The Speaker. The House will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 4 minutes p.m.) the House stood in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.

JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE HELD PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 316 TO HEAR AN ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The Speaker of the House presided.

The Doorkeeper announced the Vice President and Members of the U.S. Senate who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Vice President taking the chair, the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The Speaker. On the part of the House the Chair appoints as members of the committee to escort the President of the United States into the Chamber: the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McCormack; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Walter; the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. Albert; the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Hallick; and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Atwood.

The Vice President. On the part of the Senate the Chair appoints as members of the committee to escort the Senator from Montana, Mr. Mansfield; the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Hubert; the Senator from Florida, Mr. Smathers; the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirksen; the Senator from California, Mr. Kuchel; and the Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Bridges.

The Doorkeeper announced the Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d'Affaires of foreign governments.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d'Affaires of foreign governments entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the rostrum.

At 12 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m. the Doorkeeper announced the President of the United States.

The President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk. (Applause, the Members rising.)

The Speaker. Members of the Congress, I have the great pleasure, the high privilege, and the distinct honor of presenting to you the President of the United States. [Applause, the Members rising.]

URGENT NATIONAL NEEDS—ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 174)

The President. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, my co-partners in Government, and ladies and gentlemen: The Constitution imposes upon me the obligation to from time to time give to the Congress information on the state of the Union. While this has traditionally been interpreted as an annual affair, this is 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.

The great battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom today is the whole southern half of the globe—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. And theirs is a revolution which we would support regardless of the cold war, and regardless of 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.

Yet their aggression is more often conditioned 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 4,000 civil officers in the last
12 months in Vietnam, by subservies and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

They possess a powerful intercontinental armed force. They have 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 role as a foe of colonialism and friend of popular revolution. They prey on unstable or unpopular governments, unsealed or unknown boundaries, unfilled hopes, convulsive change, massive poverty, illiteracy, unrest, and frustration.

With these formidable weapons, the adversaries of freedom plan to consolidate their territorial, exploit, to control, and finally to destroy the hopes of the world's newest nations, and they have ambition to do it before the end of this decade. It is a contest of wills. It is a contest of forces armed with violence, a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. In that contest we cannot stand aside.

We stand, as we have always stood, from our own strength, for our 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 a spirit of local reform that will make us proud of our constructive pursuits. Too often we have accepted a merely defensive role. Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of quo. Too often we have accepted 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 simple policy with which to meet this challenge. Experience has taught us that no one nation has the power or will to solve the problems of the world or manage all its revolutionary tides; that extending our commitments does not always increase our security; that any initiative can expose it to the risk of temporary defeat; that nuclear weapons cannot prevent subversion; that no free peoples can be kept free without will and energy of increased effort, 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 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, I believe that they mark another step forward in our effort as a people. Taken together they will help advance our own progress, encourage the free world's efforts to meet the needs of our citizens when we are assisting others, to 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 adequate to meet our needs. But with 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 step confronting the Nation this year was to turn recession into recovery. An affirmative anti-recession program was put in place by prior 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 underway. [Applause]

But the task of abating unemployment and achieving a full use of our resources remains a serious challenge. Large-scale unemployment and a recession is bad enough—a 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 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. Measures to reduce the unemployed, and to employ our 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, air, trade, and defense.

I am therefore transmitting to the Congress a new manpower development and training program, to train or retrain new workers, particularly in those areas where we have seen critical unemployment as a result of technological factors, in new fields of occupation. The program, for the 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 prestige competition programs, and education programs, such a measure, including subsistence and relocation allowance 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 fiscal conditions to encourage the flow of investment tax credit incentive plan which I earlier submitted to the Congress. The lending capacity of the Small Business Administration should be increased to encourage the investment 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 so long 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 strong lead in this direction and stable prices, 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 increasing the inflow of payments. During the last 2 months, our gold stocks actually increased by $171 million, compared to a loss of $333 million during the last 2 months of 1953.

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 unnecessary price 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 have the conviction 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, it is clear that both because of our military integrity and world confidence in the dollar, it will be necessary to hold tight to prudent fiscal standards; and I must request the cooperation of the Congress on this program—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—to refrain from purchasing, and their price must be found in what we all forgo as well as what we all must pay.

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 on the capacity for orderly political and economic growth.
1961

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 demands must be constructively. We want to generate hope in those countries. We want to help them modernize their societies, expand human opportunity, and stand as equals 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 we substitute those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social reform and economic development. Military pacts cannot help nations provide opportunities of economic choice invite insurgency and penetration. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts available cannot succeed where the local population is in flight up from their own misery to concern about the advance of communism. We would be badly mistaken to consider these problems in military terms with all the people. As for those who share this view we stand ready now, as we have in the past, to provide generously of our skills, or our capital, and of our food to assist the peoples of the less-developed nations to reach their goals in freedom, and to help them before they are engulfed in crisis.

On the other hand, no amount of subversive activity can corrupt a nation working for a declaration to be 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 the modernity in 1961. 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 reactionaries.

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 critical events, an additional $250 million for a Presidential contingency fund for use 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 foreign reserve, as illustrated by recent events in southeast Asia which makes necessary the use of this emergency reserve.

I make this additional request because of my conviction that in the 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 threat 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 only approved in full, but 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 become a reality. 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 toward internal 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.

All that I have said makes it clear that we are engaged in a worldwide struggle to preserve and promote the ideals we share with all mankind, or have alienated us. That struggle has highlighted the role of the U.S. Information Agency, our primary organ for disseminating information overseas. This activity is of utmost importance at different times and in different places and we must be able to respond quickly. It is essential that the fund requested for this effort be not only 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 almost double our Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts to a total of 154 hours a week, compared to 42 today—one of which is in Portuguese, the language of about one-third of the people of South America, the United 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 Alliance para Progreso, and its meaning to poverty-striken peoples.

Similarly, in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, we must communicate our determination and support to those upon whom our hopes for resisting the Communist tide in that corner of the world ultimately rest. Our interest is solely in the truth—the truth that will make man free.

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 kinds of thinking.

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 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 1960's to strengthen them.

To meet the changing conditions of power, we have endorsed an increased emphasis on NATO conventional forces. At the same time, we are reinforcing 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 the purpose, the five Pacific 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 areas should be clear beyond possibility of misinterpretation; and if they so remain, I am certain there will be no such attack.

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 increase in military assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political, and military reforms that underlie our own security 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
the last 4 years and have seen the significance of space and the advent of space and now can predict with certainty what the ultimate meaning will be of the mastery of space. I believe we should go to the moon. But I think every citizen of this country as we travel the world, the Members of Congress should consider the matter carefully in making their judgment, to which we have given attention over many weeks and months, as it is a heavy burden; and there is no sense in a great city, declaring that the United States take an affirmative position in outer space unless we are prepared to do the work and bear the burdens that such an NRI means. We should decide today. [Applause.]

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 being spent. It requires a dedication, organization, and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, a waste of 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 craftsman, every technician, every contractor, and every civil servant involved gives his personal pledge that just as we move forward, with the full speed of freedom, in the exciting adventure of space.

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 to support a decision 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, and it is the obligation of the President of the United States to at least make his recommendation 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, that your judgment, as my judgment, will be reached on what is in the best interests of our country. [Applause.]

In conclusion, let me emphasize one further point, that we are determining the future of a nation in 1961 that freedom shall survive and succeed, and whatever the peril and setbacks we have some very large advantages.

The fact is the simple fact that we are on the side of liberty—and, since the beginning of history, liberty has been winning out all over the globe. [Applause.]

A second great asset is that we are not alone. We have allies and friends all over the world who share our devotion to freedom. [Applause.] 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 in the next few weeks with the great captain of the Western World, President de Gaulle, as a meeting of particular significance, permitting the kind of close and ranging consultation on problems—problems which will strengthen both our countries and serve their common purposes of worldwide peace and liberty. [Applause.] Such serious conversations do not require a pale unanimity—they are rather the instruments of trust and understanding over a long road.

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 U.N., and we are proving it in the U.N. where our efforts have been directed toward maintaining that organization’s usefulness as a protector of the independent or small nations. [Applause.] 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 position at the front pole, and freedom [applause]—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 that this then-“nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore” [applause].

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 overproducing 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 protecting our 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 who, after visiting us, go back in many cases to be the future leaders of their country, 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. [Applause.]

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. [Applause, the Members rising.]

At 1 o’clock and 22 minutes p.m. the President, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Doorkeeper escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The members of the President’s Cabinet.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d’Affaires of foreign governments.

JOINT SESSION DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares the joint session of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly (all o’clock and 24 minutes p.m.) the joint session of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

The SPEAKER. The President’s message will be referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered printed.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess until 2:30 o’clock p.m. Accordingly (all o’clock and 24 minutes p.m.) the House stood in recess until 2 o’clock and 30 minutes p.m.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 2 o’clock and 30 minutes p.m.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS’ AFFAIRS

Mr. TAYLOR of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs may have until midnight tomorrow night to file reports on H.R. 6289, H.R. 7148, H.R. 2417 and H.R. 7137.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.