

IV

So long as the Communists insist that they are preparing to end unilaterally our rights in West Berlin, we must be prepared to defend those rights. We will at all times be ready to talk, if talk will help. But we must also be ready to fight, if fight we must. Either preparation, undertaken alone, would fail. Together, they can serve the cause of peace and freedom.

The new preparations that we shall make to defend the peace are part of the long-term build-up in our strength which has been underway since January. They are based on our needs to meet a world-wide threat, on a basis which stretches far beyond the present Berlin crisis.

They are being undertaken for concrete military reasons, not merely ~~for their psychological impact~~ to impress our adversaries, or to stiffen our allies, or to awaken our own people. Our primary purpose is neither education nor provocation -- but preparation.

A first need is to hasten progress toward the military goals which the North Atlantic allies have set for themselves. In Europe today nothing less will suffice. We will put even greater resources into fulfilling those goals, and expect our allies to do the same.

The supplementary defense build-ups that I asked from the Congress in March and May have already started us moving toward these and our other defense goals. ~~They provided provision for~~ We can be glad today that they included an increase in the size of the Marine Corps, improved readiness of our reserves, expansion of our air and sea lift, and stepped-up procurement of needed weapons, ammunition, and other items. They provided for the strengthening of our missile power and increased the alert status of our air power, to insure a continuing invulnerable capacity to deter or destroy any aggressor.

These measures must be speeded up, and still others must now be taken. No @ We must have sea and airlift capable of moving our forces quickly and in large numbers to any part of the world.

But even more importantly, we need the capability of placing in any critical area at the appropriate time a force, which, combined with that of our allies, is large enough to make clear our determination and ability to defend our rights at all costs, and to meet all levels of aggressor pressure with whatever levels of force are required. We intend to have a wider choice than humiliation or nuclear action.

While it is unwise either to call up or to send abroad excessive numbers of ^{these} troops before they are needed, we will take whatever steps are necessary to make certain such forces can be deployed at the appropriate time without dangerously depleting our other military needs.

Thus, in the days and months ahead, I shall not hesitate to ask for additional measures from the Congress, or exercise whatever executive powers I have to meet any further threats to peace. Everything essential to the security of freedom will be done; and should that require more ^{men} taxes, controls or other new powers, I shall not hesitate to request them. The measures proposed today will be constantly studied and altered, as necessary. Everything committed to our stewardship will be prudently administered. ^{But while} We will not let panic shape our policy, ~~nor~~ neither will we permit timidity to direct our program. If Communist threats and pressures cause us to strengthen our arms, the world will know where the responsibility lies.

Accordingly, I am now taking the following steps:

(1) I am tomorrow requesting of the Congress for the current fiscal year an additional \$3,247,000,000 of appropriations for the military forces.

(2) To fill out our present Army Divisions, and to make more men available for prompt deployment, I am requesting an increase in Army personnel strength of approximately 100,000 men, raising its total authorized strength to nearly 1 million.

(3) I am requesting an increase of 29,000 and 63,000 men respectively in the active duty strength of the Navy and Air Force.

(4) To fulfill these manpower needs, I am ordering that our draft calls be doubled and tripled in the coming months; I am asking the Congress for authority to order to active duty certain ready reserve units and individual reservists and to extend tours of duty; and, under that authority, I am planning to order to active duty a number of air transport squadrons and Air National Guard tactical air squadrons, to give us the airlift capacity and protection we may need. Other reserve forces will be called up if needed.

(5) Many ships and planes once headed for retirement are to be retained or reactivated, increasing our tactical airpower and our sea lift, airlift, and anti-submarine warfare capability. In addition, our strategic air power will be increased by delaying the destruction of B-47 bombers.

(6) Finally, about half of this total sum is needed for the procurement of non-nuclear weapons, ammunition and equipment.

The details on all these requests will be presented to the Congress beginning tomorrow. Subsequent steps will be taken to suit subsequent needs. Comparable efforts for the common defense will be requested from our NATO allies. For their commitment and interest are as precise as our own. Many American families will bear the burden of these requests. Studies or careers will be interrupted; husbands and sons will be called away; incomes will be reduced. But these are burdens which must be borne if freedom is to be defended -- Americans have willingly borne them before -- and they will not flinch from the task now.

But let me stress that we are also preparing a wide range of counter-measures which are not military in nature. We prefer and intend to preserve the freedom of West Berlin by measures short of war.

V. 1

~~I pledged in my recent State of the Union address~~ Nevertheless, to recognize the possibilities of nuclear war in the missile age, without our citizens knowing what they should do and where they should go if bombs begin to fall, is the height of irresponsibility. In May, I pledged a new start on Civil Defense and I am ~~therefore~~ ^{now} requesting, in additional appropriations to the Secretary of Defense to whom this responsibility has ~~now~~ recently been largely assigned, new funds for the following immediate objectives: to identify and mark space in existing structures -- public and private -- that could be used for fall-out shelters in case of attack; to stock those shelters with food, water, first-aid kits, tools, sanitation facilities and other minimum essentials for survival; to increase their capacity; to improve our air-raid warning and fall-out detection systems, including a new household warning system; and to take other measures that will be effective at an early date to save millions of lives if needed. In addition, new Federal buildings will include space suitable for fall-out shelters, as well as normal use.

In the event of an attack, the lives of those families which are not hit in a nuclear blast can still be saved -- if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available. We owe that kind of insurance to our families -- and to our country. In contrast to our friends in Europe, the need for this kind of protection is new to our shores. But the time to start is now. In the coming months, I hope to let every citizen know what steps he can take now to protect his family in case of attack. I know you would not want to do less.

VI.

The addition of \$207 million in Civil Defense appropriations brings our total new defense budget requests to \$3.454 billion, and a total of \$47.5 billion for the year. This is an increase of \$6 billion, and has resulted in official estimates of a budget deficit of over \$5 billion. The Secretary of the Treasury and other economic advisers assure me, however, that our economy has the capacity to bear this new request, without strain or inflation. We are recovering strongly from last winter's recession. The increase in this last quarter of our total national output was greater than that for any post-war period of initial recovery. And yet wholesale prices are lower than they were during the recession, and consumer prices only 1/4 of 1% higher than they were last October. This last quarter was the first in eight years in which our production has increased without an increase in the overall-price index. And for the first time since the fall of 1959, our gold stocks have been rising and the dollar is more respected abroad. These gains, it should be stressed, are being accomplished with Budget deficits far smaller than those of the last recession.

This improved business outlook means improved revenues; and I intend to submit to the Congress in January a budget for the next fiscal year which will be strictly in balance. Nevertheless, should an increase in taxes prove to be necessary to achieve that balance in view of these or subsequent defense needs, those increased taxes will be requested.

Meanwhile, to help make certain that the current deficit is held to a safe level, unessential expenditures voted for items not justified in budget requests will have to be postponed. The luxury of our current post-office deficit must be ended. Costs in the Pentagon will be closely scrutinized and waste eradicated -- and in this effort I welcome the cooperation of the Congress. The tax loopholes I have specified -- on expense accounts, overseas income, dividends, interest, cooperatives and others -- must be closed. No public revenue measure is welcomed by everyone -- but I am certain every American wants to pay his fair share, and not leave the burden of defending freedom entirely on those who bear arms. For we have mortgaged our future on this defense -- and we cannot fail to meet the payments.

VII.

But I must emphasize again that the choice is not merely between resistance and retreat, between atomic holocaust and surrender. Our military posture is traditionally defensive; but our diplomatic posture need not be. Our response to the Berlin crisis can be more than military and negative, more than merely standing firm. We do not intend to leave it to Mr. Khrushchev to choose and monopolize the forum and framework of discussion. We do not intend to abandon our duty to mankind to seek a peaceful solution.

As signers of the UN charter, we shall always be prepared to discuss international problems with any and all nations that are willing to talk -- and listen -- with reason. If they have requests -- not demands -- we shall hear them. If they seek genuine understanding -- not concessions of our rights -- we shall meet with them. We have previously indicated our readiness to remove any actual irritants in West Berlin -- but the freedom of that city is not negotiable. We cannot negotiate with those who say "what's mine is mine, what's yours is negotiable." But we are willing to consider any arrangement or treaty in Germany consistent with the maintenance of peace and freedom, with the principle of self-determination, and with the legitimate security interests of all European nations against surprise attack or aggression.

We recognize the Soviet Union's historical concerns about their security in Central and Eastern Europe, after a series of ravaging invasions -- and we believe arrangements can be worked out which will help to meet those concerns, and make it possible for both security and freedom to exist in this troubled area.

For it is not the freedom of West Berlin which is "abnormal" in Germany today, but the repression in its eastern sector. If any nation has a new proposal to unify Germany in freedom, we are ready to meet on it at any time. If any one doubts the legality of our rights in Berlin, we are ready to have it submitted to adjudication. If anyone doubts the extent to which our presence is desired by the people of West Berlin, compared to East German feelings

about their regime, we are ready to have that question submitted to a free
 And
 vote of all the German people. Yet us hear from the 2 1/2 million refugees
 who have fled the Communist regime in East Germany -- voting for Western
 and
 type freedom with their feet; from the people of East Berlin who rose against
 their visitors in 1953 and fought Communist tanks with rocks.

The world is not deceived by Mr. Khrushchev's attempt to label Berlin
 a hot-bed of war. There is peace in Berlin today. The source of world
 trouble and tension today is Moscow, not Berlin. And if war begins, it will
 have begun in Moscow, and not in Berlin.

For the choice of peace or war is largely theirs, not ours. It is the
 Soviets who have stirred up this crisis. It is they who are trying to force
 a change. It is they who have opposed free elections. It is they who have
 rejected an all-German treaty, and the rulings of international law. And,
 as in the Old West, the "New Frontier" knows that gun battles are caused
 by outlaws, and not by officers of the peace.

In short, while we are ready to defend our interests, we shall also be
 ready to search for peace -- in quiet exploratory talks -- in formal or
 informal meetings. We do not want military considerations to dominate
 the thinking of either East or West. ~~But~~ As a wise philosopher said many
 centuries ago: "A man who causes fear cannot be free from fear." And
 Mr. Khrushchev may find that his invitation to other nations to join in a
 meaningless treaty may lead to their inviting him to join in the community
 of peaceful men, in abandoning the use of force, in respecting the sanctity
 of agreements, and to talk about self-determination in his own back-yard as
 well as in other lands.

VIII

While all of these efforts go on, we must not be diverted from our total responsibilities, from other dangers, other tasks. If new threats in Berlin or elsewhere should cause us to weaken our new program of aid to the developing nations -- or to halt our efforts for disarmament -- or to disrupt or slow down our economy -- or to neglect our educational needs -- then those threats will surely be the most successful and least costly maneuver in Communist history. For we can afford all these efforts, and more -- but we cannot afford not to meet this challenge.

And the challenge is not to us alone. It is ^achallenge to every nation which has asserted its sovereignty in the name of human freedom. It is a challenge to all who want a world of free choice. It is a special challenge to the Atlantic Community -- the heartland of human freedom. We must move together in building military strength. We must consult one another more closely than ever before. We must design together our proposals for peace, and labor together as they are pressed at the conference table. And together we must share the burdens and the risks of this effort, while still carrying forward our common commitment to the developing nations.

The Atlantic Community, as we know it, has been built in response to challenge: the challenge of European chaos in 1947; the challenge of the Berlin blockade in 1948, the challenge of Communist aggression in Korea in 1950. Now, standing strong and prosperous, after a decade of unprecedented progress, the Atlantic Community will not forget either its history or the principles which give it meaning. ⁱⁱThe solemn vow we each gave to West Berlin in time of peace will not be broken in time of danger. We all know in our hearts that if we do not stand at Berlin, there will be nowhere else to stand. If we are not true to our word there, all that we have achieved will mean nothing. And if there is one path above all others to war, it is the path of weakness and disunity. History, I am confident, will record not only that the spirit of freedom was saved in Berlin, but that in its hour of peril that spirit was infused with new honor and new conviction, by a creative alliance for peace.

Today, the endangered frontier of freedom runs through divided Berlin. We want it to remain a frontier of peace. This is the hope of every citizen of the Atlantic Community; every citizen of Eastern Europe; and, I am confident, every citizen of the Soviet Union. For I cannot believe that the Russian peoples -- who bravely suffered enormous losses in the Second World War -- would now wish to see the peace upset on behalf of an East German regime they cannot respect. The Soviet government alone can convert Berlin's frontier of peace into a pretext for war.

The steps I have indicated tonight are aimed at avoiding that war without submitting to Mr. Khrushchev's demands. In short^a: we seek peace -- but we shall not surrender. That is the central meaning of this crisis -- and the meaning of your government/^{is}policy.

With your help, and the help of all free men, this crisis can be surmounted. Freedom can prevail -- and the peace will long endure.

Goodnight.