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Fifty years ago the Congress of the United States first brought me into the service of the United States Government with an appointment to West Point. Thus began an association <sup>between</sup> ~~with~~ a young Cadet and the Congress that wound up a half century later in a warm relationship between a President and the Congress.

They have been full years.

The past eight years have been without precedent in the history of our government. At no time during that period did the party in control of the Executive Branch have what could be called a clear working majority in the Congress. For the last six years the Administration faced Congresses dominated by the opposition in both houses. But we did not fall out into bitter, unreconcilable factions which in other nations have paralyzed the democratic process. Despite our differences we worked together, and the business of the nation went forward, and the fact that it did so is in large measure a credit to the wisdom, forbearance, and sense of duty displayed by the Congress.

For the generous support tendered to me over all these years of war and peace, I wish to express my abiding gratitude. And now in



0.2 / this, my last message to the Congress, I wish to address myself particularly to some of the problems with which all Americans are gravely concerned and some of the changes -- both internal and external -- which go to the very roots of our society.

One of the deepest concerns of the framers of our Constitution was to make sure that no military group arose to challenge the civil authority, and that no segment of industry be allowed to develop which was permanently and exclusively concerned with building the weapons of war.

For a hundred and sixty years, our military posture was characterized by a very small regular establishment, quickly bolstered in time of emergency by large contingents of militia and reserves, and just as quickly reduced upon the return of peace. There was no armaments industry. The makers of plowshares could, when required, make swords as well. The Army which I joined in 1911 numbered 84,000 -- one-tenth of its present strength.

For many reasons, this has all changed. A great and continuing threat to our security made it impossible for us to demobilize



after the Korean War in the way we had previously done. 3-1/2 million Americans continue to be directly and fully engaged in defense activities.

In seven and a half years of nominal peace we have spent for defense a sum substantially greater than the cost of World War II, and our na-

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*P. 3* / tional security budget annually exceeds the net income before taxes of all United States corporations. And the direct result of this continued

high level of defense expenditures has been to create a permanent armaments industry, of vast proportions, where none had existed before.

The conjunction of a large and permanent military establishment and a large and permanent arms industry is something totally new in American experience. No thinking citizen would deny the need for such a commitment in today's perilous world; yet none can fail to read its grave implications. For this is power -- tremendous economic and political power -- with a specific and tangible interest in both national policy and national strategy. Billions of dollars in purchasing power and the livelihood of millions of people are directly involved. Its influence is felt in every city, in every state house, and by every responsible official in the Federal government. We can take comfort in the



knowledge that none of our basic safeguards has given way. But let us take nothing for granted. We shall need all the organizing genius we possess to mesh the huge machinery of our defenses with our peace-oriented economy so that liberty and security are both well served. It requires constant vigilance, and a jealous precaution against any move which would weaken the control of civil authority over the military establishment. We must be especially careful to avoid measures which would enable any segment of this vast military-industrial complex to sharpen the focus of its own power at the expense of the sound balance which now prevails. The potential for disastrous abuse of power in this area is great. Let us watch it carefully.

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Closely akin to the sweeping changes in our concept of military readiness -- and indeed, responsible for much of it -- has been the technological transformation of our society during the past five decades. The term "revolution" has been aptly used to describe the fundamental advances in science, technology and engineering which are remaking the material basis of our civilization even while we look on.

Two facts characterize this ~~research~~ revolution. The first is that the process of research has become highly formalized, complex, <sup>extremely</sup> and costly. Second, because this is so, a steadily increasing share of research is conducted for, by, and under the direction of the Federal government. ~~Formula has replaced empiricism.~~ <sup>Today</sup> The solitary inventor tinkering in his shop has been overtaken by a team of scientists in a laboratory. The major impetus to research now comes not from private individuals in pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, but from public agencies in pursuit of specific, predetermined results. For every blackboard there are a thousand drawing boards.

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This, then, is another change, another challenge to master.

As of now, government funds underwrite \_\_\_\_\_ of all research in the



United States. \_\_\_\_\_ our scientists and \_\_\_\_\_ our engineers are engaged in work on government contracts. Many a college and university is in some manner beholden to the Federal government for funds needed to support its own research program. The prospect of domination of the nation's research effort by the federal government is a real and ever-present one, and deadly serious. For research is the pathfinder of progress. Where it leads, all else must follow.

Yet we must also be alert to the opposite danger that public policy may itself become the captive of technological opinions and pressures. The age old problem of defining the proper roles of the generalist and the specialist in society have become enormously difficult in an era when the mechanisms of our civilization have become so complex that even the family automobile now defies all but the simplest of home remedies. But define them we must, <sup>for</sup> It is the business of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate the forces within the body politic toward the proper goals of a free society.



*Elsewhere there*

~~But there~~ is yet another change -- perhaps the most

momentous of all -- giving shape to the patterns of tomorrow. Over

P.6 T the past fifty years, a billion people have won their independence,

and the number of sovereign nations in the world has doubled. But

the most important thing about this great emancipation movement is

that for the first time in the history of the world, the concept of equal-

ity among nations has come to be recognized as an operating principle

of international politics. The acceptance of this principle is as yet

partial and imperfect, but it is there, even among the cynical totali-

tarians. The representatives of \_\_\_\_\_ countries sit in the General

Assembly of the United Nations -- and each, by unanimous agreement --

stands equal to all the others. Even the Soviet Union pays its respects

to the expressed will of the majority of the members of the General

Assembly. The old patterns of naked power politics have been modified

so that right has at least and at all times a voice against might before the

bar of world opinion.

This is an impressive gain over the conditions of fifty years ago where small nations had only sufferance rights granted them by the



great ones. To this new concept of equality we of the United States subscribe our ardent support. We are pledged to expand and strengthen it, so that it may become the sturdy foundation of an increasingly effective body of international law. This is the surest and best approach to the goal of world peace; for without justice there can be no peace, and without equality there can be no justice.

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Members of the Congress, my prayer for the future is that the world in which we live can be turned from a community of fear into a confident confederation of mutual trust and respect. The conference table may be marked by a sense of frustration and disappointment with the past, yet scarred though it may be, we must not forsake it for the certain terrors of nuclear war. The tools of the open society are still available to us. We dare not fail to use them. Believing as I do in the fullness of the American character, I have every confidence we shall.

And so I say to you at this time -- not goodbye -- but onward and forward into the bright light of peace with justice. So striving, we shall build a world where not one nation under God, but all nations under God can live in peace and freedom amidst a society in which the scourge of war, poverty, and disease have been banished from the earth.

