Secondly, an additional 23 million dollars, together with 7 million dollars already available, to accelerate development of the ROVER nuclear rocket. This gives promise of some day providing a means for even more exciting and ambitious exploration of space, perhaps beyond the moon, perhaps to the very end of the solar system itself.

Third, an additional 50 million dollars will make the most of our present leadership, by accelerating the use of space satellites for world-wide communications.

Fourth, an additional 75 million dollars -- of which 53 million dollars is for the Weather Bureau -- will help give us at the earliest possible time a satellite system for world-wide weather observation.

Let it be clear -- and this is a judgment which the Members of Congress must finally make -- let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action -- a course which will last for many years and carry very heavy costs of 531 million dollars in fiscal 1962 -- an estimated seven to nine billion dollars additional over the next five years. If we are to go only half way, or reduce our sights in the face of difficulty, in my judgment it would be better not to go at all.

Now this is a choice which this country must make, and I am confident that under the leadership of the Space Committees of the Congress, and the Appropriating Committees, that you will consider the matter carefully.

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It is a most important decision that we make as a nation. But all of you have lived through the last four years and have seen the significance of space and the adventures in space, and no one can predict with certainty what the ultimate meaning will be of mastery of space.

I believe we should go to the moon. But I think every citizen of this country as well as the Members of the Congress should consider the matter carefully in making their judgment, to which we have given attention over many weeks and months, because it is a heavy burden, and there is no sense in agreeing or desiring that the United States take an affirmative position in outer space, unless we are prepared to do the work and bear the burdens to make it successful. If we are not, we should decide today and this year.

This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, material and facilities, and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread. It means a degree of dedication, organization and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful inter-agency rivalries, or a high turnover of key personnel.

New objectives and new money cannot solve these problems. They could in fact, aggravate them further -- unless every scientist, every engineer, every serviceman, every technician, contractor, and civil servant gives his personal pledge that this nation will move forward, with the full speed of freedom, in the exciting adventure of space.

X. Conclusion

In conclusion, let me emphasize one point: It is not a pleasure for any President of the United States, as I am sure it was not a pleasure for my predecessor, to come before the Congress and ask for new appropriations which place burdens on our people. I came to this conclusion with some reluctance. But in my judgment, this is a most serious time in the life of our country and in the life of freedom around the globe, and it is the obligation, I believe, of the President of the United States to at least make his recommendations to the Members of the Congress, so that they can reach their own conclusions with that judgment before them. You must decide yourselves, as I have decided, and I am confident that whether you finally decide in the way that I have decided or not, your judgment -- as my judgment -- is reached on what is in the best interests of our country.

In conclusion, let me emphasize one point: that we are determined, as a nation in 1961 that freedom shall survive and succeed -- and whatever the peril and set-backs, we have some very large advantages.

The first is the simple fact that we are on the side of liberty -- and since the beginning of history, and particularly since the end of the Second World War, liberty has been winning out all over the globe.

A second great asset is that we are not alone. We have friends and allies all over the world who share our devotion to freedom. May I cite as a symbol of traditional and effective friendship the great ally I am about to visit -- France. I look forward to my visit to France, and to my discussion with a great Captain of the Western World, President de Gaulle, as a meeting of particular significance, permitting the kind of close and ranging consultation that will strengthen both our countries and serve the common purposes of world-wide peace and liberty. Such serious conversations do not require a pale unanimity -- they are rather the instruments of trust and understanding over a long road.

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A third asset is our desire for peace. It is sincere, and I believe the world knows it. We are proving it in our patience at the test-ban table, and we are proving it in the UN where our efforts have been directed to maintaining that organization's usefulness as a protector of the independence of small nations. In these and other instances, the response of our opponents has not been encouraging.

Yet it is important that they should know that our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible, though our credulity is limited -- that our hopes for peace are unflinching, while our determination to protect our security is resolute. For these reasons I have long thought it wise to meet with the Soviet Premier for a personal exchange of views. A meeting in Vienna turned out to be convenient for us both; and the Austrian government has kindly made us welcome. No formal agenda is planned and no negotiation will be undertaken; but we will make clear America's enduring concern is for both peace and freedom that we are anxious to live in harmony with the Russian people -- that we seek no conquests, no satellites, no riches -- that we seek only the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Finally, our greatest asset in this struggle is the American people -- their willingness to pay the price for these programs -- to understand and accept a long struggle -- to share their resources with other less fortunate peoples -- to meet the tax levels and close the tax loopholes I have requested -- to exercise self-restraint instead of pushing up wages or prices, or over-producing certain crops, or spreading military secrets, or urging unessential expenditures or improper monopolies or harmful work stoppages -- to serve in the Peace Corps or the Armed Services or the Federal Civil Service or the Congress -- to strive for excellence in their schools, in their cities and in their physical fitness and that of their children -- to take part in Civil Defense -- to pay higher postal rates, and higher payroll taxes and higher teachers salaries, in order to strengthen our society -- to show friendship to students and visitors from other lands who visit us and go back in many cases to be the future leaders, with an image of America -- and I want that image, and I know you do, to be affirmative and positive -- and, finally, to practice democracy at home, in all States, with all races, to respect each other and to protect the Constitutional rights of all citizens.

I have not asked for a single program which did not cause one or all Americans some inconvenience, or some hardship, or some sacrifice. But they have responded -- and you in the Congress have responded to your duty -- and I feel confident in asking today for a similar response to these new and larger demands. It is heartening to know, as I journey abroad, that our country is united in its commitment to freedom -- and is ready to do its duty.

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MAY 25, 1961

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Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary to
the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

SPECIAL MESSAGE ON URGENT NATIONAL NEEDS

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Constitution imposes upon me the obligation to "from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union". While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, this tradition has been broken in extraordinary times.

These are extraordinary times. We face an extraordinary challenge. We face opportunities and adversaries that do not wait for annual addresses or fiscal years. This nation is engaged in a long and exacting test of the future of freedom -- a test which may well continue for decades to come. Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed upon this nation the role of leader in freedom's cause.

No role in history could be more difficult or more important. It is not a negative or defensive role -- it is a great positive adventure. We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves -- that is our only commitment to others. No friend, no neutral and no adversary should think otherwise. We are not against any man -- or any nation -- or any system -- except as it is hostile to freedom. Nor am I here to present a new military doctrine, bearing any one name or aimed at any one area. I am here to promote the freedom doctrine.

I.

The great battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom today is the whole southern half of the globe -- Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East -- the lands of the rising peoples. Their revolution, the greatest in human history, is one of peace and hope -- for freedom and equality, for order and independence. They seek an end to injustice, tyranny, and exploitation. More than end, they seek a beginning -- a jungle road to bring a doctor when a child is ill -- a schoolhouse to unlock the mysteries of knowledge -- seed and fertilizer, jobs and food, a chance to live and be more than just alive.

Those are the aims of their revolution, just as they were the aims of our revolution. And theirs is a revolution which we would support regardless of the Cold War, and regardless of which political or economic route they choose to freedom.

For the adversaries of freedom did not create this revolution; nor did they create the conditions which compel it. But they are seeking to ride the crest of its wave -- to capture it for themselves -- to enthrall its peoples in the servitude of a new and relentless form of totalitarian imperialism.

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Yet their aggression is more often concealed than open. They have fired no missiles; and their troops are seldom seen. They send arms, agitators, aid, technicians and propaganda to every troubled area. But where fighting is required, it is usually done by others -- by guerrillas striking at night, by assassins striking alone, by subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

They possess a powerful intercontinental striking force, large forces for conventional war, a well-trained underground in nearly every country, the power to conscript talent and manpower for any purpose, the capacity for quick decisions, a closed society without dissent or free information, and long experience in the techniques of violence and subversion. They make the most of their scientific successes, their economic progress and their pose as a foe of colonialism and friend of popular revolution. They prey on unstable or unpopular governments, unsealed or unknown boundaries, unfulfilled hopes, convulsive change, massive poverty, illiteracy, unrest and frustration.

With these formidable weapons, the adversaries of freedom plan to consolidate their territory -- to exploit, to control, and finally to destroy the hopes of the world's newest nations. It is a contest of will and purpose as well as force and violence -- a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. And in that contest, we cannot stand aside.

We stand, as we have always stood, for the independence and equality of nations. We stand for a world of peace under law. We stand for the democratic revolution of social progress. We stand for diversity, honest disagreements, and mutual respect. This nation was born of revolution and raised in freedom. And we do not intend to leave an open road to despotism.

But the facts of the matter are that we in the West have not yet sufficiently mobilized our resources, demonstrated our aims, or inspired and supported the necessary spirit of local reform to help these new revolutions find success in constructive pursuits. Too often we have accepted a merely defensive role. Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of the status quo -- and the status quo may be \$50 a year. Meanwhile the pressures of the totalitarian conspiracy mount higher every day, as one nation after another, by internal more often than external means, finds its freedom under attack.

There is no single simple policy with which to meet this challenge. Experience has taught us that no one nation has the power or the wisdom to solve all the problems of the world or manage all its revolutionary tides -- that extending our commitments does not always increase our security -- that any initiative carries with it the risk of temporary defeat -- that nuclear weapons cannot prevent subversion -- that no free peoples can be kept free without will and energy of their own -- and that no two nations or situations are exactly alike.

Yet there is much we can do. The proposals I bring before you today are numerous and varied. They arise from the host of special opportunities and dangers which have become increasingly clear in recent months. Taken together they mark another step forward in our effort as a people. Taken together they will help advance our own progress, encourage our friends and strengthen the opportunities for freedom and peace. I am here to ask the help of this Congress and the nation in approving these necessary measures.

MORE

II. Economic and Social Progress at Home

The ultimate source of our national strength is the quality and vitality of our own society. To sustain new efforts in world affairs and space -- to demonstrate to all the success of freedom's way -- and to meet the needs of our own citizens when we are assisting others -- we need a growing, prosperous nation. I am not requesting additional taxes to finance the very urgent requests I am making today -- for our present tax structure and resources are more than sufficient to support them without a budget deficit if our economy moves ahead. But we must make full use of our resources -- human, scientific, and material -- giving priority to our most urgent national needs.

The first and basic task confronting the nation this year was to turn recession into recovery. An affirmative anti-recession program, initiated with your cooperation, supported the natural forces in the private sector; and our economy is now enjoying renewed confidence and energy. The recession has been halted. Recovery is under way.

But the task of abating unemployment and achieving a full use of our resources remains a serious challenge. Large-scale unemployment during a recession is bad enough -- large-scale unemployment during recovery is intolerable to a free economy. It is a major social evil; it is a source of national weakness. It will persist even as the nation's output surpasses previous achievements, as I believe will be seen in the coming months.

The government must consider additional long-range measures to curb this unemployment and increase our economic growth, if we are to sustain our full role as world leaders. Measures to aid the unemployed, and to employ our jobless youth usefully, will be submitted shortly. I would stress one measure in particular today -- a measure of special importance in meeting the occupational demands of new American leadership in space, aid, trade and defense.

I am transmitting to the Congress a new Manpower Development and Training program, to train or retrain several hundred thousand workers in new occupational skills over a four-year period, in order to replace those skills made obsolete by automation and industrial change with the new skills which new processes demand. Supplementing current public and private training and education programs, such a measure, including subsistence and relocation allowances for the long-term unemployed, is a positive answer to the challenge of technology.

In addition, full recovery and economic growth require sustained increases in investment: and these in turn depend on favorable monetary and credit conditions as well as the enactment of the investment tax credit incentive plan which I earlier submitted to the Congress. The lending capacity of the Small Business Administration should be increased; and Federal action can help reduce the cost of the home-buyer's mortgage. Beyond this, the full financial influence of the government must continue to be exerted in the direction of general credit ease and further monetary growth while the economy is recovering. Some further downward adjustments in interest rates, particularly those which have been slow to adjust in the recent recession, are clearly desirable; and certainly to increase them would choke off recovery.

These expansionary measures at a time of unemployment, unused capacity and stable price levels, are not inflationary. This is important, for we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the outflow of gold and improving our balance of payments. During the last two months, our gold stocks actually increased by \$17 million, compared to a

MORE

loss of \$635 million during the last two months of 1960. We must maintain this progress -- and this will require the cooperation and self-restraint of everyone. As recovery progresses, there will be temptations to seek unjustified price and wage increases. These we cannot afford. They would only handicap our efforts to compete abroad and to achieve full recovery here at home. Labor and management must -- and I am confident that they will -- pursue responsible wage and price policies in these critical times. I look to the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to give a strong lead in this direction.

Moreover, if the budget deficit now increased by the needs of our security is to be held within manageable proportions -- if we are to preserve our fiscal integrity and world confidence in the dollar -- it will be necessary to hold tightly to prudent fiscal standards; and I must request the cooperation of the Congress in this regard -- to refrain from adding funds to programs, desirable as they may be, to the Budget -- to end the postal deficit through increased rates (a deficit, incidentally, which exceeds the fiscal year 1962 cost of all the space and defense measures I am submitting today) -- to provide full pay-as-you-build highway financing -- and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Our security and progress cannot be cheaply purchased; and their price must be found in what we all forego as well as what we all must pay.

III. Economic and Social Progress Abroad

I stress the strength of our economy because it is essential to our strength as a nation. And what is true in our case is true of other countries. Their strength in the struggle for freedom depends on the strength of their economic and social progress. Their ability to resist imperialism from without and subversion from within depends in large measure upon their capacity for orderly political and economic growth.

This is particularly true in those less-developed countries that have become the great arena of struggle. And that is why our response to their danger must be essentially constructive. We want to generate hope in those countries. We want to help them modernize their societies, broaden human opportunity and stand as equal partners in the community of free nations. We would be badly mistaken to consider their problems in military terms alone.

For no amount of arms and armies can help stabilize those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social reform and economic development. Military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invite insurgency and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts available cannot succeed where the local population is too caught up in its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism.

On the other hand, no amount of subversive activity can corrupt a nation working with confidence for a better society, under leadership it trusts, and with increasing participation by all in the benefits of new development.

This is our concept. We stand ready now to provide generously of our skills, our capital, and our food to assist the peoples of the less-developed nations to reach their goals -- and to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

This is also our great opportunity. If we grasp it, then subversion to prevent its success is exposed as an unjustifiable attempt to keep these nations from being either free or equal. But if we do not pursue it, the bankruptcy of unstable governments and unfulfilled hopes will surely lead to a series of totalitarian receiverships.

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Earlier in the year, I outlined to the Congress a new program for aiding emerging nations; and it is my intention to transmit shortly draft legislation to implement this program, to establish a new Act for International Development (AID), and to add to the figures previously requested, in view of the swift pace of critical events, an additional \$250 million for a Presidential Contingency Fund, to be used only upon a Presidential determination in each case that a sudden and extraordinary drain of regular funds -- as illustrated by recent events in Southeast Asia -- makes necessary the use of this emergency reserve. I make this additional request because of my conviction that in these uncertain times we must have the flexibility to respond to new, but as yet unknown, crises and opportunities. The total amount requested -- now raised to \$2.65 billion -- is both minimal and crucial. I do not see how anyone who is concerned about the growing threats to freedom around the world -- and who is asking what more we can do -- can weaken or oppose the single most important program available for building the frontiers of freedom.

Our hopes for the Latin American Alliance for Progress -- our hopes for improving the excellent start toward planned development that has been made in a number of countries -- our hopes for frustrating alien propaganda and subversion by creating a climate for peaceful progress -- and our hopes for convincing the other industrialized nations to increase their role in this endeavor -- all depend upon Congress enacting the full amount of funds and, of equal importance, the long-term borrowing authority which I have requested.

Let me stress there are many bright spots in this picture. With the very convincing help of the Congress, the Latin American Alliance for Progress is about to be launched successfully. Our great partner to the North, who received my wife and me so generously, is indicating renewed interest. Our good neighbors to the South are making major strides to build the bulwarks of freedom -- economic and social progress -- against the further encroachment of Communism. Other less-developed nations are recognizing the need for greater effort and reform on their own behalf -- and other NATO allies are indicating their willingness to help make this decade of progress a turning-point. There is much to be done -- but we are not alone.

IV.

All that I have said makes it clear that we are engaged in a world-wide struggle to preserve and promote the ideals we share with all mankind, or have alien ideals forced upon us. That struggle has highlighted the role of the U. S. Information Agency, our primary organ for disseminating information overseas. This activity assumes critical importance at different times and in different places and we must be able to respond quickly. It is essential that the funds previously requested for this effort be not only approved in full, but increased to total just over \$121 million.

This new request is for additional radio and television in Latin America and Southeast Asia. These tools are particularly effective in the cities and villages of those great continents as a means of reaching millions of uncertain peoples to tell them of our confidence in freedom. In Latin America, we are proposing to increase our Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts to a total of 22-154 hours a week, compared to ~~14~~ today (none of which is in Portuguese, the language of about one-third of the people of South America.) The Soviets, Red Chinese and satellites already broadcast into Latin America more than 134 hours a week in Spanish and Portuguese. Communist China alone does more public information broadcasting in our own hemisphere than we do. Powerful propaganda broadcasts from Havana, now heard throughout Latin America, are encouraging new revolutions in several countries; and our efforts to isolate and counter this menace require increased efforts to convey throughout the Americas the true nature of Communist objectives in this hemisphere. To strengthen all of Latin America, we need the widest possible appreciation of our Alianza para Progreso, and its meaning to poverty-stricken peoples.

MORE

Similarly, in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the communist tide in that continent must ultimately rest. Our interest is solely in the truth -- the truth that will make men free.

V. Our Partnership for Self-defense

But while we talk of sharing and building and the competition of ideas, others talk of arms and threaten war. So we have learned to keep our defenses strong -- and to cooperate with others in a partnership of self-defense. The events of recent weeks have caused us to look anew at these efforts.

1. The center of freedom's defense is our network of world alliances, extending from NATO, approved by a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, to SEATO, approved by a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. These alliances were constructed in the 1940's and 1950's -- it is our task in the 60's to strengthen them.

To meet the changing conditions of power, we have endorsed an increased emphasis on NATO conventional strength. At the same time we are affirming our conviction that the NATO nuclear deterrent must also be kept strong. I have made clear our intention to commit to the NATO command, for this purpose, the 5 POLARIS submarines originally suggested by President Eisenhower, with the possibility of more to come. Our will and our capacity to resist all types of aggression in the NATO treaty area should be clear beyond possibility of miscalculation; and if they so remain, I am certain there will be no such attack.

2. A major part of our partnership for self-defense is the Military Assistance Program. The defense of freedom must rest upon effective combining of the efforts of local forces with our own plans and assistance. In areas directly threatened by overt invasion, local forces must have the capacity to hold back an aggressor until help can be provided. The main burden of local defense against local attack, subversion, insurrection or guerrilla warfare must of necessity rest on local forces. Where these forces have the necessary will and capacity to cope with such threats, our intervention is rarely necessary or helpful. Where the will is present and only capacity is lacking, our Military Assistance Program can be of help.

But this program, like economic assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political and military reforms essential to internal respect and stability. The equipment and training provided must be tailored to legitimate local needs and to our own foreign and military policies, not to our supply of military stocks or a local leader's desire for military display. And military assistance can, in addition to its military purposes, make a contribution to economic progress. The domestic works of our own Army Engineers are an example of the role which military forces in the emerging countries can play in village development, sanitation and road building. Thus, while kept separate from our economic assistance, this program must be closely coordinated with it under our Ambassadors abroad.

In an earlier message, I requested \$1.6 billion for Military Assistance, stating that this would maintain existing force levels, but that I could not foresee how much more might prove to be required. It is now clear that this is not enough -- that many countries need increased mobility, modernization and para-military equipment -- and that others must increase their capability to work effectively with outside forces dispatched to help them in an emergency. The present crisis in Southern Asia, on which the Vice President has made a valuable report -- the rising threat of Communism in Latin America -- the increasing arms traffic in Africa -- and all the new pressures on every nation found on the map by tracing your finger along the borders of the Communist bloc in Asia and the Middle East -- all make clear the dimension of our needs.

I therefore request the Congress to provide a total of \$1.885 billion for Military Assistance in the coming fiscal year --- an amount less than that requested a year ago -- but a minimum which must be assured if we are to help those nations make secure their independence. This must be prudently and wisely spent -- and that will be our common endeavor. But let me say again that military and economic assistance has been a heavy burden on our citizens for a long time; but that this battle, far from over, is reaching its most crucial stage. We cannot merely state our opposition to totalitarianism without paying the price of helping those now under the greatest pressures.

VI. Our Own Military and Intelligence Shield

In line with these developments, I have directed a further reinforcement of our own capacity to deter or resist non-nuclear aggression. Our nuclear strength and our deterrent capacity are adequately safeguarded by what I have requested in an earlier message; and if their strength and invulnerability are maintained, and if the Western alliance remains resolute and united, there will be no general nuclear attack. Even in the conventional field, with one exception, I find no present need for large new levies of men. What is needed is rather a change of position to give us still further increases in our flexibility, our adaptability, and our readiness. Therefore:

(1) First, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to undertake a complete reorganization and modernization of the Army's divisional structure, to increase its non-nuclear firepower, to improve its tactical mobility in any environment, to insure its flexibility to meet any direct or indirect threat, to facilitate its coordination with our major allies, and to provide modern mechanized divisions in Europe and new airborne brigades in both the Pacific and Europe.

(2) Second, I am asking the Congress for an additional \$100 million to begin the procurement task necessary to re-equip this new Army structure with the most modern material. New helicopters, new armored personnel carriers, and new howitzers, for example, must be obtained now. These funds will be added to those already requested or reprogrammed from other sources.

(3) Third, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to expand rapidly and substantially the orientation of existing forces for the conduct of non-nuclear war, para-military operations and sub-limited or unconventional wars. He assures me that, by reprogramming existing funds as permitted by law, over \$100 million can be directed to this objective without additional appropriations this year. These funds will be used for accelerating the purchase of new non-nuclear weapons and equipment, increasing air and amphibious lift capacity, and so deploying forces and equipment that they can be quickly moved to meet any outbreak of trouble.

In addition, our special forces and unconventional warfare units will be increased and reoriented. Throughout the services new emphasis must be placed on the special skills and languages which are required to work with local populations in all the social, economic, psychological, governmental and other efforts that are short of open conflict but necessary to counter communist-sponsored guerrillas or insurgents.

(4) Fourth, The Army is developing plans to make possible a much more rapid deployment of a major portion of its highly trained reserve forces. When these plans are completed and the reserve is strengthened, two combat-equipped divisions, plus their supporting forces, a total of 89,000 men, could be ready in an emergency for operations with but 3 weeks notice -- 2 more divisions with but 5 weeks notice -- and six additional division and their supporting forces, making a total of 10 divisions, could be deployable with less than 8 weeks notice. In short, these new plans will allow us to almost

double the combat power of the Army in less than 2 months, compared to the nearly 9 months heretofore required.

(5) Fifth, to enhance the already formidable ability of the Marine Corps to respond to limited war emergencies, I am asking the Congress for \$60 million to increase Marine Corps strength to 190,000 men. This will increase the initial impact and staying power of our three Marine divisions and three air wings, and provide a trained nucleus for further immediate expansion, if necessary for self-defense.

(6) Finally, to cite one other area of activities that are both legitimate and necessary as a means of self-defense in an age of hidden perils, our whole intelligence effort must be reviewed, and its coordination with other elements of policy assured. This is not a matter on which public discussion is useful, nor are current studies completed. But the Congress and the American people are entitled to know that we will institute whatever new organization, policies and control are necessary to insure the maximum coordination and use of all political, economic and psychological resources in the attainment of our objectives.

VII.. Civil Defense

One major element of the national security program which this nation has never squarely faced up to is civil defense. This problem arises not from present trends but from past inaction. In the past decade we have intermittently considered a variety of programs, but we have never adopted a consistent policy. Public considerations have been largely characterized by apathy, indifference and skepticism; while, at the same time, many of the civil defense plans proposed have been so far-reaching or unrealistic that they have not gained essential support.

This Administration has been looking very hard at exactly what civil defense can and cannot do. It cannot be obtained cheaply. It cannot give an assurance of blast protection that will be proof against surprise attack or guaranteed against obsolescence or destruction. And it cannot deter a nuclear attack.

We will deter an enemy from making a nuclear attack only if our retaliatory power is so strong and so invulnerable that he knows he would be destroyed by our response. If we have that strength, civil defense is not needed to deter an attack. If we should ever lack it, civil defense would not be an adequate substitute.

But this deterrent concept assumes rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a miscalculation, an accidental war which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. The nature of modern warfare heightens these possibilities. It is on this basis that civil defense can readily be justified -- as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance we trust will never be needed -- but insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe.

Once the validity of this concept is recognized, there is no point in delaying the initiation of a nation-wide long-range program of identifying present fallout shelter capacity and providing shelter in new and existing structures. Such a program would protect millions of people against the hazards of radioactive fallout in the event of a large-scale nuclear attack. To assure effective use of these shelters, additional measures will be required for warning, training, radiological monitoring and stock-piling of food and medicines. And effective performance of the entire program requires not only new legislative authority and more funds, but also sound organizational arrangements.

(1) Therefore, under the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958, I am assigning responsibility for this program to the top

civilian authority already responsible for continental defense, the Secretary of Defense. It is important that this function remain civilian in nature and leadership; and this feature will not be changed. Responsibilities for preparedness programs in connection with health, food, manpower, transportation and other needs in the event of an attack will be assigned to the appropriate department and agency heads, all of whom will work with State and local agencies. ~~For their role~~ remains an essential one. The
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of

(2) The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization will be reconstituted as a small staff agency to assist me in the coordination of these functions. To more accurately describe its role, its title should be changed to the "Office of Emergency Planning".

(3) As soon as those newly charged with these responsibilities have prepared new authorization and appropriation requests, such requests will be transmitted to the Congress for a much strengthened Federal-State civil defense program. Such a program will provide Federal funds for identifying fallout shelter capacity in existing structures, and it will include, where appropriate, incorporation of shelter in Federal buildings, new requirements for shelter in buildings constructed with Federal ~~financial~~ assistance, and matching grants and other incentives for constructing shelter in State and local government and private buildings.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in fiscal 1962 under this program will in all likelihood be more than triple the pending budget requests; and they will increase sharply in subsequent years. Financial participation will also be required from State and local governments and from private citizens. But no insurance is cost-free; and every American citizen and his community must decide for themselves whether this form of survival insurance justifies the expenditure of effort, time and money. For myself, I am convinced that it does.

VIII Disarmament

I cannot end this discussion of defense and armaments without emphasizing our strongest hope: the creation of an orderly world where disarmament will be possible. Our arms do not prepare for war -- they are efforts to discourage and resist the adventures of others that could end in war.

That is why it is consistent with these efforts that we continue to press for properly safeguarded disarmament measures. At Geneva, in cooperation with the United Kingdom, we have put forward concrete proposals to make clear our wish to meet the Soviets half way in an effective nuclear test ban treaty -- the first significant step toward disarmament. Up to now, their response has not been what we hoped: but we intend to go the last mile in patience.

Meanwhile, we are determined to keep disarmament high on our agenda -- to make an intensified effort to develop acceptable political and technical alternatives to the present arms race. To this end I soon shall send to the Congress a measure to establish a strengthened and enlarged Disarmament Administration. Such an agency can intensify and improve our studies and research on this problem, looking forward to the day when reason will prevail, and all nations of the world will be prepared to accept a realistic and safeguarded disarmament in a world of law.

IX - Space

Finally, if we are to win the battle for men's minds, the dramatic achievements in space which occurred in recent weeks should have made clear to us all the impact of this new frontier of human adventure. Since early in my term, our efforts in space have been under review. With the advice of the Vice President we have examined where we are strong and where we are not, where we may succeed and where we may not. Now it is time to take longer

Let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action -- a course which will last for many years and carry very heavy costs -- an estimated \$7-9 billion additional over the next five years. If we were to go only half way, or reduce our sights in the face of difficulty, it would be better not to go at all.

Let me stress also that more money alone will not do the job. This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, material and facilities, and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread. It means a degree of dedication, organization and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful interagency rivalries, or a high turnover of key personnel.

New objectives and new money cannot solve these problems. They could, in fact, aggravate them further -- unless every scientist, every engineer, every serviceman, every technician, contractor, and civil servant involved gives his personal pledge that this nation will move forward, with the full speed of freedom, in the exciting adventure of space.

X. Conclusion

In conclusion let me emphasize one point: that we are determined, as a nation, that freedom shall survive and succeed -- and whatever the peril and the set-backs, we have some very large advantages.

The first is the simple fact that we are on the side of liberty -- and, since the beginning of history, liberty has been winning out in the end.

A second great asset is that we are not alone. We have friends and allies all over the world. May I cite as a symbol of traditional and effective friendship the great ally I am about to visit -- France. I look forward to my visit to France, and to my discussion with her magnificent leader President de Gaulle, as a meeting of particular significance, permitting the kind of close and ranging consultation which will strengthen both parties and serve their common purposes of world peace and liberty. Such serious conversations do not require a pale unanimity -- they are rather the instruments of trust and understanding.

A third asset is our desire for peace. It is sincere and the world knows it. We are proving it in our patience at the test-ban table, and we are proving it in the UN where our efforts have been directed toward maintaining that organization's usefulness as a protector of the small. In these and other instances, the response of our opponents has not been encouraging.

Yet it is important that they should know that our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible, though our credulity is limited -- that our hopes for peace are unending, while our determination to protect our security is resolute. For these reasons I have long thought it wise to meet with the Soviet Premier for a personal exchange of views. A meeting in Vienna next month turned out to be convenient for us both; and the Austrian Government has kindly made us welcome. No formal agenda is planned and no negotiations will be undertaken; but we will make clear that America's enduring concern is for both freedom and peace -- that we are anxious to live in harmony with the Russian people -- that we seek no conquests, no satellites, no riches -- and that we seek only the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".

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strides -- time for a great new American enterprise -- time for this nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement.

I believe we possess all the resources and all the talents necessary. But the facts of the matter are that we have never made the national decisions or marshalled the national resources required for such leadership. We have never specified long-range goals on an urgent time schedule, or managed our resources and our time so as to insure their fulfillment.

Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets with their large rocket engines, which gives them many months of lead-time, and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead for some time to come in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless are required to make new efforts. For while we cannot guarantee that we shall one day be first, we can guarantee that any failure to ~~share~~^{make} this effort will ~~leave~~^{leave} us last. We take an additional risk by making it in full view of the world -- but as shown by the feat of astronaut Shepard, this very risk enhances our stature when we are successful. But this is not merely a race. Space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others. We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share.

I therefore ask the Congress, above and beyond the increases I have earlier requested for space activities, to provide the funds which are needed to meet the following national goals:

First, I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth. No single space project in this period will be more exciting, or more impressive, or more important for the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. Including necessary supporting research, this objective will require an additional \$531 million this year and still higher sums in the future. We propose to accelerate development of the appropriate lunar space craft. We propose to develop alternate liquid and solid fuel boosters of much larger than any now being developed, until certain which is superior. We propose additional funds for other engine development and for unmanned explorations -- explorations which are particularly important for one purpose which this nation will never overlook: the survival of the man who first makes this daring flight. But in a very real sense, it will not be one man going to the moon -- it will be an entire nation. For all of us must work to put him there.

Second, an additional \$23 million, together with \$7 million already available, to accelerate development of the ROVER nuclear rocket. This is a technological enterprise in which we are well on the way to striking progress, and which gives promise of some day providing a means for even more exciting and ambitious exploration of space, perhaps beyond the moon, perhaps to the very ends of the solar system itself.

Third, an additional \$50 million to make the most of our present leadership by accelerating the use of space satellites for world-wide communications. When we have put into space a system that will enable people in remote areas of the earth to exchange messages, hold conversations, and eventually see television programs, we will have achieved a success as beneficial as it will be striking.

Fourth, an additional \$75 million -- of which \$53 million is for the Weather Bureau -- to give us at the earliest possible time a satellite system for world-wide weather observation. Such a system will be of inestimable commercial and scientific value; and the information it provides will be made freely available to all the nations of the world.

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Finally, our greatest asset in this struggle is the American people -- their willingness to apy the price for these programs -- to understand and accept a long struggle -- to share their resources with other less forturate peoples -- to meet the tax levels and close the tax loopholes I have requested -- to exercise self-restraint instead of pushing up wages or prices, or over-producing certain crops, or spreading military secrets, or urging unessential expenditures or improper monopolies or harmful work stoppages -- to serve in the Peace Corps or the Armed Services or the Federal Civil Service -- to strive for excellence in their schools, in their cities and in their physical fitness -- to take part in Civil Defense -- to pay higher postal rates, higher payroll taxes and higher teachers salaries, in order to strengthen our society -- to show friendship to students and visitors from other lands -- and, finally, to practice democracy at home, in all states, with all races, to respect each other and to protect the constitutional rights of all citizens.

I have not asked for a single program which did not cause one or all Americans some inconvenience, or some hardship, or some sacrifice. But they have responded -- you in the Congress have responded -- and I feel confident in asking today for a similar response to these new and larger demands. It is heartening to know, as I journey abroad, that our country is united in its commitment to freedom -- and ready to do its duty.

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From the Desk of

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The speech as
it was returned
to me from
the House of
Representatives

Emlyn Lucealy.
Bx 1 14W4:16-13A7.



The Constitution imposes upon me the obligation to "from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union". While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, this tradition has been broken in extraordinary times.

These are extraordinary times. We face an extraordinary challenge. ~~We face opportunities and adversaries that do not wait for annual addresses or fiscal years. This nation is engaged in a long and exacting test of the future of freedom --~~

Joint session of
Congress
May 25, 1961

The Constitution provides
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and to the President. It is the
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~~a test which may well continue for decades to come.~~ Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed upon this nation the role of leader in freedom's cause.

No role in history could be more difficult or more important. ~~It is not a negative or defensive role -- it is a great positive adventure.~~ We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves -- that is our only commitment to others. No friend, no neutral and no adversary should think otherwise. We are not against any man -- or any nation -- or any system -- except as it is hostile to freedom.

Nor am I here to present a new military doctrine, bearing any one name or aimed at any one area. I am here to promote the freedom doctrine.

1.

The great battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom today is the whole southern half of the globe -- Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East -- the lands of the rising peoples. Their revolution, the greatest in human history, ~~is one of peace and hope -- for freedom and equality, for order and independence.~~ They seek an end to injustice, tyranny, and exploitation. More than an end, they seek a beginning --

a jungle road to bring a doctor when a child is ill -- a schoolhouse to unlock the mysteries of knowledge -- seed and fertilizer, jobs and food, a chance to live and be more than just alive.

~~These are the aims of their revolution, just as they were the aims of our revolution.~~ And theirs is a revolution which we would support regardless of the Cold War, and regardless of which political or economic route they choose to freedom.

For the adversaries of freedom did not create this revolution; nor did they create the conditions which compel it.

But they are seeking to ride the crest of its wave -- to capture it for themselves -- ~~to enthrall its peoples in the servitude of a new and relentless form of totalitarian imperialism.~~

Yet their aggression is more often concealed than open. They have fired no missiles; and their troops are seldom seen. They send arms, agitators, aid, technicians and propaganda to every troubled area. But where fighting is required, it is usually done by others -- by guerrillas striking at night, by assassins striking alone,

by subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

~~They possess a powerful intercontinental striking force, large forces for conventional war, a well-trained underground in nearly every country, the power to conscript talent and manpower for any purpose, the capacity for quick decisions, a closed society without dissent or free information, and long experience in the techniques of violence and subversion. They make the most of their scientific successes,~~

~~their economic progress and their
pose as a foe of colonialism and
friend of popular revolution. They
prey on unstable or unpopular
governments, unsealed or unknown
boundaries, unfulfilled hopes,
convulsive change, massive poverty,
illiteracy, unrest and frustration.~~

With these formidable weapons,
the adversaries of freedom plan to
consolidate their territory -- to
exploit, to control, and finally
to destroy the hopes of the world's
newest nations. It is a contest
of will and purpose as well as
force and violence --

a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. And in that contest, we cannot stand aside.

We stand, as we have always stood, for the independence and equality of nations. ~~We stand for a world of peace under law. We stand for the democratic revolution of social progress. We stand for diversity, honest disagreements, and mutual respect.~~ This nation was born of revolution and raised in freedom. And we do not intend to leave an open road to despotism.

But the facts of the matter are that we in the West have not yet sufficiently mobilized our resources, demonstrated our aims, or inspired and supported the necessary spirit of local reform to help these new revolutions find success in constructive pursuits. Too often we have accepted a merely defensive role. Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of the status quo -- and the status quo may be \$50 a year. Meanwhile the pressures of the totalitarian conspiracy mount higher every day, as one nation after another,

by internal more often than
external means, finds its freedom
under attack.

There is no single simple
policy with which to meet this
challenge. Experience has taught
us that no one nation has the
power or the wisdom to solve all
the problems of the world or manage
all its revolutionary tides --
that extending our commitments
does not always increase our
security -- that any initiative
carries with it the risk of
temporary defeat -- that nuclear
weapons cannot prevent subversion --

that no free peoples can be kept free without will and energy of their own -- and that no two nations or situations are exactly alike.

Yet there is much we can do. The proposals I bring before you today are numerous and varied. They arise from the host of special opportunities and dangers which have become increasingly clear in recent months. Taken together they mark another step forward in our effort as a people. Taken together they will help advance our own progress,

~~encourage our friends and~~
~~strengthen the opportunities for~~
~~freedom and peace.~~ I am here to
ask the help of this Congress and
the nation in approving these
necessary measures.

~~II. Economic and Social~~
~~Progress at Home~~

~~The ultimate source of our~~
~~national strength is the quality~~
~~and vitality of our own society.~~
~~To sustain new efforts in world~~
~~affairs and space -- to demonstrate~~
~~to all the success of freedom's~~
~~way -- and to meet the needs of~~
~~our own citizens when we are~~
~~assisting others --~~

we need a growing, prosperous nation. I am not requesting additional taxes to finance the very urgent requests I am making today -- for our present tax structure and resources are more than sufficient to support them without a budget deficit if our economy moves ahead. But we must make full use of our resources -- human, scientific, and material -- giving priority to our most urgent national needs.

The first and basic task confronting the nation this year was to turn recession into recovery.

An affirmative anti-recession program, initiated with your cooperation, supported the natural forces in the private sector; and our economy is now enjoying renewed confidence and energy. The recession has been halted. Recovery is under way.

But the task of abating unemployment and achieving a full use of our resources remains a serious challenge. Large-scale unemployment during a recession is bad enough -- large-scale unemployment during ~~recovery~~^{pros. period} is intolerable to a free economy.

It is a major social evil; it is a source of national weakness. It will persist even as the nation's output surpasses previous achievements, as I believe will be seen in the coming months.

~~The government must consider additional long-range measures to curb this unemployment and increase our economic growth, if we are to sustain our full role as world leaders. Measures to aid the unemployed, and to employ our jobless youth usefully, will be submitted shortly. I would stress one measure in particular today --~~

~~a measure of special importance
in meeting the occupational
demands of new American leadership
in space, aid, trade and defense.~~

I am ^{Manpower} transmitting to the
Congress a new Manpower Development
and Training program, to train or
retrain several hundred thousand
workers in new occupational skills
over a four-year period, in order
to replace those skills made
obsolete by automation and
industrial change with the new
skills which new processes demand.

~~Supplementing current public and
private training and education
programs, such a measure,~~

including subsistence and relocation allowances for the long-term unemployed, is a positive answer to the challenge of technology.

In addition, full recovery and economic growth require sustained increases in investment: and these in turn depend on favorable monetary and credit conditions as well as the enactment of the investment tax credit incentive plan which I earlier submitted to the Congress. The lending capacity of the Small Business Administration should be increased; and Federal action can help reduce the cost of the home-buyer's mortgage.

Beyond this, the full financial influence of the government must continue to be exerted in the direction of general credit ease and further monetary growth while the economy is recovering. Some further downward adjustments in interest rates, particularly those which have been slow to adjust in the recent recession, are clearly desirable; and certainly to increase them would choke off recovery.

OK
These expansionary measures at a time of unemployment, unused capacity and stable price levels, are not inflationary.

*It should be
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~~This is important,~~ for we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the outflow of gold and improving our balance of payments. During the last two months, our gold stocks actually increased by \$17 million, compared to a loss of \$635 million during the last two months of 1960. We must maintain this progress -- and this will require the cooperation and self-restraint of everyone. As recovery progresses, there will be temptations to seek unjustified price and wage increases. These we cannot afford.

They would only handicap our efforts to compete abroad and to achieve full recovery here at home. Labor and management must -- and I am confident that they will -- pursue responsible wage and price policies in these critical times. I look to the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to give a strong lead in this direction.

Moreover, if the budget deficit now increased by the needs of our security is to be held within manageable proportions --

if we are to preserve our fiscal integrity and world confidence in the dollar -- it will be necessary to hold tightly to prudent fiscal standards; and I must request the cooperation of the Congress in this regard -- to refrain from adding funds or programs, desirable as they may be, to the Budget -- to end the postal deficit through increased rates (a deficit, incidentally, which exceeds the fiscal year 1962 cost of all the space and defense measures I am submitting today) -- to provide full pay-as-you-build highway financing --

and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Our security and progress cannot be cheaply purchased; and their price must be found in what we all forego as well as what we all must pay.

III. Economic and Social
Progress Abroad

I stress the strength of our economy because it is essential to our strength as a nation. And what is true in our case is true of other countries. Their strength in the struggle for freedom depends on the strength of their economic and social progress.

Their ability to resist imperialism from without and subversion from within depends in large measure upon their capacity for orderly political and economic growth.

This is particularly true in those less-developed countries that have become the great arena of struggle. And that is why our response to their danger must be essentially constructive. We want to generate hope in those countries. We want to help them modernize their societies, broaden human opportunity and stand as equal partners in the community of free nations.

We would be badly mistaken to consider their problems in military terms alone.

For no amount of arms and armies can help stabilize those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social reform and economic development. Military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invite insurgency and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts available cannot succeed where the local population is too caught up in its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism.

On the other hand, no amount of subversive activity can corrupt a nation working with confidence for a better society, under leadership it trusts, and with increasing participation by all in the benefits of new development.

This is our concept.

*For those who
recognize
there
in the*

We stand ready now to provide generously of our skills, our capital, and our food to assist the peoples of the less-developed nations to reach their goals -- and to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

This is also our great opportunity. If we grasp it, then subversion to prevent its success is exposed as an unjustifiable attempt to keep these nations from being either free or equal. But if we do not pursue it, the bankruptcy of unstable governments and unfulfilled hopes will surely lead to a series of totalitarian receiverships.

Earlier in the year, I outlined to the Congress a new program for aiding emerging nations; and it is my intention to transmit shortly draft legislation to implement this program,

to establish a new Act for International Development (AID), and to add to the figures previously requested, in view of the swift pace of critical events, an additional \$250 million for a Presidential Contingency Fund, to be used only upon a Presidential determination in each case that a sudden and extraordinary drain of regular funds -- as illustrated by recent events in Southeast Asia -- makes necessary the use of this emergency reserve.

h. the regular and complete reports to the Congress

I make this additional request because of my conviction that in these uncertain times we must have the flexibility to respond to new, but as yet unknown, crises and opportunities.

The total amount requested -- now raised to \$2.65 billion -- is both minimal and crucial. I do not see how anyone who is concerned about the growing threats to freedom around the world -- and who is asking what more we can do -- can weaken or oppose the single most important program available for building the frontiers of freedom.

Our hopes for the Latin American Alliance for Progress -- our hopes for improving the excellent start toward planned development that has been made in a number of countries -- our hopes for frustrating alien propaganda and subversion by creating a climate for peaceful progress -- and our hopes for convincing the other industrialized nations to increase their role in this endeavor -- all depend upon Congress enacting the full amount of funds and, of equal importance, the long-term borrowing authority which I have requested.

Let me stress there are many bright spots in this picture. With the very convincing help of the Congress, the Latin American Alliance for Progress is about to be launched successfully. Our great partner to the North, who received my wife and me so generously, is indicating renewed interest. Our good neighbors to the South are making major strides to build the bulwarks of freedom -- economic and social progress -- against the further encroachment of Communism. Other less-developed nations are recognizing the need for greater effort and reform on their own behalf --

~~and other NATO allies are
indicating their willingness to
help make this decade of progress
a turning-point. There is much
to be done -- but we are not alone.~~

IV.

All that I have said makes
it clear that we are engaged in
a world-wide struggle to preserve
and promote the ideals we share
with all mankind, or have alien
ideals forced upon us. That
struggle has highlighted the role
of the U.S. Information Agency,
~~our primary organ for disseminating
information overseas.~~

~~This activity assumes critical importance at different times and in different places and we must be able to respond quickly. It is essential that the funds previously requested for this effort be not only approved in full, but increased ^{by 2.4 million to} total just over \$121 million.~~

This new request is for additional radio and television in Latin America and Southeast Asia. These tools are particularly effective in the cities and villages of those great continents as a means of reaching millions of uncertain peoples to tell them of our confidence in freedom.

In Latin America, we are proposing to increase our Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts to a total of 154 hours a week, compared to 42 today (none of which is in Portuguese, the language of about one-third of the people of South America). The Soviets, Red Chinese and satellites already broadcast into Latin America more than 134 hours a week in Spanish and Portuguese. Communist China alone does more public information broadcasting in our own hemisphere than we do. Moreover, powerful propaganda broadcasts from Havana, now heard throughout Latin America,

are encouraging new revolutions in several countries, and our efforts to isolate and counter this menace require increased efforts to convey throughout the Americas the true nature of Communist objectives in this hemisphere. To strengthen all of Latin America, we need the widest possible appreciation of our Alianza para Progreso, and its meaning to poverty-stricken peoples.

Similarly, in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand,

we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the communist tide in that continent must ultimately rest. Our interest is solely in the truth -- the truth that will make men free.

V. Our Partnership for
Self-defense

But while we talk of sharing and building and the competition of ideas, others talk of arms and threaten war. So we have learned to keep our defenses strong -- and to cooperate with others in a partnership of self-defense.

The events of recent weeks have caused us to look anew at these efforts.

1. The center of freedom's defense is our network of world alliances, extending from NATO, approved by a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, to SEATO, approved by a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. These alliances were constructed in the 1940's and 50's -- it is our task in the 60's to strengthen them.

To meet the changing conditions of power, we have endorsed an increased emphasis on NATO conventional strength. At the same time we are affirming our conviction that the NATO nuclear deterrent must also be kept strong. I have made clear our intention to commit to the NATO command, for this purpose, the 5 POLARIS submarines originally suggested by President Eisenhower, with the possibility of more to come.

~~Our will and our capacity to resist all types of aggression in the NATO treaty area should be clear beyond possibility of miscalculation; and if they so remain, I am certain there will be no such attack.~~

2. A major part of our partnership for self-defense is the Military Assistance Program.

~~The defense of freedom must rest upon effective combining of the efforts of local forces with our own plans and assistance. In areas directly threatened by overt invasion,~~

~~Local forces must have the capacity to hold back an aggressor until help can be provided. And~~ The main burden of local defense against local attack, subversion, insurrection or guerrilla warfare must of necessity rest on local forces.

Where these forces have the necessary will and capacity to cope with such threats, our intervention is rarely necessary or helpful. Where the will is present and only capacity is lacking, our Military Assistance Program can be of help.

But this program, like economic assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political and military reforms essential to internal respect and stability. The equipment and training provided must be tailored to legitimate local needs and to our own foreign and military policies, not to our supply of military stocks or a local leader's desire for military display. And military assistance can, in addition to its military purposes, make a contribution to economic progress.

As soon as Army Engineers

The domestic works of our own Army Engineers are an example of the role which military forces in the emerging countries can play in village development, sanitation and road building. Thus, while kept separate from our economic assistance, this program must be closely coordinated with it under our Ambassadors abroad.

In an earlier message, I requested \$1.6 billion for Military Assistance, stating that this would maintain existing force levels, but that I could not foresee how much more might prove to be required. It is now clear that this is not enough --

~~that many countries need increased mobility, modernization and para-military equipment -- and that others must increase their capability to work effectively with outside forces dispatched to help them in an emergency.~~ The present crisis in Southeast Asia, on which the Vice President has made a valuable report -- the rising threat of Communism in Latin America -- the increasing arms traffic in Africa -- and all the new pressures on every nation found on the map by tracing your finger along the borders of the Communist bloc in Asia and the Middle East -- all make clear the dimension of our needs.

I therefore request the Congress to provide a total of \$1.885 billion for Military Assistance in the coming fiscal year -- an amount less than that requested a year ago -- but a minimum which must be assured if we are to help those nations make secure their independence. This must be prudently and wisely spent -- and that will be our common endeavor. ~~But let me say again that~~ military and economic assistance has been a heavy burden on our citizens for a long time; but that this battle, far from over, is reaching its most crucial stage.

We cannot merely state our opposition to totalitarianism without paying the price of helping those now under the greatest pressures.

VI. Our Own Military and Intelligence Shield

In line with these developments, I have directed a further reinforcement of our own capacity to deter or resist non-nuclear aggression. Our nuclear strength and our deterrent capacity are adequately safeguarded by what I have requested in an earlier message; and if their strength and invulnerability are maintained, and if the Western alliance remains resolute and united, there will be no general nuclear attack.

Even ~~in~~ the conventional field, with one exception, I find no present need for large new levies of men. What is needed is rather a change of position to give us still further increases in our flexibility, ~~our adaptability, and our readiness.~~ Therefore:

(1) First, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to undertake a complete reorganization and modernization of the Army's divisional structure, to increase its non-nuclear firepower, to improve its tactical mobility in any environment, to insure its flexibility to meet any direct or indirect threat, to facilitate its coordination with our major allies,

and to provide modern mechanized divisions in Europe and new airborne brigades in both the Pacific and Europe.

(2) Second, I am asking the Congress for an additional \$100 million to begin the procurement task necessary to re-equip this new Army structure with the most modern materiel. New helicopters, new armored personnel carriers, and new howitzers, for example, must be obtained now.

~~These funds will be added to those already requested or reprogrammed from other sources.~~

(3) Third, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to expand rapidly and substantially the orientation of existing forces for the conduct of non-nuclear war, para-military operations and sub-limited or unconventional wars. ~~He assures me that, by reprogramming existing funds as permitted by law, over \$100 million can be directed to this objective without additional appropriations this year.~~ These funds will be used for accelerating the purchase of new non-nuclear weapons and equipment, increasing air and amphibious lift capacity,

and so deploying forces and equipment that they can be quickly moved to meet any outbreak of trouble.

In addition, our special forces and unconventional warfare units will be increased and reoriented.

Throughout the services new emphasis must be placed on the special skills and languages which are required to work with local populations in all ~~the social, economic, psychological, governmental and other~~ efforts that are short of open conflict but necessary to counter communist-sponsored guerrillas or insurgents.

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(4) Fourth, The Army is developing plans to make possible a much more rapid deployment of a major portion of its highly trained reserve forces. When these plans are completed and the reserve is strengthened, two combat-equipped divisions, plus their supporting forces, a total of 89,000 men, could be ready in an emergency for operations with but 3 weeks notice -- 2 more divisions with but 5 weeks notice -- and six additional divisions and their supporting forces, making a total of 10 divisions,

JK.

~~could be deployable with less than 8 weeks notice. In short, these new plans will allow us to almost double the combat power of the Army in less than 2 months, compared to the nearly 9 months heretofore required.~~

(5) Fifth, to enhance the already formidable ability of the Marine Corps to respond to limited war emergencies, I am asking the Congress for \$60 million to increase Marine Corps strength to 190,000 men. This will increase the initial impact and staying power of our three Marine divisions and three air wings, and provide a trained nucleus for further immediate expansion, if necessary for self-defense.

(6) Finally, to cite one other area of activities that are both legitimate and necessary as a means of self-defense in an age of hidden perils, our whole intelligence effort must be reviewed, and its coordination with other elements of policy assured. ~~This is not a matter on which public discussion is useful, nor are current studies completed.~~ But the Congress and the American people are entitled to know that we will institute whatever new organization, policies and control are necessary, ~~to insure the maximum coordination and use of all political,~~

economic and psychological resources
in the attainment of our objectives.

VII. Civil Defense

One major element of the national security program which this nation has never squarely faced up to is civil defense. This problem arises not from present trends but from past ^{inaction} inaction. In the past decade we have intermittently considered a variety of programs, but we have never adopted a consistent policy. Public considerations have been largely characterized by apathy, indifference and skepticism; while, at the same time,

many of the civil defense plans proposed have been so far-reaching or unrealistic that they have not gained essential support.

This Administration has been looking very hard at exactly what civil defense can and cannot do. It cannot be obtained cheaply. It cannot give an assurance of blast protection that will be proof against surprise attack or guaranteed against obsolescence or destruction. And it cannot deter a nuclear attack.

We will deter an enemy from making a nuclear attack only if our retaliatory power is so strong and so invulnerable that he knows he would be destroyed by our response. If we have that strength, civil defense is not needed to deter an attack. If we should ever lack it, civil defense would not be an adequate substitute.

But this deterrent concept assumes rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet ^{the history of this century} is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a miscalculation,

an accidental war [^] which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. ~~The nature of modern warfare heightens these possibilities.~~ It is on this basis that civil defense can readily be justified -- as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance we trust will never be needed -- but insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe.

Once the validity of this concept is recognized,

there is no point in delaying the initiation of a nation-wide long-range program of identifying present fallout shelter capacity and providing shelter in new and existing structures. Such a program would protect millions of people against the hazards of radioactive fallout in the event of a large-scale nuclear attack. To assure effective use of these shelters, additional measures will be required for warning, training, radiological monitoring and stock-piling of food and medicines.

And effective performance of the entire program requires not only new legislative authority and more funds, but also sound organizational arrangements.

(1) Therefore, under the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958, I am assigning responsibility for this program to the top civilian authority already responsible for continental defense, the Secretary of Defense. It is important that this function remain civilian in nature and leadership; and this feature will not be changed.

Responsibilities for preparedness programs in connection with health, food, manpower, transportation and other needs in the event of an attack will be assigned to the appropriate department and agency heads, all of whom will work with State and local agencies. For their role remains an essential one.

(2) The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization will be reconstituted as a small staff agency to assist me in the coordination of these functions. To more accurately describe its role, it's title should be changed to the "Office of Emergency Planning."

(3) As soon as those newly charged with these responsibilities have prepared new authorization and appropriation requests, such requests will be transmitted to the Congress for a much strengthened Federal-State civil defense program. Such a program will provide Federal funds for identifying fallout shelter capacity in existing structures, and it will include, where appropriate, incorporation of shelter in Federal buildings, new requirements for shelter in buildings constructed with Federal ~~financial~~ assistance, and matching grants and other incentives for constructing shelter in State and local government and private buildings.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in fiscal 1962 under this program will in all likelihood be more than triple the pending budget requests; and they will increase sharply in subsequent years. Financial participation will also be required from State and local governments and from private citizens. But no insurance is cost-free; and every American citizen and his community must decide for themselves whether this form of survival insurance justifies the expenditure of effort, time and money. For myself, I am convinced that it does.

VIII. Disarmament

I cannot end this discussion of defense and armaments without emphasizing our strongest hope: the creation of an orderly world where disarmament will be possible. Our arms do not prepare for war -- they are efforts to discourage and resist the adventures of others that could end in war.

That is why it is consistent with these efforts that we continue to press for properly safeguarded disarmament measures. At Geneva, in cooperation with the United Kingdom,

we have put forward concrete proposals to make clear our wish to meet the Soviets halfway in an effective nuclear test ban treaty -- the first significant step toward disarmament. Up to now, their response has not been what we hoped; but we intend to go the last mile in patience.

Meanwhile, we are determined to keep disarmament high on our agenda -- to make an intensified effort to develop acceptable political and technical alternatives to the present arms race.

To this end I soon shall send to the Congress a measure to establish a strengthened and enlarged Disarmament Administration. Such an agency can intensify and improve our studies and research on this problem, looking forward to the day when reason will prevail, and all nations of the world will be prepared to accept a realistic and safeguarded disarmament in a world of law.

IX. Space

Finally, if we are to win the battle for men's minds,

the dramatic achievements in space
 which occurred in recent weeks should
 have made clear to us all the impact

as does the progress of the program
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to make every when

of this new frontier of human

adventure, Since early in my term,
 our efforts in space have been under

review. With the advice of the
 Vice President we have examined where

where is the Chairman of the National Space Council

we are strong and where we are not,
 where we may succeed and where we may
 not. Now it is time to take longer

strides -- time for a great new
 American enterprise -- time for this

nation to take a clearly leading role
 in space achievement, which in many ways
 may hold the key to our future on earth:

I believe we possess all the resources and all the talents necessary. But the facts of the matter are that we have never made the national decisions or marshalled the national resources required for such leadership. We have never specified long-range goals on an urgent time schedule, or managed our resources and our time so as to insure their fulfillment.

Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets with their large rocket engines, which gives them many months of lead-time,

and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead for some time to come in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless are required to make new efforts. For while we cannot guarantee that we shall one day be first, we can guarantee that any failure to make this effort will find us last. We take an additional risk by making it in full view of the world -- but as shown by the feat of astronaut Shepard, this very risk enhances our stature when we are successful. But this is not merely a race.

Space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others. We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share.

I therefore ask the Congress, above and beyond the increases I have earlier requested for space activities, to provide the funds which are needed to meet the following national goals:

First, I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth.

No single space project in this period will be more ~~exciting~~, or more impressive, or more important for the ^{+ mankind as it makes its judgments of which way the world is going} long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. ~~Including necessary supporting research, this objective will require an additional \$531 million this year and still higher sums in the future.~~ We propose to accelerate development of the appropriate lunar space craft. We propose to develop alternate liquid and solid fuel boosters of much larger than any now being developed, until certain which is superior.

We propose additional funds for other engine development and for unmanned explorations -- explorations which are particularly important for one purpose which this nation will never overlook: the survival of the man who first makes this daring flight. But in a very real sense, it will not be one man going to the moon -- it will be an entire nation. For all of us must work to put him there.

Second, an additional \$23 million, together with \$7 million already available, to accelerate development of the ROVER nuclear rocket.

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This ~~is a technological enterprise in which we are well on the way to striking progress, and which~~ gives promise of some day providing a means for even more exciting and ambitious exploration of space, perhaps beyond the moon, perhaps to the very ends of the solar system itself.

Third, an additional \$50 million will make the most of our present leadership by accelerating ~~the~~ use of space satellites for world-wide communications. When we have put into space a system that will enable people in remote areas of the earth to exchange messages, hold conversations,

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Third, an additional \$50 million to make the most of our present leadership by accelerating the use of space satellites for world-wide communications. When we have put into space a system that will enable people in remote areas of the earth to exchange messages, hold conversations,

and eventually see television programs, we will have achieved a success as beneficial as it will be striking.

Fourth, an additional \$75 million -- of which \$53 million is for the Weather Bureau -- will help give us at the earliest possible time a satellite system for world-wide weather observation. ~~Such a system will be of inestimable commercial and scientific value; and the information it provides will be made freely available to all the nations of the world.~~

Let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action --

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Let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action --

a course which will last for many years and carry very heavy costs -- an estimated \$7-9 billion additional over the next five years. If we were to go only halfway, or reduce our sights in the face of difficulty, it would be better not to go at all.

531 million this year

Let me stress also that more money alone will not do the job.

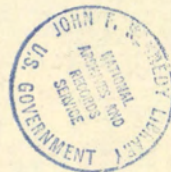
*this is the choice and finally you and the Board
 for a decision
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 one should*

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This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, material and facilities, and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread. It means a degree of dedication,

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Joint Reception of Cong.
May 25, 1961



organization and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful interagency rivalries, or a high turnover of key personnel.

New objectives and new money cannot solve these problems. They could, in fact, aggravate them further -- unless every scientist, every engineer, every serviceman, every technician, contractor, and civil servant involved gives his personal pledge that this nation will move forward, with the full speed of freedom, in the exciting adventure of space.

X. Conclusion

In conclusion let me emphasize one point: that we are determined, as a nation, that freedom shall survive and succeed -- and whatever the peril and the set-backs, we have some very large advantages.

The first is the simple fact that we are on the side of liberty -- and, since the beginning of history, liberty has been winning out in the end.

A second great asset is that we are not alone. We have friends and allies all over the world.

May I cite as a symbol of traditional and effective friendship the great ally I am about to visit -- France. I look forward to my visit to France, and to my discussion with her ^{great Cap Fan} ~~magnificent leader~~ President de Gaulle, as a meeting of particular significance, permitting the kind of close and ranging consultation which will strengthen both parties and serve their common purposes of world peace and liberty. Such serious conversations do not require a pale unanimity -- they are rather the instruments of trust and understanding.

A third asset is our desire for peace. It is sincere and the world knows it. We are proving it in our patience at the test-ban table, and we are proving it in the UN where our efforts have been directed toward maintaining that organization's usefulness as a protector of the small. In these and other instances, the response of our opponents has not been encouraging.

Yet it is important that they should know that our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible, though our credulity is limited --

that our hopes for peace are unfailing, while our determination to protect our security is resolute. For these reasons I have long thought it wise to meet with the Soviet Premier for a personal exchange of views. A meeting in Vienna next month turned out to be convenient for us both; and the Austrian Government has kindly made us welcome. No formal agenda is planned and no negotiations will be undertaken; but we will make clear that America's enduring concern is for both freedom and peace --

that we are anxious to live in harmony with the Russian people -- that we seek no conquests, no satellites, no riches -- and that we seek only the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".

Finally, our greatest asset in this struggle is the American people -- their willingness to pay the price for these programs -- to understand and accept a long struggle -- to share their resources with other less fortunate peoples --

to meet the tax levels and close the tax loopholes I have requested -- to exercise self-restraint instead of pushing up wages or prices, or over-producing certain crops, or spreading military secrets, or urging unessential expenditures or improper monopolies or harmful work stoppages -- to serve in the Peace Corps or the Armed Services or the Federal Civil Service -- to strive for excellence in their schools, in their cities and in their physical fitness -- to take part in Civil Defense -- to pay higher postal rates,

higher payroll taxes and higher teachers salaries, in order to strengthen our society -- to show friendship to students and visitors from other lands -- and, finally, to practice democracy at home, in all states, with all races, to respect each other and to protect the constitutional rights of all citizens.

I have not asked for a single program which did not cause one or all Americans some inconvenience, or some hardship, or some sacrifice.

But they have responded --
you in the Congress have
responded -- and I feel confident
in asking today for a similar
response to these new and larger
demands. It is heartening to
know, as I journey abroad, that
our country is united in its
commitment to freedom -- and
ready to do its duty.

The Constitution imposes upon me the obligation to "from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union". While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, particularly with respect to personal appearances, this tradition has been broken in extraordinary times.

These are extraordinary times. We face an extraordinary challenge. We face opportunities and adversaries that do not wait for annual addresses or fiscal years. This nation is engaged in a long and exacting test of the future of freedom -- a test which may well continue for decades to come. Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed upon this nation the role of leader in freedom's cause.

No role in history could be more difficult or more important. It is not^a negative or defensive role -- it is positive. We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves -- that is our only commitment to others. No friend, no neutral and no adversary should think otherwise. We are not against any man -- or any nation -- or any system -- except as it is hostile to freedom.

The great battleground for the defense of freedom today is the whole bottom half of the globe -- Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East -- the lands of the rising peoples. Their revolution is one of peace and hope -- for decency and dignity, for freedom and equality, for order and independence. It is a revolution which we support, regardless of their color, regardless of the Cold War, and, regardless of which political or economic route they choose to freedom.

For the adversaries of freedom did not create this revolution; nor did they create the conditions which compel it. But they are seeking to capture it for themselves -- to enthrall its peoples in the servitude of a new and relentless form of totalitarian imperialism.

Yet their aggression is more often indirect than open. They have fired no missiles; and their troops are seldom seen. They send arms, agitators, aid, technicians and propaganda to every troubled area. But where fighting is required, it is usually done by others -- by guerrillas

striking at night, by assassins striking alone, by subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

They possess a powerful intercontinental striking force, large forces for conventional war, a well-trained underground in nearly every country, the power to conscript talent and manpower for any purpose, the capacity for quick decisions, a closed society without dissent or free information, and long experience in the techniques of violence and subversion. They make the most of their scientific successes, their economic progress and their pose as a foe of colonialism and friend of popular revolution. They prey on unstable or unpopular governments, unsealed or unknown boundaries, unfulfilled hopes, convulsive change, massive poverty, illiteracy unrest and frustration.

With these formidable weapons, the adversaries of freedom plan to exploit, to control, and finally to destroy the hopes of the world's newest nations. It is a contest of will and purpose as well as force and violence -- a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. And in that contest, we cannot stand aside.

We stand, as we have always stood, for the independence and equality of nations. We stand for the democratic revolution of social progress. We stand for diversity, honest disagreements, and mutual respect. This nation was born of revolution and raised in freedom. And we do not intend to leave an open road to despotism.

But the facts of the matter are that we in the West have not yet sufficiently mobilized our resources, demonstrated our aims, or inspired the necessary spirit of local reform to help these new revolutions find success in constructive pursuits. Too often we have accepted a merely defensive role. Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of the status quo. Meanwhile the totalitarian conspiracy gains. One nation at a time, by internal more often than external means, it consolidates its territory and snuffs out the candles of freedom.

There is no single simple policy with which to meet this challenge. Experience has taught us that no one nation has the power or the wisdom to solve all the problems of the world or manage all its revolutionary tides -- that extending our commitments does not always increase our security -- that any initiative carries with it the risk of temporary defeat -- that nuclear weapons do not deter subversion -- that no people can be kept free without will and energy of their own -- and that no two nations or situations are exactly alike.

Yet there is much we can do. The proposals I bring before you today are numerous and varied. They are designed in different ways to meet a host of special opportunities and dangers which have become increasingly clear in recent months. Taken together they mark another step forward and upward in our effort as a people. Taken together they will advance our own progress, encourage our friends, strengthen the defense of freedom, and lift the hopes of all who seek a world of peace. I am here to ask the help of this Congress and this nation in approving these necessary measures.

II. Economic and Social Progress at Home

The ultimate source of our national strength is our domestic economy. To sustain new efforts in world affairs and space -- to demonstrate to all the success of freedom's way -- and to meet the needs of our own citizens when we are assisting others -- we need a growing, prosperous nation. The times require that we make full use of our resources -- human, scientific, and material -- giving priority to our most urgent national needs.

The first and basic task confronting the nation this year was to turn recession into recovery. With your cooperation, the Administration initiated an affirmative anti-recession program shortly after taking office. That program of action, together with natural forces in the private sector, have brought renewed confidence and energy to the economy. The recession has been halted. Recovery is under way.

But the task of abating unemployment and achieving a full use of resources remains as a serious challenge. Unemployment is still intolerably high. It is a major social evil; it is a source of national weakness. It will persist even as the nation's output surpasses previous achievements.

This Congress must consider additional long-range measures to curb this unemployment and increase our economic growth, if we are to sustain our full role as world leaders. I would stress one measure in particular today -- a measure of particular importance in meeting the occupational demands of new American leadership in space, aid, trade and defense.

I am transmitting to the Congress a new Manpower Development and Training program, to train or retrain more than a million workers in new occupational skills over a four-year period, in order to replace those skills made obsolete by automation and industrial change with the new skills which new processes demand. Supplementing current public and private training and education programs, such a measure, including subsistence and relocation allowances for the long-term unemployed, is a positive answer to the challenge of technology.

In addition, full recovery and economic growth require sustained increases in investment, and this requires favorable monetary and credit conditions. The lending capacity of the Small Business Administration should be increased; and Federal action can help reduce the cost of the home-buyer's mortgage. Beyond this, the financial influence of the Government must continue to be exerted in the direction of credit ease and further monetary growth while the economy is recovering. Some further downward adjustments in interest rates, particularly those which have been slow to adjust in the recent recession, are clearly desirable.

These expansionary measures at a time of unemployment, unused capacity and stable price levels, are not inflationary. This is important, for we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the outflow of gold and improving our balance of payments. We must maintain this progress -- and this will require the cooperation and self-restraint of everyone. As recovery progresses, there will be temptations to seek unjustified price and wage increases. These we cannot afford. Labor and management must -- and I am confident that they will -- pursue responsible wage and price policies in these urgent times; and I look to my Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to give a strong lead in this direction.

Moreover, if the budget deficit now increased by the needs of our security is to be held within manageable proportions -- if we are to preserve our fiscal integrity and world confidence in the dollar -- it will be necessary to hold tightly to prudent fiscal standards; and I must request the cooperation of the Congress in this regard -- to refrain from adding funds or programs, desirable as they may be, to the Budget -- to end the postal deficit through increased rates -- to provide full pay-as-you-build highway financing -- and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Our security and progress cannot be cheaply purchased; and their price must be found in what we all forego as well as what we pay.

III Economic and Social Progress Abroad

I stress the strength of our economy only because it is essential to our strength as a nation. And what is true in our case is true of other countries. Their strength in the struggle for freedom depends on the strength of their economic and social progress. Their ability to resist imperialism from without and subversion from within depends in large measure upon their stability and success in achieving a viable economy.

This is particularly true in those less-developed countries that have become the focal point of struggle. And that is why our response to their danger must be essentially constructive. We want to generate hope in those countries. We want them to modernize their societies and stand as equal partners in the community of free nations. We would be badly mistaken to consider their problems in military terms alone.

For no amount of arms and armies can help stabilize those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social reform and economic development. Military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invites insurgency and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts available cannot succeed where the local population is too caught up in its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism.

On the other hand, no amount of subversive activity can corrupt a nation working with confidence for a better society, under leadership it trusts, and with increasing participation by all in the benefits of new development.

This is our concept. We stand ready now to provide generously of our skills, our capital, and our food to assist the peoples of the less-developed nations to reach their goals -- and to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

This is also our great opportunity. If we grasp it, communist subversion is exposed as naked, unjustifiable aggression by a system that does not want new nations to be either free or equal. But if we do not pursue it, the bankruptcy of unstable governments and unfulfilled hopes will surely lead to a series of communist receiverships.

Earlier in the year, I outlined to the Congress a new program for aiding emerging nations; and it is my intention to transmit shortly draft legislation to implement this program, to establish a new Act for International Development (AID), and to add to the figures previously requested, in view of the swift pace of critical events, an additional \$250 million for a Presidential Contingency Fund, to be used only upon my determination in each case. I make this additional request because of my conviction/^{that in these uncertain times} we must have the flexibility to respond to new, but as yet unknown, crises and opportunities. The total amount requested -- now raised to \$2.65 billion -- is both minimal and crucial.

Our hopes for the Latin American Alliance for Progress -- our hopes for improving the excellent start toward planned development that has been made in a number of countries -- our hopes for frustrating Communist propaganda and subversion by creating a climate for peaceful progress -- and our hopes for convincing the other industrialized nations to increase their role in this endeavor -- all depend upon Congress enacting the full amount of funds and, of equal importance, the long-term borrowing authority which I have requested.

Let me stress there are bright spots in this picture. With the very convincing help of the Congress, the Latin American Alliance for Progress has been successfully launched. Our great partners to the North, who received my wife and myself so graciously, are indicating their interest. Our good neighbors to the South are making major strides to build the bulwarks of freedom -- economic and social progress ~~against the further encroachment of Communism~~. Other nations are recognizing our expectation of greater reform on their part -- and other allies are indicating their willingness to help make this decade of progress a turning-point. There is much to be done -- but we are not alone.

IV.

All that I have said makes it clear that we are engaged in a world-wide struggle to preserve and promote our own ideals, or have alien ideals forced upon us. That struggle has highlighted the role of the U. S. Information Agency,

our primary organ for disseminating information overseas. This activity assumes critical importance at different times and in different places and we must be able to respond quickly. It is essential that the funds previously requested for this effort be not only approved in full, but increased by an additional \$2.4 million I am transmitting this week, for a total of little more than \$121 million.

This new request is for additional radio and television in Latin America and Southeast Asia. These tools are particularly effective in the cities and villages of those great continents as a means of reaching millions of uncertain peoples to tell them the views and actions of the United States. Castro's own powerful propaganda broadcasts now heard throughout Latin America are encouraging new revolutions in several countries; and our efforts to isolate this menace require increased efforts to convey throughout the Americas the truth about communist brutalities, and the betrayal of the Cuban revolution. To strengthen all of Latin America, we need the widest possible appreciation of our Alianza para el Progreso, and its meaning to poverty-stricken peoples.

Similarly, in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the communist tide in that continent must ultimately rest. Our interest is solely in the truth -- the truth that will make men free.

V SPACE

But if we are to win the battle for men's minds, the dramatic achievements in space which occurred in recent weeks should have made clear to us all the impact of this new frontier of human adventure. Since early in my term, our efforts in space have been under review -- where we are strong and where we are not, where we may succeed and where we may not. Now it is time to act -- time for a great new American enterprise -- time for this nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement.

I believe we possess all the resources and all the talents
But
necessary. The facts of the matter are that we have never made the

decisions or marshalled the resources required for such leadership. We have never specified long-range goals on an urgent time schedule, or managed our resources and our time so as to insure their fulfillment.

Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets with their large rocket engines, and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead for some time to come in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless are required to make new efforts, whether we are first or not. Making them in full view of the world enhances our stature, whether we are first or not. But space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not defined by the efforts of others. We go into space because what mankind must undertake, free men must fully share.

I therefore ask the Congress, above and beyond the increases I have earlier requested for space activities, to provide the funds which are needed to meet the following national goals:

First, to land a man on the moon and return him safely to the earth before this decade is out. No single space project in this period will be more exciting, or more impressive, or more important for the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. Including necessary supporting research, this objective will require an additional \$531 million this year and still higher sums in the future. We propose to accelerate development of the appropriate lunar space craft. We propose to develop both liquid and solid fuel boosters of the largest possible size. We propose additional funds for other engines and for unmanned explorations which are important in particular for a purpose which this nation will never overlook: the survival of the men who first make these daring flights.

Second, an additional \$30 million to accelerate development of the ROVER nuclear rocket. This is a technological enterprise in which we are well on the way to striking progress and one which gives promise of some day providing the means for the exploration of space even beyond the moon -- to the planets and the more distant reaches beyond.

Third, an additional \$50 million to make the most of our present leadership by accelerating the use of space satellites for world-wide communications. When we have put into space a system that will enable people in remote areas of the earth to exchange messages, hold conversations, and eventually see television programs, we will have achieved a success as beneficial as it will be striking.

Fourth, an additional \$75 million -- of which \$53 million is for the Weather Bureau -- to give us at the earliest possible time a system for world-wide weather observation. Such a system will be of inestimable commercial and scientific value; and the information it provides will be made freely available to all the nations of the world.

Let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action -- a course which will last for many years and carry very heavy costs. If we were to go only half way, or reduce our sights in the face of difficulty, it would be better not to go at all.

Let me stress also that more money alone will not do the job. This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, material, and facilities and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread. It means a degree of dedication, organization, and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful interagency rivalries, or a high turnover of key personnel.

New objectives and new money cannot solve these problems. They could, in fact, aggravate them further -- unless every scientist, every engineer, every serviceman and service chief, every technician, contractor, and civil servant involved gives his personal pledge that this nation will move forward, with the full speed of freedom, in the exciting adventure of space.

VI Our Partnership for Self-defense

But while we talk of peaceful adventure, of sharing and building and the competition of ideas, others talk of arms and threaten war. So we have learned to keep our defenses strong -- and to cooperate with others in a partnership of self-defense. The events of recent weeks have caused us to look anew at these efforts.

1. The center of freedom's defense is the Atlantic Alliance and NATO's strength must be our constant concern. To meet the changing conditions of power, we have endorsed a new policy of increased emphasis on NATO conventional strength, while at the same time affirming our conviction that the NATO nuclear deterrent must also be kept strong. I have made clear our intention to commit to the NATO command, for this purpose, 5 POLARIS submarines, with more to come.

Our will and our capacity to resist all types of aggression in the NATO treaty area should be clear beyond possibility of miscalculation; and if they so remain, I am certain there will be no such attack.

2. A second key to our partnership for self-defense is the Military Assistance Program. The main burden of local defense against local attack, subversion, insurrection or guerrilla warfare must of necessity rest on local forces. If these forces are willing and able to cope with such threats, our intervention is rarely necessary or helpful. If they lack the necessary will, our intervention would be futile. But where will is present and only capacity is lacking, our Military Assistance Program can be of help.

But this program, like economic assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political and military reforms essential to internal respect and stability. The equipment and training provided must be tailored to legitimate local needs and to our own foreign and military policies, not to our supply of military stocks or a local leader's desire for military grandeur. And military assistance should complement, not substitute for, economic progress. The domestic works of our own Army Engineers are an example of the role which military forces in the emerging countries can play in village development, sanitation and road building. Thus, while kept separate from our economic assistance, this program must be closely coordinated with it under our Ambassadors abroad.

In an earlier message, I requested \$1.6 billion for Military Assistance, stating that this would maintain existing force levels, but that I could not foresee how much more might prove to be required. It is now clear that this is not enough -- that many countries need increased mobility, modernization and para-military equipment -- and that others must increase their capability to work effectively with outside forces dispatched to help them in an emergency. The rising tide of Castroism and Communism in Latin America -- the increasing arms traffic in Africa -- and in particular the increasing pressures on all those nations along the periphery of the Communist bloc in Asia and the Middle East -- all make clear the dimension of our needs.

I therefore request the Congress to provide a total of \$1.885 billion for Military Assistance in the coming fiscal year -- an amount less than that requested a year ago -- but a minimum which must be assured if we are to help those nations make secure their independence.

VII. Our own Military and Intelligence Shield

In line with these developments, I have directed a further reinforcement of our own capacity to deter or resist non-nuclear aggression. Our nuclear strength and our deterrent capacity are adequately safeguarded by what I have requested in an earlier message; and if their strength and invulnerability are maintained, and the Western alliance remains resolute and united, there will be no general nuclear attack. And even in the conventional field, with one exception, I find no present need for large new levies of men. What is needed is rather a change of position to give us still further increases in our flexibility, our adaptability, and our readiness. Therefore:

(1) First, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to undertake a complete reorganization of the Army's divisional structure, to increase its non-nuclear firepower, to improve its tactical mobility in any environment, to insure its flexibility to meet any direct or indirect threat, to facilitate its coordination with our major allies, and to provide new mechanized divisions in Europe and new airborne brigades in both the Pacific and Europe.

(2) Second, I am asking the Congress for an additional \$100 million to begin the procurement task necessary to equip this new Army structure. More helicopters, more armored personnel carriers and more howitzers, for example, are necessary. These funds will be added to those already requested or reprogrammed from other sources.

(3) Third, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to expand rapidly and substantially the orientation of existing forces for the conduct of non-nuclear war, para-military operations and sub-limited or unconventional wars. He assures me that, by reprogramming existing funds as permitted by law, over \$100 million can be directed to this objective without additional appropriations this year. These funds will be used for accelerating the purchase of new non-nuclear weapons and equipment, increasing air and amphibious lift capacity, and deploying more forces and equipment to key centers abroad, where they can be quickly moved to meet any outbreak of trouble.

(4) Fourth, I am asking that our special forces and unconventional warfare units be increased and reoriented. Throughout the services new emphasis must be placed on the special skills and languages -- and a new survey has revealed in the services the ability to speak more than 100 different languages, from Arabic to Vietnamese -- which are required to work with local populations in all the social, economic, psychological, governmental and other efforts that are short of open conflict but necessary to counter communist-sponsored guerrillas or insurgents.

(5) Fifth, to enhance the already formidable ability of the Marine Corps to respond to limited war emergencies, I am asking the Congress for \$50 million to increase Marine Corps strength to 200,000 men. This will increase the initial impact and staying power of our three Marine divisions and three air wings, and provide a trained nucleus for further immediate expansion, if necessary in self-defense.

(6) Finally, to cite one other area of operations that are both legitimate and necessary as a means of self-defense in an age of hidden perils, our whole intelligence effort must be reviewed, and its coordination with other elements of policy reviewed. This is not a matter on which public discussion is useful, nor are current studies completed. But the Congress and ^{the} American people are entitled to know that we will institute whatever new organization, policies and control that are necessary to insure the maximum coordination and use of all political, economic and psychological resources in the attainment of our objectives.

VIII. Civil Defense

One major element of the national security program which this nation has never squarely faced up to is civil defense. This problem arises not from present trends but from past inaction. In the past decade we have intermittently considered a variety of programs, but we have never adopted a basic policy. Public considerations have been largely characterized by apathy, indifference and skepticism; while, at the same time, many of the civil defense plans proposed have been so far-reaching or unrealistic that they have not gained essential support.

This Administration has been looking very hard at exactly what civil defense can and cannot do. It cannot be obtained cheaply. It cannot give a permanent guarantee of blast protection. And it cannot deter a nuclear attack.

We will deter an enemy from making a nuclear attack only if our retaliatory power is so strong and so invulnerable that he knows he would be destroyed by our response. If we have that strength, civil defense is not needed to deter an attack. If we should ever lack it, civil defense would not be an adequate substitute.

But this deterrent concept assumes rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a miscalculation, an accidental war which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. The nature of modern warfare heightens these possibilities. It is on this basis that civil defense can readily be justified -- as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance we trust will never be needed -- but insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe.

Once the validity of this concept is recognized, there is no point in delaying the initiation of a nation-wide long-range program of identifying present fall-out shelter capacity and providing fall-out shelters in new and existing structures. Such a program would protect millions of people against the hazards of radioactive fallout in the event of a large-scale nuclear attack. This is particularly important in the event of an attack aimed primarily at military targets instead of urban areas. To assure effective use of these shelters, additional measures will be required for warning, training, radiological monitoring and stock-piling of food and medicines. And effective performance of the entire program requires not only new legislative authority and more funds, but also sound organizational arrangements.

(1) Therefore, under the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958, I am assigning responsibility for this program to the top civilian authority already responsible for continental defense, the Secretary of Defense. It is important that this function remain civilian in nature and command; and this feature will not be changed. Responsibilities for preparedness programs in connection with health, food, manpower, transportation and other needs in the event of an attack will be assigned to the appropriate department and agency heads, all of whom will work with State and local agencies. For their role remains an essential one.

(2) The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization will be reconstituted as a small staff agency to assist me in the coordination of these functions, under the new title of "Office of Emergency Planning".

(3) As soon as those newly charged with these responsibilities have prepared new authorization and appropriation requests, such requests will be transmitted to the Congress for a much strengthened Federal-State civil defense program. Such a program will include new requirements for shelter in Federal and Federally financed buildings, and will provide Federal funds for identifying, in all areas, fallout shelter capacity in existing structures, and matching grants or other incentives for constructing -- initially outside of primary target areas -- fallout shelters in State and local government and private buildings.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in fiscal 1962 under this program will in all likelihood be more than triple the pending budget requests; and they will increase sharply in subsequent years. Financial participation will also be required from State and local governments and from private citizens. But no insurance is cost-free; and every American citizen and his community must decide for themselves whether this form of survival insurance justifies the expenditure of effort, time and money. For myself, I am convinced that it does.

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY, TUESDAY MAY 23, 1961 at Twelve Noon

I

The Constitution ~~of our land~~ imposes upon me the obligation to "from time to time give to the Congress information ^{of} ~~on~~ the State of the Union". While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, particularly with respect to personal appearances, this tradition has been broken in extraordinary times.

These are extraordinary times. We face an extraordinary challenge. We face an adversary that does not wait for annual addresses or fiscal years. And the pace of events since my last appearance ~~here~~ ^{before this body} ~~compels~~ ^{my report and} ~~this~~ ^{urgent/request} ~~for news papers and~~ ^{to you today.}
~~program~~

The facts of the matter are that we are now engaged in what may well ~~be~~ ^{we maintain} be a second Hundred Years War. If/the deterrent strength and invulnerability of our retaliatory capacity, ~~is strengthened~~ there will be no general nuclear war. If the Western Alliance remains resolute and united, there will be no invasion of Europe. But in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, another kind of war is being fought every day -- a war that feeds on unstable or unpopular governments, unsealed or unknown boundaries, unfulfilled hopes, convulsive change, massive poverty, illiteracy, unrest and frustration. It is a war of will and purpose as well as violence -- a war for the minds and souls of men as well as their lives. It is Communism's war to expand their domain, to "bury" the West and to claim the future for themselves.

Yet no Soviet missiles are fired and no Soviet troops are ~~and~~ ^{is rarely} deployed; ~~now~~ ^{is opportunity or cause/presented} for the use of our missiles or troops. The Soviets and the Communist Chinese may send arms, advice, aid, technicians, trade and propaganda through-
out the bottom half of the globe. ^{where fighting is required} But/the fighting is done by others, by guerrillas striking at night, ~~at~~ ^{by} assassins striking alone, by

subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

The Communist powers possess a powerful intercontinental striking force, massive forces for conventional war, a well-trained underground in every country, the power to compel talent, manpower and quick decisions, a closed society without dissent or free public information, and long experience in the techniques of violence and subversion. They train, supply and encourage revolts and guerrilla warfare. They make the most of their scientific successes, their economic progress and their pose as a foe of colonialism and friend of revolution. Where the inevitable revolt against misery succeeds, they seek to capture it; and where it fails, they seek to inherit it.

This country is also a friend of revolution. Unlike the Communists, we favor the independence and equality of all nations. But we in the West have not sufficiently mobilized our resources, demonstrated our aims or inspired the necessary local reforms and resistance to channel these revolutions into peaceful and constructive pursuits. We are forced on the defensive, considered friends of the status quo. As aggressors and revolutionists, the Communists hold the initiative. One nation at a time, by internal more often than external means, they consolidate their territory and erode our security.

There is no single, simple strategy or policy with which we must respond to this challenge. We wish it were so. But experience has taught us that no nation has the wisdom and power to solve all the problems of the world, or control its revolutionary tides -- that extending our commitments does not increase our security -- that any initiative carries with it the risk of defeat -- that nuclear weapons cannot deter subversion -- and that no two nations or situations are alike.

But there is much we can do -- to increase our security, encourage our friends, and impress our foes. I here and now call upon this Congress and this nation to support these necessary steps.

II - Non-Nuclear Defenses

When our security is in danger, our natural response is a military one -- increasing our retaliatory capacity ~~to order~~ to deter a nuclear attack, and increasing our conventional forces ~~in order~~ to deter or resist any invasion of friendly borders. I have in ~~already, in a message to the Congress,~~ a prior message requested all of the funds that can be usefully spent this year ~~in increasing~~ to build our retaliatory capacity; and, to the extent that numbers of men are needed to prevent any armed invasions of free nations, it is clear that the 2.5 million men now in our Armed Services, backed by a Reserve Force of 1.8 million men, and nearly 6 million men in the forces of allied and friendly nations, ~~are adequate to meet~~ on the whole this threat, ~~with the conventional forces now available.~~

But overt attack is not the only threat or the greatest danger. ~~What we have~~ our strength has failed to stop is indirect and internal aggression -- by subversion, infiltration, individual acts of violence, insurrection or guerrilla attacks supported from ~~outside the country involved~~ without. The United States could double the size of its conventional forces without improving its ability to combat these attacks.

This is particularly true in the case of the Army, which is currently organized for reliance primarily on tactical nuclear weapons, and not for operations in a jungle or mountain-range against the kind of indirect opposition I have mentioned. Yet this nation possesses both the fighting tradition -- dating back to the French and ~~Italian~~ ^{Indian} War -- and the modern equipment -- such as helicopters -- to give us unsurpassed excellence in this kind of combat.

Therefore:

(1) First, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to undertake a complete reorganization of the Army's divisional structure, to increase its non-nuclear fire-power, to improve its tactical mobility in any environment, to insure its flexibility to meet any threat, to facilitate ^{its} coordination with our major allies, and to provide new

mechanized divisions in Europe and new airborne brigades in both the Pacific and Europe.

(2) Secondly, I am asking the Congress for an additional \$100 million to begin the massive procurement task necessary to equip this new Army structure. More helicopters, more armored personnel carriers and more howitzers, for example, cannot be produced overnight. These funds will be added to those already requested, reserved, or reprogrammed from other sources.

(3) Third, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to expand rapidly and substantially the orientation and utilization of existing forces for the conduct of para-military operations and sub-limited or unconventional wars. He assures me that, by reprogramming existing funds, nearly 1/4 billion can be directed to this objective without additional appropriations this year. These funds will be used for accelerating the purchase of new non-nuclear weapons and equipment, increasing air and amphibious lift capacity, and deploying more forces and equipment in key centers abroad, where they can be quickly moved to meet any outbreak of trouble.

Should this be stressed as a separate, important item?

In addition, we shall establish four regional groups of psychological warfare, intelligence, civil affairs and special forces units under the title of U. S. Forward Liaison and Assistance Groups -- or U. S. FLAGS for short. The mission of these cold war task forces will be to train, advise and assist free governments in countering communist-sponsored guerrillas or insurgents.

Finally, our special forces and unconventional warfare units will be increased -- a number of World War II type aircraft will be activated for "Jungle Jim" anti-guerrilla training -- and throughout the services new emphasis will be placed on the special skills a new survey has revealed the ability to speak more than 100 different languages -- from Afrikaan to Vietnamese -- and to work with local populations in all the social, economic,

psychological, governmental and other efforts that are short of open conflict but necessary to stem internal Communist aggression.

Does the impact of one Division justify the expense? Should we say we are calling up Reserves? Would use of existing training units or filling out existing Divisions be more efficient?

(4) Fourth, to remove all doubts about either our will or our capacity to respond, I am asking the Congress for \$600 million to add another Marine Division and Air Wing. The Marine Corps philosophy, ~~training~~ training, mobility, tailored logistic support and integrated air support all make it particularly fit for the kind of combat that may be thrust upon us.

III - Military Assistance

However, as stated in my earlier message, the main burden of local defense against local attack, subversion, & insurrection or guerrilla warfare must rest on local forces. If they are willing and able to cope with any threat, our intervention is rarely necessary or helpful. If they lack the necessary will, our intervention is futile. But where they lack only the necessary capacity, our Military Assistance Program can be of help.

But this program, too, needs a new emphasis. It can no longer be extended without regard to the social, political and military reforms essential to internal respect and stability. The equipment and training provided must be tailored to the local country's needs and our own foreign policy, not to our supply of surplus stocks or a local leader's desire for military grandeur. And military assistance should complement, not substitute for, economic progress. The domestic works of our own Army Engineers demonstrate the role local forces in the emerging countries can play in village development, sanitation and road building. Thus, while kept separate from our economic assistance, this program must be closely coordinated with it under our Ambassadors abroad.

Finally, high military assistance levels premised on local countries staving off an overt major aggression are consistent neither with our defense commitments or the new strength and mobility sought for our own conventional forces. Reductions have also been possible in some nations with rising economic capacities.

But we cannot refuse to face the rising tide of Castroism and Communism in Latin America -- the increasing arms traffic in Africa, where new national boundaries do not always conform to logical, historical, or defensible patterns -- and the growing threat to all those nations along the periphery of the Communist

Query: Should any nation be added ~~ex~~ to or taken off this list? Review of each justification is illuminating (see, e. g. Burma, Pakistan)

Should we also increase military assistance to NATO countries to build their conventional forces?

Should we mention also requesting right to borrow \$400 mill. from regular Defense Budget?

bloc: Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, the Republic of China on Formosa, and Korea. These nations are on the front lines of the Cold War -- any outbreak of internal disorder can be easily inflamed, supplied or exploited by their Communist neighbors. In some cases, such as Vietnam and Thailand, there is a threat of an open and external Communist attack.

In my earlier message on Foreign aid, I requested \$1.6 billion for Military Assistance, stating that this would cover existing commitments and force levels, but admitting an inability to determine how much more current developments might require.

It is now clear that this amount is insufficient to do the job; and that at least \$400 million more is necessary. Until arms control becomes a reality, we cannot let down our guard and we must not let down our friends.

IV - NATO
our security

FP An essential element of ~~the world~~ our security is the military strength of the North Atlantic Community. The coordinated defenses of NATO constitute our single greatest bulwark for peace and freedom; and I have no hesitation in making any effort or taking any trip to make certain that alliance is solid.

Since this was essentially in the Canadian speech, do courtesy & protocol require that it be said to the Congress? Should NATO economic policies be discussed? Will the Germans be nervous about this discussion of conventional forces?

But NATO force structures were originally devised to meet the threat of a massive conventional attack, in a period of Western nuclear monopoly. Now, opposing armies are less massive. Our monopoly is gone. And resistance by NATO conventional forces may be both feasible and necessary under certain conditions.

If we are to achieve non-nuclear NATO forces of sufficient quality, mobility and firepower to hold any attacking force long enough to permit a deliberate decision on the use of nuclear weapons, every NATO member -- and this country has already begun -- must assign more resources and a higher priority to the strengthening of conventional forces now on the continent.

I have also made clear our intention to bolster NATO's nuclear deterrent by committing to the NATO command area 5 Polaris submarines, with more to come later. This Administration's thinking on both current and future arrangements for a NATO sea-borne missile force have been earlier disclosed; and I will only add my conviction that if our will and our capacity to resist all types of aggression in the NATO treaty area are clear beyond possibility of miscalculation, there will be no such attack.

V ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AID

But we would err, and grievously so, if we assumed that our answer to the Communist challenge must be wholly, or even primarily military. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts in the world cannot prevail if the local population, who sees no other rescue from their misery, is sympathetic to the guerrillas. A dozen more Marine divisions could not keep within the Free World orbit either a nation dependent on Communist aid and technicians, or a nation whose social and economic chaos invites penetration and subversion. Nor will more ~~more~~ military assistance ~~without~~ help stabilize those governments unable or unwilling to initiate programs for economic reform and development, or too caught up in their own misery to be concerned about the advance of Communism.

So let us not react to new military set-backs by becoming obsessed with military solutions. The thrust of our foreign policy is, and must be, largely constructive, particularly with the emerging nations -- to help them preserve their independence, modernize their societies and stand as equal partners in the community of free nations -- and to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

This is our great ^{opportunity.} ~~advantage~~ and If we pursue it, Communist subversion is exposed as naked, unjustifiable. aggression by a system that does not want new nations to be either free or equal.

But if we do not pursue it, the bankruptcy of unstable governments and unfulfilled hopes will surely lead to a series of Communist receiverships.

Earlier in the year, I outlined to the Congress a new program for aiding these emerging nations; and it is my intention to transmit within a week draft legislation to implement this program, to establish a new ^{Act} ~~Administration~~ ^{International} ~~for~~ ^{Development} (AID), and to add to the figures previously requested, in view of

Are we certain it will be ready before departing the country?

Do we mention request for transfer authority from military to economic? Or any organizational decisions (Food for Peace, etc)?

the swift pace of critical events, an additional \$250 million for a Presidential ~~the~~ Contingency Fund. The total amount requested -- now raised to \$2.65 billion -- is both minimal and crucial. Our hopes for the Latin American Alliance for Progress -- our hopes for solid improving the bright/spots in South Asia, such as India and Pakistan -- our hopes for countering Communist aid, Communist propaganda, and the discontent on which the Communists prey -- and our hopes for convincing the other industrialized nations to increase their role in this endeavor -- all depend upon Congress enacting the full amount of funds and/authority/requested. long-term I have

If our strength were directly attacked, I know this nation would respond, regardless of the cost. The Communists know it, too. ~~they~~ They prefer to nibble away at our strength, to erode it gradually, to prolong a struggle which is neither war nor peace. 7,000 of their technicians are working in less-developed countries. New Communist aid missions are in Africa and Asia. Surely we in the West can mobilize all the resources needed to meet this challenge, as we have every other challenge to our security since the nation's birth.

2/28/68

In 2 key target countries they are attacking - as much as we can in 400 other free countries / 1968

VI. Trade

At the same time, we must adhere to policies of international trade which further the economic solidarity of the Free World and the stability of less-developed countries. The increase in our exports, assisting the improvement in our balance of payments, requires a continued liberalization of our import policies. The ~~trade~~ economic offensive of the Communist bloc, which has tripled its trade with the less-developed countries in recent years, has become an effective wedge for increasing the economic, technical and ultimately political dependence of these countries, whose economies/are often ~~wholly~~ based upon the sales of a single commodity. Nor will our development aid be successful if such countries cannot obtain stable markets in which to earn the funds they need to pay back ~~our~~ loans, import new goods and modernize their economies. The OECD will be an important instrument for/cooperation. Our own trade ~~legislation~~ ~~which~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~renewed~~ ~~next~~ ~~year~~, must not be weakened ~~at~~ ~~and~~ ~~critical~~ ~~times~~ recognizing that it is/a ~~policy~~ which must be selectively applied when unemployment is high, I would nevertheless urge that, to ease these pressures for restriction, the Congress enact a Trade Adjustment Assistance Act to help those communities, businesses and workers seriously injured by import competition.

George Ball advises against specific mention of commodity agreements before Latin hopes get too high.

?

VII. CUBA

I cannot speak of Latin America without saying a few words about our future policy toward Cuba. It is important that we are not misled by one reverse into much more serious errors.

At the present time I do not believe that the interests of freedom would be served by an armed attack of United States forces on Castro -- or by a naval blockade (which is only a much less effective form of initiating an open war) -- unless, as I have previously indicated, there should be any foreign effort to make Cuba a base of serious aggressive action against this country, or an attempt by Castro himself to undertake aggressive action among our inter-American allies. In the absence of such efforts, we must never forget this nation's world-wide role and commitments, which are crucial in so many key areas, and which require us, in framing our course for any one case, to bear in mind our total responsibilities.

Are there any economic sanctions we can indicate?

But this does not mean that we are helpless or complacent about this small but noxious despotism, slipping steadily under more and more foreign control and now angrily denying even a pretense of free elections. We are more certain than ever that the Castro's regime's own words and actions will increasingly isolate it from liberal forces in the Hemisphere, and make clear to all the Americans that it is not a genuine revolution but a captive satellite. We are, in addition, more determined to cooperate energetically with all nations who may be threatened by this dictatorship. We shall also fulfill our obligations and generous traditions in meeting the needs of Cuban exiles, particularly those families who suffered losses in the gallant effort of recent weeks. Meanwhile, the Cuban struggle for freedom will surely continue -- our sympathies are plain -- and, under the Alliance for Progress, we intend to work more closely than ever with all our friends to make this Hemisphere fulfill her own high promise.

VIII. COLD WAR OPERATIONS

Partly as a result of the course of events and errors in Cuba, I have initiated detailed studies of this nation's capacity and organization in the collection and analysis of intelligence, and in covert, para-military, psychological warfare and related operations. To the extent permitted, our conclusions and actions resulting from those studies will be appropriately communicated to the Congress.

This much can be said now, however, about such operations in the future. There is no denying either their necessity or their legitimacy as a means of self-defense against a covert foe in an age of peril. But they must be conducted strictly within the framework of our foreign policy objectives and democratic aspirations. Any major decision should be preceded by a minimum of advance advertising and a maximum of advance planning, to assure maximum exploitation of success and a minimization of failure. There must be both a clearer distinction and closer coordination between operations necessarily secret and those which should be overt, and less publicity and speech-making relating to these operations generally. We must avoid concentrating in one agency the responsibility for gather^{ing} and coordinating intelligence data, for conducting counter-intelligence, for providing analysis and estimates, for recommending policy, and for conducting military or para-military operations to implement that policy. Nor can such operations be conducted from afar. And, at the same time, these responsibilities are limited, too many separate and competing agencies with the same assignment, with too many people given too much unaccounted for money, must be brought under closer executive review -- with new organization, new principles and new leadership, and integrated more closely with related military, economic and propaganda operations.

IX. U. S. I. A.

All that I have said makes it clear that we are engaged in a struggle to ~~It is now clear that we must~~ preserve and promote our own ideals, or have alien ideals forced upon us. The role of propaganda, of ideological and psychological warfare, and of the U. S. Information Agency ^{alone} thus assume critical importance. One year's defense budget/could operate the U.S.I.A. program for 400 years -- yet without that program we may have very little left to defend. It is essential that the funds previously requested for this effort be not only approved in full, but increased by an additional sum I am transmitting this week. ?

This new request is for additional radio and television -- the most means at our command to influence effective ~~media~~ with those illiterate and semi-literate peoples to whom the Castros and Communists appeal ~~xx~~ in the newly beleaguered areas of Latin America and Southeast Asia. Castro's own powerful propaganda broadcasts now heard throughout Latin America are threatening new "Fidelista" revolutions in several countries; and our efforts to isolate this menace require increased efforts to convey throughout the Americas the truth about his brutalities, his subservience to international Communism and his betrayal of the Cuban revolution. To strengthen all of Latin America, we need the widest possible appreciation of our Alianza para Progreso, and its meaning to poverty-stricken peoples.

Similarly, in Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand, we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the Communist tide in that continent must ultimately rest. Our propaganda propagates the truth -- the truth that will make men free.

X CIVIL DEFENSE

One major element of the defense picture/unrelated to any new developments but which this nation has never squarely faced up to/is civil defense. In the past decade we have intermittently considered a variety of programs, but never a basic policy.

Most discussions have fallen into two categories: apathy, indifference and skepticism from the general public, whose participation is essential; and ~~the~~ unrealistic or exaggerated plans ~~of these~~ from those enthusiasts whose arguments do not begin to justify the cost of their proposals.

This Administration ^{has} ~~has~~ been looking very hard at exactly what civil defense can and cannot do. I see no justification for embarking on a multi-billion dollar program for blast shelters which may not be reached ~~in time~~ in the event of an attack, which may become quickly obsolescent with the rise in explosive power, which would be sold to the public only by a national posture that might frighten the enemy into ^{war} ~~attack~~, and which in any event would not deter a nuclear attack.

We will deter such an attack only if our retaliatory power ^{so} is so strong and/invulnerable that any enemy knows he would be wiped out by our response. If we have that strength, civil defense is not needed to deter an attack. If we should ever lack it, civil defense would not be of much help.

But the deterrent theory assumes rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet ^{is} sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a miscalculation, an accidental war which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. The growing trend toward "push-button warfare", and the imminent spread of nuclear weapons, serve to heighten these possibilities. It is to this extent that civil defense can be justified -- as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance we trust will never be used -- but insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for refusing in the event of catastrophe.

is already the result
1914,
1919 -
1950

Once both the validity and the limits of this concept are accepted, there is no time to waste in initiating a nation-wide, long-range program of identifying and incorporating fall-out shelters, which will protect against the hazards of radio active fall-out a maximum number of ^{those} civilians who survive an initial blast. This is particularly important in the event of an attack aimed primarily at military targets. To implement these shelters will require additional measures for warning, training, radiological monitoring and ~~fuel~~ ^{food} and medical stock-piling. And to implement the entire program will require not only considerably more funds but considerably stronger organization and leadership.

(1) Therefore, under the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of ¹⁹⁵⁸ ~~1958~~, I am transferring basic authority for civil defense to the top civilian authority already responsible for continental defense, the Secretary of Defense. Responsibilities for health, food, manpower, transportation and other needs in the event of an attack will be delegated to the appropriate Department heads. The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, which has swollen to unworkable proportions, will be reconstituted as a small Presidential staff agency to assist in the coordination of these functions under the title of "Office of Emergency Planning". The role of state and local governments, of course, remains essential; and their share of the financial and programming burden is substantial.

(2) Secondly, as soon as those newly charged with these responsibilities are ready, new authorization and appropriation requests will be transmitted to the Congress for a four-year Federal-State shelter program, including new requirements for all Federal and Federally-financed buildings and matching grants for identifying (in all areas) and constructing (outside of ~~these~~ ^{blast} areas) inexpensive fall-out shelters in State and local government and private buildings. ^{FP} Federal expenditures for civil defense in fiscal 1962 under

this program will in all likelihood be more than triple ^{the ir} ~~this~~ current level, and increase sharply in subsequent years. Similar expenditures will be required from State and local governments from all ^{But no} and/private citizens. ~~His~~ insurance is cost-free; and every American must decide whether this form of survival insurance justified the expenditure of effort, time and money.

XI. SPACE

The events of recent weeks have also made clear the impact of dramatic scientific achievement on the minds and morale of other peoples. ~~Whatever~~ ^{Whatever} ~~the actual scientific or military value of a spectacular undertaking in space, is largely or mostly~~ its success enhances the prestige of the nation which scores it, and is interpreted by others ~~nations~~ as a major indication of superiority. ~~and leadership~~ Nor is this a wholly mistaken interpretation. Success in large scale space projects requires a highly organized ^{brilliant} mobilization of resources, ~~and~~ technology, and unflagging pursuit of long-range goals.

I believe this nation possesses both the resources and the talents to be first in space in every respect. We are not first today. We have never made the decisions and marshalled the resources necessary to be first. We have never fully accepted the necessity of pursuing space projects at a pace fixed largely by the element of national prestige. We have never specified orderly, long-range goals and then managed our resources and our time so as to insure their fulfillment.

The time has come for this country to seek world leadership in space. ^{IP} Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets ^{with} ~~and~~ their large rocket engines and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless cannot permit the margin of their superiority to grow so large that we can never catch up, or are reduced by subsequent break-throughs to the status of a second-class power. Nor, at present, can we expect the Soviets to share with us the knowledge they have already obtain^{ed} that is essential to this nation's technological progress. ^{IP} Thus we must make ~~these~~ new efforts, whether we are first or not. Making them in full view of the world enhances our prestige, whether we are first or not. But our ultimate aim is to be first.

I am therefore asking the Congress, in addition to the increases I earlier requested for space activities, to provide the funds necessary to meet the following ^{national} goals:

Should we say)
by 1967?)

(1) First, ^{and foremost,} to land a man on the moon and return him to earth before this decade is out. No single space project will be more impressive or more important; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. Including necessary supporting research, this will require an additional \$516 million this year and still higher sums in the future. ^{IP} The Soviets already have the booster capability to land instruments on the moon, ^{they possess} and more knowledge on life in space; and thus their advantage is substantial. But our intention is to accelerate now the development of the appropriate lunar space-craft; the development of a Nova liquid fueled rocket engine with a thrust six times greater than the largest (Saturn) booster now under development; the parallel development (by the Department of Defense) of an equally large solid fueled Nova booster, until sufficient data is available to determine which approach is superior; a similar ^{back-up} ~~development~~ of the Centaur engine with Titan II engines; and further unmanned explorations of the moon and space, particularly as they relate to a factor this nation will never overlook: the survival of ~~those~~ ^{the men who} first ~~make~~ ^{make} these daring ~~such~~ flights.

(2) Secondly, an additional \$50 million to make the most of our leadership in the use of space satellites for world-wide communications. When we have put into operation a system that will enable even the remotest corners of the earth to send or receive messages, conversations and even television programs, we will have achieved a success that is both impressive and beneficial.

(3) Third, an additional \$75 million (\$53 million of which is for the Weather Bureau) to give us at the earliest possible time

the world's first system of world-wide weather prediction. Such a system will be of inestimable commercial and scientific value; and for all who go by air or sea; nations

Note: NASA and AEC also wanted \$30 million to accelerate ROVER still further. Budget says hold.

and we intend to share it with all/ who will join with us in these explorations peaceful ~~expeditions~~ of space.

Let me warn you that I am asking the Congress and the country to commit us all for a period of years to a new course which will be exceedingly expensive; but if we were only to go half-way, or change our goals, or reduce our sights, it would be preferable not to go at all. Let me also stress that more money alone will not ~~be enough~~ do. This decision requires a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, materials and facilities, and their diversion from other activities where they are already too thinly spread. It requires a degree of dedication and organization which have not always characterized the pace of our research and development efforts, and which cannot permit undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful inter-agency rivalries, or a high turn-over of key personnel.

New objectives and new money cannot solve these problems, and in fact -- every / could aggravate them further, unless every scientist, /engineer, and ~~ex~~ service chief, every serviceman, / technician, contractor and civil servant involved gives his personal pledge that this nation will someday be first ~~again~~ in space.

at the start

XII. STRENGTHENING OUR ECONOMY

Is this section anti-climactic at the end of a very long speech? Could it be a separate message, or does its success depend upon its inclusion in this "urgent" package? Does it hand the opposition an excuse for attack?

Finally, I must stress the role of our own economy. If we are to sustain the kind of effort I have outlined, and demonstrate to all the success of freedom's way, we need a growing, prosperous economy that makes maximum use of our plant and worker capacity. This is no time for large-scale unemployment and wasted talents.

With your cooperation, this Administration initiated an affirmative anti-recession program shortly after taking office four months ago. That program, coupled with/renewed confidence/ the it generated of our economy, and/natural forces/ has halted the recession and stepped up our rate of growth. Recovery is under way.

But the road to full recovery is a long one, particularly for those on the persistently high rolls of the unemployed. Programs beyond those already submitted are essential if we are to reduce unemployment below the 6% level this year.

~~this trend~~ Specifically:

(1) I am transmitting to the Congress a Youth Employment Opportunities Act, to help meet the spectacular increase in young people who are out of school and out of work. The latest available data showed 300,000 young men between the ages of 17 and 20 ~~to~~ ~~are~~ unemployed -- with thousands more pouring onto the labor market every month. The program I am proposing would provide work and training for 56,000 young men in such constructive activities as the conservation of natural resources and the development of recreational facilities, preparing them for permanent employment and upgrading their skills.

(2) I am transmitting to the Congress a new Job Training and Manpower program, to train and retrain more than a million workers over a four-year period in order to replace skills made obsolete by automation with the new skills/ ^{which} new products demand. Supplementing current public and private training and education programs, such a measure, including subsistence and relocation

allowances for the long-term unemployed, is a positive answer to the challenge of technology.

(3) I am transmitting to the Congress, as earlier promised, a permanent measure to strengthen our Federal-State system of unemployment insurance, increasing coverage and benefit amounts, improving its financing, and providing for a stand-by Federal program for additional benefits to long-time workers and those exhausting their rights during a recession. If this system is to operate as a true "built-in stabilizer", it should not be necessary for the Congress to enact a new stop-gap ^{for every slump} ~~during each recession~~. Neither can we ignore the 5 million Americans still out of work, 900,000 of them without a job for more than six months.

Labor opposes
mention;
Budget doubts
usefulness;
SBA wants
in

(4) To help industry modernize its plant for greater industrial strength, I am transmitting an Industrial Modernization Credit Insurance Act, authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to insure up to 80% of private loans for the purchase of new equipment. In the long run, more modern plant means new markets and new jobs -- and this measure, patterned on the FHA example and supplemented by the Investment Tax Credit earlier submitted, will meet the needs of those too small to have ready access to the larger sources of capital but too large to be helped by the Small Business Administration.

(5) I am recommending a \$150 million increase in the lending capacity of the Small Business Administration of which about half will be utilized during the next fiscal year. Applications to that agency for loan participations have been growing rapidly; and this money, as primer for the flow of additional private funds, can speed recovery and growth while strengthening the vitality of small business.

(6) The financial influence of the Government must continue to be exerted in the direction of credit ease and further monetary growth while the economy is recovering. Some further downward

adjustments in interest rates, particularly those which have been slow to adjust in the recent recession, are clearly desirable.

(7) To supplement this general stimulus, I have directed the Federal Housing Administration to reduce the maximum permissible interest rate on FHA-insured mortgages from 5-1/2 to 5-1/4 percent, with the help of the Federal National Mortgage Association through its secondary market mortgage purchases, and a new initiative launched by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to induce, through cheaper credit, reductions in rates charged by private savings and loan associations.

This expansion of credit at a time of unemployment, unused capacity, stable price levels, weak markets and limited monetary growth will not incur any major risks of inflation. This is important, for we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the outflow of gold and improving our balance of payments. But as recovery is achieved, the temptation to seek unjustified price increases and excessive wage increases will be very strong. This we cannot afford. We do not seek the controls of a war-time economy -- but I must call on both management and labor to exercise the self-restraints of war-time peril.

Should mention be made here of Labor-Management Advisory Committee, or auto wages and prices?

May I respectfully urge the exercise of similar fiscal responsibility and restraint on the part of the Congress? I have recommended only those programs which I consider to be absolutely essential to our national defense and space needs, and to our overall economic strength. Our security and progress cannot be bought cheaply. But if the Budget is to be held within manageable proportions, it will be necessary to refrain from adding funds or programs which have not been requested, to end the postal deficit through increased rates, to provide full pay-as-you-go highway financing, and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Surely the inconveniences and sacrifices involved in those measures are not too great to ask in times such as these.

If the budget facts that my own accountants are known to have will not have any effect to reduce the

XIII CONCLUSION

In conclusion let me emphasize one point: that we are determined, as a nation, to survive and succeed -- that whatever the peril and the set-backs, we have some very large advantages.

The first is that we are on the side of liberty -- the Communists are not -- and liberty has been ultimately winning out in the end since the beginning of history. The Communists will find this out -- even behind the Iron Curtain.

A second asset is our desire for peace. It is sincere and the world knows it. At Geneva, in cooperation with the United Kingdom, we have put forward concrete proposals to make clear our wish to meet the Soviets halfway in negotiating ^{an effective} a/nuclear test ban treaty. In the UN, our efforts have been directed toward maintaining its usefulness as a protector of the small. In these and other instances, the Communist response has been one of intransigence or disruption. ^{Yet it is important that} They should know that our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible, ^{while} ~~but~~ our credulity is limited -- that our hopes for peace are unfailing, ^{while} ~~but~~ our determination to protect our security is resolute. And because there are some signs that the Communists are not aware of this position, because we live in a world which on more than one recent occasion has veered close to ^{all-out} ~~general~~ war, and because the chances of misunderstanding, miscalculation and communication failures are too great to risk in the nuclear missile era, I have long thought it wise, following my final visit with the great leaders of the West, to meet with the Soviet Premier for a personal exchange of views. No agenda is planned and no agreements will be sought; but our desire for peace will be clear. ^{in this struggle}

Our final asset/is the American people -- their willingness to pay the price for these programs -- to understand and accept a long struggle -- to share their resources with other ^{less fortunate} peoples -- to meet the tax levels and close the tax loopholes I have requested --

to serve in the Peace Corps or the Marine Corps or the Federal
 Civil Service -- to strive for excellence in ^{their} ~~our~~ schools, in ^{their} ~~our~~
 cities and in ^{their} ~~our~~ physical fitness -- to take part in Civil Defense --
 to pay higher postal rates, higher payroll taxes and higher
 teachers salaries, in order to strengthen our society -- to
 demonstrate democracy in our attitudes toward other races,
 or visitors from other lands -- and to exercise self-restraint
 instead of pushing up wages or prices, ^{or} ~~ix~~ overproducing certain
 crops, ^{or} ~~ix~~ spreading military secrets, ^{or} ~~ix~~ urging unessential
 expenditures, ~~ix~~ improper monopolies or harmful work stoppages.

I have not asked for a single program all year which did not
 cause one or ^{all} ~~more~~ Americans some inconvenience, or ^{wome} ~~or~~/hardship
 or ^{some} ~~or~~/sacrifice. But they have responded -- you in the Congress
 have responded ^{magnificently} /-- and I am gratified that I go ^{in my journey and} ~~to meet~~ Mr.
^{and reassurance} ~~Khrushchev~~ with the knowledge/that our nation ~~is~~ united,

are determined and ready to do its duty.

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