The message ~~and accompanying papers~~
referred to the Committee on
Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union
and ordered to be printed.

Print

Do not print this as part document Order of Mr. Wheeler Wilson

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, my co-partners

~~TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:~~
in government, and ladies ~~and gentlemen~~:

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 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.

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.

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 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 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. 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 successes 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. 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 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. 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.

(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, 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.

(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 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 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 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 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, will 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 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, 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 -- 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.

Let me stress also that more money along 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 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 anymore."

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 WHITE HOUSE,
May 25, 1961.