RECESS

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 Clerk of the House, 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. Halleck; and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Arner.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the part of the Senate the committee to escort the Senator from Montana, Mr. Mansfield; the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Humphrey; the Senator from Florida, Mr. Smathers; the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirkson; 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 President's 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.)
12 months in Vietnam, by subversives and saboteurs and insurrectionists, who in some cases control whole areas inside of independent nations.

They possess a powerful intercontinental military and 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 power as a foe of colonialism and friend of popular revolution. They prey on unstable or unpopular governments, unresolved or unknown boundaries, unfilled hopes, convulsive changes, 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, and they have ambition to do it before the end of this decade. It is a contest of will and purpose for freedom and 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 friends and our enemies, in 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 diversification of agreement and co-operative 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 nations and peoples to their constructive pursuits. Too often we have accepted a merely defensive role. Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of quo as much as against 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 simple policy with which to meet this challenge. Experience has taught us that no one nation has the solution to the problems of the world or manage all its revolutionary tides; that extending our commitments does not always increase our security; that any initiative carry 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 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 our friends and strengthen the opportunities for freedom and peace. I am here to ask the help of this Congress for freedom and peace. I am here to ask the help of this Congress and the Nation in approving these necessary measures.

The ultimate source of our national strength is the quality and vitality of our own American incentive 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, 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 deal 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 need.

The first and basic task confronting the Nation this year was to turn reces- into recovery. An affirmative anti-recession program requires your cooperation, supported the natural forces in the private sector; and our economy is now enjoying renewed con- fidence and energy. The recession has been halted. Recovery is underway. [Applause].

But the task of abating unemploy- ment and achieving a full use of our re- sources remains a serious challenge. Large-scale unemployment as a re- cession is bad enough—a large-scale un- employment during recovery is intoler- able to a free economy. It is a major social evil; it is a source of national weakness. It will persist—that is, the Na- tion’s output surpasses previous achieve- ments, as I believe will be seen in the coming months.

The Congress must consider addi- tional long-range measures to curb this unemployment and increase our eco- nomic growth, if we are to sustain our full role as world leaders. Measures to aid the hard-hit, and to employ our youth usefully, will be submitted shortly. I would stress one measure in particu- lar today—a measure of special impor- tance in meeting the occupational de- mands of new American leadership in space, aid, trade, and defense.

I am therefore transmitting to the Congress a new manpower development and training program, to train or re- train in several capacity needs, particularly in those areas where we have seen critical unemployment as a re- sult of technological factors, in new lines of occupational skill. Last year, in order to replace those skills made obsolete by automation and industrial change with the new skills which new processes demand. Supplementing cur- rent public and private education programs, such a measure, in- cluding subsistence and relocation al- lowance for the long-term unemployed, is a positive answer to the challenge of technology.

In addition, full recovery and eco- nomic growth require sustained in- creases in investment, and these in turn depend on favorable monetary and fiscal policies and on the re- finement 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 to work on our investment in the develop- ment of general credit ease and further monetary growth while the economy is recovering. Some further downward adjustments in interest rates, partic- ularly those which have slowed our ability to adjust in the recession are clearly desirable; and certainly to increase them would choke off recovery.

These expansionary measures at a time of full employment, full capacity, and stable price levels, are not infla- tionary. This is important, for we have made great strides in restoring world confidence in the dollar, halting the out- flow of gold and increasing our pool of payments. During the last 2 months, our gold stocks actually increased by $17 million, compared to a loss of $833 million during the last 2 months of 1965. 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 unfounded price increases 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 have 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 the leadership necessary to get the job done.

Moreover, if the budget deficit now increased by the needs of our security is to be held within manageable proportions, it is essential to tie our defense responsibility to the maintenance of our economic growth, our national 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 respect—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 to- day—to provide full pay-as-you-build highway financing, and to close those tax loopholes earlier specified. Our se- curity 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 imper- ilament from without and subversion from within depends on a 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 demand must be essentially constructive. We want to generate hope in those countries. We want to help them modernize their societies, broaden human opportunity, and start their peoples on 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 nullify those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social reform and economic development. Military pacts cannot help nations win economic choices and invite insurGENCY and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counterguerrilla efforts available cannot succeed where the local population is in a fight up for its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism. We would be badly mistaken to consider these problems in military terms with all the people, especially 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 people 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 on a foundation of 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 a concept we advanced in 1961, if we grasp it, then subversion to prevent its success 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 unfilled 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 widespread belief of critical events, an additional $265 million for a Presidential contingency fund, 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 assets.

The program was, as I foresaw, 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 these uncertain times we must have the flexibility to respond to new, 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 installing a new sense of moral and political responsibility toward the increase in their role in this endeavor—all depend upon Congress acting 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 on its way. 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 in 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. We have all the 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 is of increasing 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 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 and 56 percent of the 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 propagandistic 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 Progresso, and its meaning to poverty-stricken 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 continent rest ultimately. Our interest is solely in the truth—the truth that will make men 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 ideas.

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 reaffirming our conviction that the NATO deterrent must also be kept strong. I have made clear our intention to commit to the NATO command, for this purpose, the five 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 area should be clear beyond possibility of miscalculation; 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, insurgency, 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 action. For the economic assistance, needs a new emphasis. It cannot be extended without regard to the social, political, and military reforms essential to international 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 the outer world—all in keeping with certainty that 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 prepare, 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 it means in a sense in agonizing, 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 a program will not, 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 used to spend a defense dedication, organization, and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, either 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 best. We all know that the nation of a day will 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 in the face of some 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. We have the obligation 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, 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 a nation in 1961 that freedom shall survive and succeed, and whatever the peril and setbacks 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 all over the globe. [Applause.]

A second great asset is that we are not alone. We have allies and we have 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 recognition of the fact that 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 questions which will strengthen our alliances 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 bargaining table, and we are proving it in the UN. 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 patience, in face of both 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 the day when "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—our 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 self-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 in all the 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 DISMISSED

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

Accordingly, at 1 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 (at 1 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. TEAGUE 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. 6269, H.R. 7148, H.R. 2417 and H.R. 7159.

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

There was no objection.