

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON ATOMIC ENERGY

When this Administration took office last January, we resolved to report to you from time to time on the problems ~~con-~~ ^{fronting} ~~fronting the nation~~ and what we proposed to do about them. ~~This~~ ^{These problems} ~~Age of Peril in which we live is an international political and mili-~~

tary clime ~~truly~~ not of our choosing. We realize more and more the significance of John Curran's statement in 1790 in a speech upon "The Right of Election:"

"The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

This vigilance is not a ~~function~~ exclusive to government.

On the contrary, it applies to every citizen who cherishes his own freedom and his nation's independence. Yet, in spite of the truth of John Curran's observation, in spite of the lessons of history, our liberty and national security are too frequently taken for granted.

We hear National Security too often stressed in terms of dollars,

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airplanes, army divisions, taxes, warning techniques and devices.

This impersonality removes it from the immediate concern of each

American and seems to make it the sole concern of those in Wash-

ington who necessarily worry about such matters. Never before

in the history of this great nation has there been so great a need

as now exists for partnership between the people and the people's

government in this business of continually winning, daily -- not

just once and for all time -- our peace and freedom -- The Safety

of the Republic.

This talk

inaugurates



Tonight I am inaugurating a series of television discus-

various aspects

sions to bring before you our ~~problems~~ of national security. On

succeeding programs during the coming weeks, Cabinet members

and key officials will present to you items of special knowledge of

international and domestic problems, bearing directly upon our

safety as a nation.

You may recall that, last April, I spoke to the world,

on behalf of our country, to proclaim our peaceful purposes; to

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assure all men of our readiness to enter into agreements for
 universal disarmament; and to cooperate with all others in
 eliminating war and the burdens of preparing against war. The
 only condition America imposes upon her readiness to confer and
 negotiate on these and all related matters is some evidence of good
 faith on the part of each participating nation; some proof that *whatever*
may be reached
 agreements will be respected in spirit and in letter. We are now,
 as then and always, ready to devote our boundless productive capacity
 to the good rather than the damage of mankind. The olive branch
 will never be dropped from our hand so long as any cares to join us
 in its shelter.



of the same to

If *my* words tonight sound somber, I trust you will not
 consider them despairing. We must face the facts of today, meet
 the challenge of our times, but we need not -- we must not -- ever
 lose faith that eventually man will *can be led,* ~~be content~~ to work for his own
 health, wealth, and happiness, rather than the destruction of his
 neighbors.

*to the purpose now is to be
 strong enough to prevent peace; not
 weak enough to invite attack.*

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~~But today's facts compel us to examine seriously into~~

~~factors affecting the safety of the United States.~~ ^{National} Our safety as a

~~nation~~ does not mean the protection of the White House, or the

~~Pentagon, or the Port of New York, or the City of Detroit, or the~~
Atlanta San Francisco

Panama Canal. The safety to which I am referring is not even

confined to the protection of the lives and property of the individual

Americans who make this country what it is. It involves all these

things -- but it involves as well the system of ^{individual liberties} life and government

we so dearly cherish. Unless we think of national security in this

broad, and in this specifically personalized, sense, we shall ^{defend} divide

ourselves and fall victim to our lack of vigilance.

There are ~~many things~~ that this Administration plans

to discuss ^{the} in the course of the television series. In preparing for

~~them~~, the first question that arose was the priority to be given to

^{of importance} certain topics. You will not be surprised when I say that the ~~the~~

^{the} opening program ~~to~~ is on the subject of the atomic problem. ^{of the National Security Administration series}

Atomic is a general term; it includes progress that has been made

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in an ever-widening field of research and experimentation, for

domestic ~~use~~ as well as for military ~~considerations~~. Moreover,

have long known
as we well ~~realize~~, knowledge of atomic matters has not stopped at

the ~~line~~ marked by the Iron Curtain. Scientists in unfriendly as well

as friendly countries have worked in this field for ~~a long time and~~

~~have profited by our discoveries~~. Enemy spies have aided others

knowledge
by passing on technical ~~developments~~ stolen from us.



~~In discussing the field of atomic energy, we must~~

know of course,
~~remember~~ that the power resulting from nuclear fission or fusion

follows a natural law, newly discovered by man. Like all other

discoveries of this character, it is capable of employment both

millennia ago,
for good and for evil. The same applied to the discovery of fire,

and water to
the invention of gunpowder, and countless other inventions and

These reminded
discoveries of the ages. We are ~~forced back to the conclusion~~

factors are the atomic age as, as they have always
that the decisive ~~influences of our time are~~ really the understanding *any*

and the moral standards of the people of the world. When the

average standard becomes sufficiently high that people want to

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use only for good purposes all our discoveries and research in
 the field of the atom, then there will open out before us the most
 brilliant and comprehensive opportunities for man's advancement
 than have occurred in centuries. But it remains ^{chances} ~~unfortunately~~
 true that as long as any great nation desires to make aggressive
 use of the power that can be developed in this field, then we and
 all other nations are forced into the ^{contemplation} ~~consideration~~ and development
 of countermeasures.



~~It is time that~~ ^I the American public ^{needs} ~~have~~ the information
 required ~~by it~~ in formulating the decisions only the public can
 properly make. Undue secrecy must be thrown overboard, for
 in addition to fearing the known, it is unfair for the American public
 to be fearing unnecessarily the unknown. Much of ^{the necessary} ~~this~~ kind of
 knowledge has come to you over the years in bits and pieces.
 Possibly very little of what I shall tell you is completely new to
 all of you. What I mean to do is to pull these facts together so
 that all of you can know all of it at the same time.

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... must be spoken plainly ...

The ~~moment~~ has come for plain speaking about our

atomic strength and potential; about effects of atomic weapons and

the means of delivering them; and about what we must do to protect

ourselves against the contingency of atomic war being thrust upon

us. ~~Despite our desire to emphasize the development of atomic~~



~~energy for peaceful uses, which would lead to magnificent plateaus~~

~~of efficiency, economy, and living standards; we have been forced~~

We must ... account of efficiency, economy, and living standards; we have been forced

~~into the mounting spiral of an atomic armaments race. If the~~

Soviet Government should plan to embrace all of Western Europe

within its political tentacles, a logical first step would be to hit the

United States first with a surprise atomic attack. ~~Following that, in~~

the expectation of seriously crippling our industrial output and power

to retaliate. ~~Success~~ would mean that Europe might then be

conquered at leisure, lacking the military material and support

she would need from us.

A fact of critical importance to our national security

today is that the Soviet atomic stockpile has reached a point where,

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if delivered by surprise on target in the United States -- I repeat,

if delivered on target -- it would injure this country gravely, both

in material damage and in loss of life. Moreover, the time is

coming within a very few years, when the Soviet supply will be

sufficient -- again if delivered on target -- to hurt us to the extent



that our ability to carry on the war thus forced upon us would be

substantially impaired. And I should remark that once ^{an enemy's} a stockpile

has become sufficiently large to accomplish such a destructive purpose,

there is little comfort in the knowledge that our own stockpile might

be much larger. It is logical to assume that the Soviet stock could ^{may}

now be counted in three figures: in a few years, the Soviet Union

could ^{may} have over a thousand bombs.

Of course, as of this moment, an atomic aggressor could

drop some bombs on us; but until he can believe that such a blow

would be truly crippling, we assume he would avoid the clash against

our known superiority.

*we have the present to put
our hands on... but we can never know
how long it will take to get together... maybe so*

So when our Civil Defense authorities, Federal, State,

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or local, appeal for volunteers and make recommendations for
national and for individual
self-protection, they are not crying wolf.

When the Ground Observer Corps appeals for volunteer
sky watchers, neither is it crying wolf. The Government's thousands
of electronic eyes must be supplemented by human eyes to fill the
inevitable gaps. This Age of Peril contains a new element never
faced by this country before. We used to be able to ask our armed
forces to do our fighting for us. Today, every Main Street in the
land could become the front line of the battle. ^{7P} Vast oceans to the

East and West of this continent that gave the American population
some comfort against the danger of attack during World War II
are barriers no longer in the age in which we live, when the
capability of delivery is even more important than the size of the
enemy's stockpile. In the words of Admiral Strauss:

"In an atomic war where overwhelming advantage will
rest with the aggressor because of the element of surprise, his
capacity to destroy us just once offsets our capacity to destroy him

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fifty times over."

For all their great portent, certain facts can be simply stated:

1. The whole world for the first time in its history is faced with the ^{possibility} ~~threat~~ of the havoc of global atomic war.
2. The history of war makes it clear that no nation -- no matter how wise its scientists or courageous its defenders -- can hope to build an infallible defense of land, sea, and sky that can completely halt a determined, prepared enemy short of his target, when he is prepared to strike by surprise.
3. Recovery from such an attack is now complicated by the fact that a few modern bombers or guided missiles can carry more destruction than the entire bomb tonnage dropped by British and United States Air Forces during all of World War II.
4. Additional danger stems from the fact that time from take-off to target has been sharply reduced owing to increased -- and increasing -- speeds of military aircraft.

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*It is American determination
to maintain*

5. ~~American~~ superiority in atomic weapons, in

the means to deliver them, and in the systems of defense ~~will be~~

~~maintained and strengthened~~ as long as force rather than justice is

the dominating factor in international affairs. An atomic aggressor

log. can
must be given ^{no} hope that he could win a war against us.

6. Behind the machines of defense and the methods

of defense must lie your will for defense. The heart and spirit of

America may become the decisive margin between peace and war,

or life and death.

Our atomic weapons grow in number and force. Without

attempting accurate estimate as to the progress the Soviet Union

may have attained in this respect, I give you now some details

concerning our own position. These are impressive -- certainly no

one could consider atomic aggression against us without fearing that

he is thereby courting his own destruction.

In our stocks now there are bombs releasing the energy

equivalent to _____ tons of TNT. This is X times the power of

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the Hiroshima bomb. This large bomb, if dropped on Washington, for example, or St. Louis, or any city of comparable size might destroy an area of _____ square miles and cause major damage in an area of _____ miles. In Washington, D. C., the devastated area might be bounded by the area from _____ to _____.

In St. Louis, the region from _____ to _____ would be blasted.

~~And in Seattle, _____ miles around Puget Sound would be laid waste.~~

Most terrible of all is the estimate of the loss of life.

Such a weapon might inflict total casualties of _____
on an unprepared America

Unfortunately for mankind, even these are not the limits of atomic destructiveness. We can foresee no ceiling to the power of atomic bombs either in terms of size or in variety or conditions of employment.

Whatever their force, atomic weapons preserved in a stockpile are ineffective in war unless they can be delivered on target.

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at this moment,

Our own Air Force could ~~now~~ ^{at this moment,} wreak ~~far~~ greater destruction upon an enemy than he could reasonably expect to visit upon us. As we approach the end of the first calendar year of this Administration, I can say that the deliverable effective air power in the hands of the Air Force and of Navy Air is ~~far~~ ^{well} above my original expectations.



~~Soviet strategic air capabilities are today less than ours;~~

Against this fact we must remember that
~~but, without doubt, they are growing rapidly.~~ An aggressor

fanatically dedicated to our destruction does not need aircraft or crews who must return safely to their home bases. If only 40%, or 30%, or 20% of what he sends forth in a surprise all-out attack should get through, he might conceivably achieve his first ~~maximum~~ objectives. It is probable that the Japanese war lords, planning the attack at Pearl Harbor, expected to recover very few of their airplanes -- but they considered the cost as cheap compared to the ^{*anticipated*} ~~expected~~ results.

Nor is the delivery of bombs limited to aircraft. Over

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the next decade or so, developments in guided missiles will extend and multiply the range and use of atomic weapons to the point at which long-range guided missiles launched from distant bases could reach the factories and homes in any part of our country.

And to these principal means of delivery must unfortunately be added the use of atomic weapons in sabotage -- the detonation of bombs in innocent appearing ships in our harbors, or the surreptitious planting of bombs at key centers by enemy agents.

So much for the black side of the problem. On the other side there are two elements -- first, continental defense; second -- retaliation. The two must be considered together in order to appraise their real impact on a potential aggressor.

We must accept the fact that a determined enemy, using the element of surprise, can always succeed in part. This does not mean that we are ignoring the development of continental defense. You have doubtless read in the news about various reports and projects, initiated on comprehensive surveys of enemy

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capabilities, which cover a wide range of measures of protection

which can be undertaken. ~~Long months of dedicated labor and~~

~~intelligent thinking have gone into these surveys.~~ Based upon the

resulting knowledge, the problem of continental defense has, and

will continue to have, the highest priority. But I must remind you

the more widely ~~contingent~~ justifications

that we have to balance a continental defense system against main-

taining the essential offensive capabilities of our armed forces.



Each has claims upon funds, research effort, and planning priorities.

To do all this and at the same time support ^{the} sound, functioning

that is the independent foundation of ~~our~~ Country

domestic economy ~~present grave complications.~~

is a ~~problem~~ ^{is a grave} ~~and complicated~~ ^{security} ~~problem~~

For example, to spend billions to defend the United States

against the present 400-mile-an-hour Russian bomber, and to

disregard the probability that shortly he will have an intercontinental

bomber fleet capable of 600 miles an hour, would be short-sighted.

It would be equally short-sighted to pin our entire hopes on ~~planning~~

for defense against 600-mile-an-hour bombers when a few years

from now the attack may be launched by much speedier guided missiles.

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SECRET

*How I have been helped
and, a case that provides
much of the reason for giving to
you tonight, it is this:
the most vital part of our defense cost
next to nothing. It demands only learning.*

Therefore, the threat in the atomic age is not something

finite with a fixed date or a maximum speed. As the danger moves

forward; so must we move forward in planning and acting and spending.

concerned with
PP *Supplementing the entire continental defense system*
will be the
I would not have you think that we have no continental

of the command forces. These are complicated
defense; *at the present, quite the contrary.* By land, sea, under

the sea, and by air, we already have much more than the beginning

and resources of defensive power.

of an efficient continental early-warning system, *it* will continue to grow.

possible and active
Again let me say that our continental defense and our

ability to retaliate, *the* must be considered together. *the* reason is that

while increased continental defense proportionately increases enemy

losses in an attack, it does not in itself constitute a conclusive

deterrent to a fanatically determined aggressor.

But -- strong continental defense plus the knowledge that

our retaliation would be swift and terrible could constitute a

conclusive deterrent.

Our atomic stockpile steadily grows. Our scientists and

engineers have developed an array of atomic weapons for many purposes.

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a circled signature and various scribbles.

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We have atomic fire power suited for use against strong points and troops in the field, fleets at sea, and the factories and mills which supply the armed forces of the enemy.

You may well pose ^{the} ~~the~~ question:

"Are we doomed to live forever in a state of atomic alert?"

If common humanity and common sense prevail in the councils of nations, the world need never blaze up in the holocaust of atomic war. And if the nations are freed from the threat of atomic war, they will find readily and rapidly within their reach a new science and a new technology that could bring about revolutionary advantages for all people of the earth.



In this country, while we have been forging atomic fire power to repel and punish attack, we have been also opening the door to the lofty room of human welfare for the atomic age. We could already have proceeded much further into this great new ^{day} ~~dawn~~ had we been able to divert all our energies toward the peacetime development of the atom. ~~But in self-defense our concentration~~

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~~had to be on preparing for atomic war.~~

The Canadians, the British, and ourselves, have from the start made information on the peaceful uses of this new agent of human progress freely available to other countries, with only one single common-sense requirement -- namely, that the results of atomic development in the arts of peace should be published and the work open to the scientific community in general.



There have been published thus far over 80,000 pages of research on the peaceful products of atomic energy. This research has been listed with the United Nations. Where is there one single matching page contributed by the Soviet union or its satellites?

At a time when we did have a monopoly on the atomic weapon, because we wished to share the benefits of the atomic era with a peaceful world, we proposed a formula to divest ourselves of this exclusive possession. In the United Nations, we presented a plan for international control of atomic energy to insure its use solely for peaceful purposes. That plan, rejected only by the Soviet

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Union and its satellites, still represents our fundamental and continuing policy. Developments over the last few years have inevitably altered details, but what has not altered is our desire to see this giant harnessed in all parts of the world for the purposes of construction rather than destruction. ~~Until then we shall continue strengthening mutual security arrangements with our allies, but never losing sight of our peaceful goal in the atomic energy field.~~

On our side, there is not only hope -- there is willingness.

May it be matched on the other side.



We covet no empire -- political, geographical, economic.

Neither do our allies. This globe is big enough and rich enough for every single one of its 2-billion and more inhabitants to be fed, to be clothed, to be sheltered -- and above all, to be unafraid and to be free. Toward that great purpose we welcome all associates and allies.

Meanwhile, awaiting a sign, a clear unequivocal word from the other side, we must remain prepared.

~~SECRET~~

At the beginning of this talk I said national security had to be a personal responsibility or it would not be effective. I say this to you not as an idle exhortation, but for very practical reasons.

In this complicated labyrinth of the atomic age, there is only one thing on which the experts all agree -- and that is, that a prepared people -- people who are mentally, spiritually, and physically prepared -- will suffer not over half the casualties from a sneak attack that will be incurred by a people unprepared.

My fellow countrymen, I should like to remind you that most of my life has been spent in studying and practicing war. My hours of greatest trial have come to me while waging war. The rest of my life will be spent in endeavoring to prevent a more horrible war, an atomic war, (in every way consistent with the good conscience of mankind and the honor of our country.)

It was in this resolve that I spoke on April 16th last, reminding the nation of the dread cost of a world in arms.

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*In this talk
& month go*

I hoped only to voice the thoughts of all my fellow citizens in out-
lining the great tasks which must be achieved in securing the peace.

I then pledged that if progress were made on these great
tasks, we would be prepared to "enter into the most solemn agree-
ments for the reduction of the burden of armaments now weighing

upon the world." *That pledge included
atomic weapons with all others.*

Tonight, on your behalf, I repeat that promise to
all the world.



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