

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Roberts, John G.: Files  
**Folder Title:** JGR/High Frontier  
**Box:** 27

---

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: [reagan.library@nara.gov](mailto:reagan.library@nara.gov)

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PRO14-09

- ☐ O - OUTGOING  
☐ H - INTERNAL  
☐ I - INCOMING  
 Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

COPY

Name of Correspondent: Daniel O. Graham

☐ MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Use of President's letter in  
solicitation for High Frontier  
(mailing to F&F)

## ROUTE TO:

## ACTION

## DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>W Holland</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>84102106</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>84102122</u> JV
<u>WAT18</u>	Referral Note: <u>A/D</u>	<u>84102106</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>84102122</u> JV
<u>CUFEL</u>	Referral Note: <u>S</u>	<u>84 102122</u>	<u>REF</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>84102122</u> JV
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				

## ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action  
 C - Comment/Recommendation  
 D - Draft Response  
 F - Furnish Fact Sheet  
 to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
 R - Direct Reply w/Copy  
 S - For Signature  
 X - Interim Reply

## DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered  
 B - Non-Special Referral  
 C - Completed  
 S - Suspended

## FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
 Code = "A"  
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: See TP 148799 & 183666 cu

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1984

Dear General Graham:

It has come to our attention that fundraising solicitations for High Frontier recently sent out by you contained copies of the President's letter of June 3, 1983, thanking you for dedicating your book to him.

The President adheres to a policy of generally not endorsing particular fundraising projects, no matter how laudable the objectives of the organizations benefitting from the fundraising. This policy is necessary in light of the vast number of requests the President receives, and because the White House is unable to monitor such fundraising activities, which would be necessary were the President to lend his name to them. The inclusion of the President's letter in the solicitation for High Frontier, however, is likely to be construed by recipients as an endorsement of the fundraising, in violation of this policy. The letter was not written for use in fundraising and should not be used for that purpose.

I hope you will recognize the reasons we must adhere to this policy, and understand that it is in no sense intended as an adverse reflection on you or High Frontier. Now that you have been alerted to our concerns in this area, I trust that you will refrain from using the President's letter in any future fundraising activities.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

FFF:JGR:aea 2/22/84

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1984

Dear General Graham:

It has come to our attention that fundraising solicitations for High Frontier recently sent out by you contained copies of the President's letter of June 3, 1983, thanking you for dedicating your book to him.

The President adheres to a policy of generally not endorsing particular fundraising projects, no matter how laudable the objectives of the organizations benefitting from the fundraising. This policy is necessary in light of the vast number of requests the President receives, and because the White House is unable to monitor such fundraising activities, which would be necessary were the President to lend his name to them. The inclusion of the President's letter in the solicitation for High Frontier, however, is likely to be construed by recipients as an endorsement of the fundraising, in violation of this policy. The letter was not written for use in fundraising and should not be used for that purpose.

You may be aware that the publisher of your book, Devon Adair Company, inquired last summer if our office had any objection to reprinting the same letter from the President on the jacket of your book. We were compelled to object to this contemplated use of the letter, on the ground that it could be construed as an endorsement by the President of a commercial product. The same basic concern to avoid the appearance of Presidential endorsement applies in the case of an appeal for funds by a particular non-profit organization.

I hope you will recognize the reasons we must adhere to this policy, and understand that it is in no sense intended as an



adverse reflection on you or High Frontier. Now that you have been alerted to our concerns in this area, I trust that you will refrain from using the President's letter in any future fundraising activities.

Sincerely,

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Use of President's Letter in  
Solicitation for High Frontier

You have asked whether the proposed letter to Lt. General Daniel O. Graham (ret.), objecting to his use of the letter from the President in fundraising for High Frontier, should include mention of the fact that we objected to Graham's publisher's contemplated use of the same letter on Graham's book jacket. I considered this when drafting the proposed reply to Graham and decided not to mention the correspondence with the publisher for two reasons. First, it is not clear that Graham was aware of the effort to use the letter on the book jacket, or our objections to that proposed use. The request came from Devon Adair, publisher of Graham's book, and the letter from Devon Adair stated that they obtained a copy of the President's letter to Graham from Gregory A. Fossedal, co-author of the book. Our reply went to Devon Adair, not Graham. Thus, while Devon Adair doubtless would have cleared the matter with Graham before actually using the letter, it is not clear that they did so before asking if we had any objections, nor is it clear that they advised Graham of our objections. Accordingly, I was reluctant to assume Graham knew of our objections to use of the Presidential letter on the book jacket (though I will admit the odds are that he did).

Second, we objected to the use of the Presidential letter on the book jacket on the ground that it could be construed as Presidential endorsement of a commercial product -- the book itself. Graham's use of the letter in fundraising is not objectionable on that ground, since High Frontier is not a commercial enterprise. Thus we cannot, strictly speaking, contend that Graham should have known he could not use the letter in fundraising, even assuming he knew we had advised that it could not be used on the book jacket. Of course, anyone aware of our objection to use of the letter on the book jacket should have been forewarned at least to the extent of clearing any other use of the letter with our office.

A revised draft of the letter to Graham, noting the book jacket incident, is attached. I have also attached an updated version of the original proposed reply, in the event you find my reasons for originally omitting the book jacket incident compelling.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 20, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Use of President's Letter in Solicitation for High Frontier

You have asked for my views on the use of a letter from President Reagan to Lt. General Daniel O. Graham (ret.) in a direct mailing fundraising solicitation by Graham's organization, High Frontier. Graham and High Frontier are dedicated to promoting the "Star Wars" defense against nuclear attack endorsed last year by the President. Graham wrote a book on the subject and dedicated it to President Reagan. The President wrote a note in response praising Graham and High Frontier for providing "an invaluable service."

Last August Graham's publisher asked for permission to use the letter on the book jacket. We objected to this contemplated use on the ground that the appearance of the letter on the jacket could be construed as Presidential endorsement of the book, in violation of our policy against any Presidential endorsement of a commercial product. I noted in my memorandum to you that I doubted we could legally prevent Graham from using the letter on his book if he decided to do so. ✓

Now Graham has enclosed a copy of the same letter in a fundraising mailing for High Frontier. If Graham had asked us, we would have objected to such use of the letter, since it could readily be construed as an endorsement by the President of the fundraising effort. As it is the damage has been done, and I think the best we can do is advise Graham of our objection and ask him to cease use of the letter in his fundraising. Again, I doubt there is much we can do legally if Graham chooses to ignore our objections, but perhaps they will suffice to prevent a repetition.

Attachment

*Shouldn't let refer  
to the above?*  
2/21  
✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1983

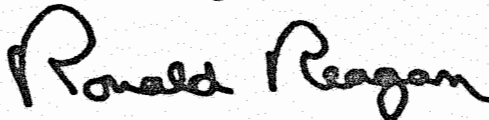
Dear Dan:

It was very kind of you to dedicate your book to me. I appreciate the important work that you and your colleagues have done to prepare the way for a more secure America.

You -- and all those who have made the High Frontier project a reality -- have rendered our country an invaluable service for which all future generations will be grateful. I value greatly your continuing efforts to help us build a national consensus and to find the difficult answers for the profound strategic problems that face all of us in this nuclear age.

God bless you!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "R" at the beginning.

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005





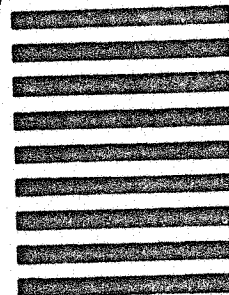
**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 14430 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20066

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

General Daniel O. Graham  
**High Frontier**  
Post Office Box 37053  
Washington, D.C. 20013

NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES





High Frontier  
Matching Gift Account

January 30, 19<sup>84</sup>

15.00  
540

PAY  
TO THE  
ORDER OF

High Frontier

\$ 15.00

15 000 000

DOLLARS



SECURITY NATIONAL BANK  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*[Signature]*

This facsimile valid only if accompanied by  
a donation check of equal or greater value.

054000807





## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FORM

**TO:** General Daniel O. Graham  
HIGH FRONTIER

☐ **YES**, General Graham—I will help your organization in its efforts to bring President Reagan the vital national support he needs to overcome those liberals who oppose an ICBM-stopping shield over America.

Please make your check payable to:

High Frontier

I am enclosing your "matching gift" check for \$15 — along with my own made out for

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

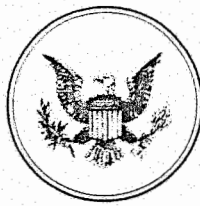
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ If my donation is received after the "matching gift" challenge is met, you may use it in other ways to advance the work of High Frontier.
- ☐ If my donation is received after the "matching gift" challenge has been met, please return it.
- ☐ I do not wish to contribute to your nuclear missile defense program. However, I am returning your check so that you may send them to another responsible American.

**NOTE:** All contributions are fully tax-deductible.





Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. General, USA (ret.)

JR -  
your reminder

202239 *ce*

Dear Fellow American

The last time I  
I am sure you remember

It explained how  
free America from  
missiles largely  
proven successful

It also revealed  
been fighting President  
produced and deployed

Now, in this letter

It's a check. And even though it is made out  
to our national defense organization, it has  
NOT been sent to you by mistake!

You see, it is up to you to decide whether we can use  
this check to help President Reagan win for all of us that  
potent yet long-smothered missile defense system.

But before I tell you how to make that decision, let  
me be sure that you really understand just how effective  
and fool-proof this anti-missile "umbrella" is.

The heart of this system is a space-based network of  
what some defense experts call "shotgun satellites." These  
are inexpensive non-nuclear satellites that would use a  
remarkably simple device to knock out any massive ICBM  
attack by the Soviets.

It works like this:

Since a single anti-missile satellite could normally  
knock out only one Soviet ICBM -- and since hitting even one  
demands great accuracy -- this network of "shotgun satellites"  
would instead fire clouds of high-velocity pellets at any  
incoming wave of missiles.

Tests already conducted clearly prove that even one  
pellet striking a ballistic missile at high speed

(over, please)

*Do you want to staff this  
w/ regard to his use. of  
letter from the P. in this  
solicitation. As you will  
see from the back-up  
we turned down requested  
use for book jacket.  
If so, John handled.*



Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. General, USA (ret.)

JR -  
your reminder, 1/15

202239 *all*

Dear Fellow American:

The last time I wrote to you, I enclosed a book that I am sure you remember well.

It explained how our government could virtually free America from the threat of Soviet ballistic missiles largely by using technology that was proven successful as far back as 1959!

It also revealed how certain members of Congress have been fighting President Reagan's efforts to get this system produced and deployed so that it can finally protect us.

Now, in this letter, I am enclosing another unusual item.

It's a check. And even though it is made out to our national defense organization, it has NOT been sent to you by mistake!

You see, it is up to you to decide whether we can use this check to help President Reagan win for all of us that potent yet long-smothered missile defense system.

But before I tell you how to make that decision, let me be sure that you really understand just how effective and fool-proof this anti-missile "umbrella" is.

The heart of this system is a space-based network of what some defense experts call "shotgun satellites." These are inexpensive non-nuclear satellites that would use a remarkably simple device to knock out any massive ICBM attack by the Soviets.

It works like this:

Since a single anti-missile satellite could normally knock out only one Soviet ICBM -- and since hitting even one demands great accuracy -- this network of "shotgun satellites" would instead fire clouds of high-velocity pellets at any incoming wave of missiles.

Tests already conducted clearly prove that even one pellet striking a ballistic missile at high speed

(over, please)

will destroy it totally. So you can imagine the power of a whole network of satellites each carrying up to 24 ready-to-fire "clouds" of these pellets.

Defense scientists assure our High Frontier group that this part of the system alone would wipe out 80% of any mass ICBM attack while it is still over Soviet territory!

What about the other 20%? With modern radar, a chain of carefully placed non-nuclear ground launched projectiles would easily destroy almost all of these remaining ICBMs.

Naturally, once the Soviets are faced with such a fool-proof anti-missile shield, they will start looking for ways to overpower it.

That's where the third part of this system comes in.

Even as we are getting the first two parts into place, we would be working on a "second generation" of anti-missile satellites. With America's superior scientific brainpower, we could have particle beam and laser-firing satellites in orbit -- ready and waiting for whatever the Soviets come up with.

As you can see, the system I'm talking about here would mean an end to today's frightening "balance of nuclear terror!" In short, the menace of a world ravaged by nuclear devastation would be virtually eliminated. And the cost would not be that great.

But by now you must be wondering what all this has to do with the facsimile check enclosed. So let me explain.

The book I sent to you and thousands of other concerned Americans with my last letter has won enormous popular support for President Reagan's drive to get this missile-defense system into action.

Yet many liberals in Congress are still fighting against it -- insisting instead on a nuclear freeze, or major U.S. concessions in the arms talks with the Soviets. (Either of which would still leave the world facing a nuclear nightmare.)

However, if we can get copies of the book I sent you into the hands of thousands more Americans, the support they would gain for the President would surely be dramatic.

In fact, many in Congress who now oppose his plan for the missile-defense system I've told you about would almost

certainly have to give in. Because these liberals fear informed and angry voters more than anything else.

Yet mailing those books takes money. Far more money than our non-profit group has been able to raise...until recently!

Just the other day a major foundation concerned with America's defense made a substantial sum of money available to our High Frontier organization.

But there is a string attached to this money!

You see, the foundation that donated it wants us to mail out as many copies of our book as we possibly can. So they attached the following requirement to that donation:

We may not use any of their money for our book-mailing campaign until we have at least doubled it with contributions from the American public.

This isn't an unusual requirement. It's called a "matching gift" program. Colleges and hospitals use them to double the funds they get from corporate and other large donors.

And that is why I've sent you the enclosed check.

It represents one part of the "matching gift" fund made available to us by that defense-minded foundation. And if you will return that check along with one of your own for the same amount (or more), you will literally be doubling the dollars you send us!

To put it another way, every check we get for \$15 or more will permit us to mail out at least 60 copies of our book, WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA, instead of a mere 30.

As I said before, an astonishing number of those Americans who have already gotten this book are now solidly behind President Reagan on this issue of national survival.

So the more books we can send out, the more concerned Americans we will win over in support of our penetration-proof High Frontier missile defense system.

And the more Americans we have demanding that their representatives in Congress vote in favor of this system, the sooner America -- and the world -- will be free of the nuclear threat that now hangs over

us all.

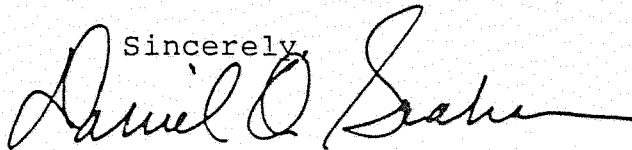
So please send a contribution of your own that at least equals the check enclosed.

Remember, your gift will literally double in dollars when you do! And that will permit us to send out twice as many copies of WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA as we're able to right now.

I'm confident that a responsible and concerned American like you won't let us down. After all, the check you send will be helping to free not only our nation from the threat of Soviet nuclear ICBMs -- but your own loved ones as well!

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Daniel O. Graham".

Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. Gen., USA (Ret.)

PS: If you should decide not to help us with a check of your own, please take a moment to return the enclosed matching-gift check so that we can invite another responsible American to match it.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

COPY

June 3, 1983

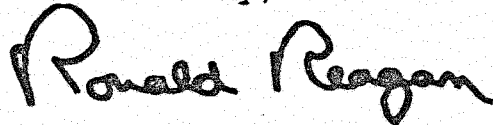
Dear Dan:

It was very kind of you to dedicate your book to me. I appreciate the important work that you and your colleagues have done to prepare the way for a more secure America.

You -- and all those who have made the High Frontier project a reality -- have rendered our country an invaluable service for which all future generations will be grateful. I value greatly your continuing efforts to help us build a national consensus and to find the difficult answers for the profound strategic problems that face all of us in this nuclear age.

God bless you!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "R" at the beginning.

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005



# OFFICIAL NATIONAL DEFENSE PETITION FORM

Please complete *all* portions of this form, making certain to sign the Petition Form and check the appropriate boxes on the Acknowledgement Form. Return entire form to HIGH FRONTIER in the postage-paid envelope provided for your convenience.

(For use only by the individual or individuals named below)

FRED FIELDING  
W H O 2ND FLOR  
EXECUTIVE OFC OF PRES C33  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

*Do we have your name and address listed correctly?  
If not, please make corrections here.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FORM

TO: General Daniel O. Graham  
HIGH FRONTIER

I appreciate receiving my free copy of your book, WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA. I agree wholeheartedly that we must immediately take the necessary steps to educate the American people to the fact that we presently have no means of defense against Soviet missiles — despite the fact that such a defense system is well within our technological capability! You can count on my help!

☐ I have signed the petition below for you to deliver to President Reagan, showing him that I support High Frontier and his new defense strategy against Soviet missiles.

☐ I am enclosing my most generous gift of  
☐ \$15 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$\_\_\_\_\_ other  
to help pay for the critical work you are doing in telling the American people how defenseless we are against a Soviet missile attack.

☐ My contribution is at least \$25. Please enter my subscription for one year to your newsletter.

Please make checks payable to: High Frontier  
Contributions are Tax Deductible.

## NATIONAL PETITION TO PROVIDE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES

Dear President Reagan:

The Preamble to the United States Constitution states clearly that one of the purposes for establishing that Constitution is to provide for the common defense of the American people.

Yet the shocking truth is that the United States has no defense, in fact it is literally helpless, against a Russian nuclear missile attack.

I want you to know that you can count on my full support for your proposal for a new defense system that will defend and protect our nation from the threat of a nuclear missile attack.

\_\_\_\_\_  
SIGNATURE



Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. General, USA (ret.)

CF 202239cu

PR 014-09

Dear Fellow American:

As a retired Army General, I could just collect my pension and spend my time sailing, fishing and playing with my grandchildren.

But I can't. I owe them much more than that.

Besides, as much as I'd love to spend my time in such pleasant activities, I couldn't really enjoy them knowing what I know.

Knowing, my friend, that my country, my children and my grandchildren are totally helpless against a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union or any other nation with nuclear missile capabilities.

Let me repeat that, because it's amazing how many Americans don't realize that very basic fact:

We have no defense whatsoever against any long-range nuclear missile attack!

If an enemy power were to launch a nuclear missile strike against us, there is nothing we can do to stop even one of those missiles from reaching its target!

And so, having spent more than three decades in the Army, through three wars, to help keep my country secure from foreign aggression, I can't just sit back and watch while this great nation is threatened more than at any other time in our history.

Especially when I know that it doesn't have to be this way.

That's why I spend eight to ten hours a day, six days a week working with High Frontier.

I hope you've heard about High Frontier. We've been in the news a lot, especially since President Reagan's courageous speech on March 23 when he committed this nation to a course of action that stresses defense for the first time in three decades.

Apparently, most Americans had been living comfortably in the belief that, with our advanced weapons systems, we were invulnerable to attack.

Unfortunately, my friend, nothing could be further from the truth. We are very vulnerable.

That's because our entire safety -- yours, mine, our nation's -- has been based for years on a misguided policy called Mutual Assured Destruction, or MAD.



And MADness is what it is.

This policy assumes that the Russians or any other enemy force will not launch a nuclear attack against us because they know we could retaliate against them.

But if that assumption proves false, MAD provides no means of stopping Russian missiles from reaching and destroying American cities!

So you and I and our children are forced to live our lives under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation!

If you will take the time to read the enclosed book I've written, We Must Defend America, you will quickly see that it doesn't have to be this way.

My friend, we've known for more than 20 years how to defend against long range missiles.

We have, right now, all the technology necessary to put the President's program into effect!

It won't be an easy task, however. It's going to require the tremendous grassroots commitment the President asked for.

That's one reason why I was pleased to receive the enclosed letter from President Reagan and wanted to share it with you.

I guarantee the President and I guarantee you, that as long as there is an opportunity to insure an America free from the threat of nuclear missile attack, I will do everything in my power to make that opportunity happen.

And I can assure you that that dedication is shared by everyone in the wonderful group of volunteer scientists, engineers and strategists who make up High Frontier.

But we can't do it alone. We desperately need your help.

We need to launch the largest public education effort this country has ever seen!

Following President Reagan's speech, there was an immediate outburst of criticism and mockery in the liberal news media which termed his strategy "Star Wars" and "Buck Rogers" fantasy.

This criticism as always came from the radical left who oppose the President strictly on ideological grounds.

They saw in the President's speech a fundamental threat to their

unilateral disarmament, nuclear-freeze, accommodate the Soviets policies.

While they will not admit it the radical left must continue to have the prospect of nuclear holocaust in order to create attention for themselves.

They use the threat of nuclear war to turn out crowds, organize protests, and finance the rest of their left-wing agenda.

The last thing they would want is an America secure from Soviet threats.

They would prefer that we be forced to lay down our arms and rely on the Russians' honorable intentions -- the same honorable intentions the Russians have applied to Poland and Afghanistan.

And of course, there are the Soviets themselves. Within hours of President Reagan's speech Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov denounced the plan with this statement:

"All attempts at gaining military superiority over the U.S.S.R. are futile. The Soviet Union will never allow them to succeed. It will never be caught defenseless by any threat. Let there be no mistake about this in Washington."

My friend, I say to you that it's time we took control of our own destiny, of our own security.

I find little comfort in a "defense" system that only assures me that even if our great nation is totally destroyed, we can still punish our attackers with a retaliatory launch.

I find a lot more comfort in a system that would keep enemy missiles from ever getting here in the first place. I agree with President Reagan that it's far better "to save lives than to avenge them."

And I think you agree with that also.

That's why I'm writing you today and asking for your help. In two ways.

First, I'd like to let President Reagan know that the American people wholeheartedly support his defense strategy. To do that, I would like to deliver at least 100,000 signed petitions like the one enclosed, to the President no later than March 1, 1984.

So I hope you'll sign and return your petition right away.

And we also need to continue building the national consensus that President Reagan referred to in his letter to me.

We must utilize every resource available to us -- speakers, writers, radio, television.

We have to locate supporters of High Frontier and supply them with

unilateral disarmament, and

While they will not admit  
the prospect of nuclear holocaust  
selves.

They use the threat of nuclear  
protests, and finance the rest of

The last thing they would want  
threats.

They would prefer that we be convinced by the  
on the Russians' honorable intentions - the  
the Russians have applied to Poland and Afghanistan

And of course, there are the Soviets themselves  
President Reagan's speech Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov  
plan with this statement:

"All attempts at gaining military superiority over the  
U.S.S.R. are futile. The Soviet Union will never  
to succeed. It will never be caught defenseless.  
Let there be no mistake about this in Washington.

My friend, I say to you that it's time we took control of our  
destiny, of our own security.

I find little comfort in a "deterrence" system that only assures  
that even if our great nation is totally destroyed, we can still  
our attackers with a retaliatory launch.

I find a lot more comfort in a system that would keep enemies  
from ever getting here in the first place. I agree with President  
that it's far better "to save lives than to avenge them."

And I think you agree with that also.

That's why I'm writing you today and asking for your help  
ways.

First, I'd like to let President Reagan know that the American  
people wholeheartedly support his defense strategy. I'd like  
like to deliver at least 100,000 signed petitions to the President  
to the President no later than March 1, 1984.

So I hope you'll sign and return your petition.

And we also need to continue building the defense force that  
President Reagan referred to in his letter to me.

We must utilize every resource available - radio, television.

We have to locate supporters of this strategy.





## **President Ronald Reagan**

March 23, 1983

"Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive . . . what if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack; that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies? . . .

Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them? . . .

My fellow Americans, tonight we are launching an effort which holds the promise of changing the course of human history. There will be risks, and results take time. But with your support, I believe we can do it."

## **WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA**

A New Strategy for National Survival

Daniel O. Graham, Project Director High Frontier

*Booklet not Copied  
Front Page*



#### About the Author

Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, U.S. Army (Ret.) is the Director of High Frontier, Inc., which conducted the research on which this book was based. After retiring as Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in 1976, General Graham held a research professorship at the University of Miami from 1976 to 1978, and served as an advisor to Ronald Reagan in his 1976 and 1980 campaigns. General Graham has also served on the staff of the American Security Council and was Co-Chairman for the Coalition for Peace Through Strength from 1978 to 1981. A graduate of West Point and the U.S. Army War College, General Graham saw service in Germany, Korea, and Viet Nam. Other books by General Graham include *New Strategy for the West and Shall America Be Defended: Salt II and Beyond*.

*Booklet Not Copied*  
*Back Page*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Fundraising Letter From  
Daniel O. Graham for High Frontier

On February 22, 1984, you wrote General Daniel O. Graham, advising him not to use a letter from the President in fundraising solicitations for High Frontier. You recently received a solicitation from Graham identical to the one that prompted your February 22 letter, except that the "matching gift check" is dated April 6, 1984 rather than January 30, 1984, indicating that the package was prepared well after Graham received your letter. I do know that Graham did receive your letter, since an aide to Graham telephoned you about it shortly after it was sent. The call was referred to me, and in response to the aide's question I assured him that the policy against the President endorsing fundraising projects was applied in a uniform fashion.

The attached draft letter to Graham reiterates your advice of February 22, and asks for a response from Graham concerning whether he intends to comply with that advice.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1984

Dear General Graham:

On February 22, 1984, I wrote you concerning fundraising solicitations for High Frontier that contained copies of the President's letter of June 3, 1983, thanking you for dedicating your book to him. In my letter I alerted you to the President's policy of generally refraining from endorsing particular fundraising projects, and advised you that the inclusion of the President's letter in the solicitation for High Frontier was likely to be construed as an endorsement of the fundraising in violation of this policy. As I noted in my letter, the President's letter "was not written for use in fundraising and should not be used for that purpose."

It has come to our attention that High Frontier fundraising solicitations containing the President's letter -- in apparent disregard of my letter of February 22 -- are still being distributed. I recently received such a solicitation with the "matching gift check" dated April 6, 1984, well after your receipt of my letter. Please advise me at your earliest opportunity whether the latest distribution of fundraising material containing the President's letter was inadvertent or whether you have decided to disregard my letter of February 22.

Sincerely,

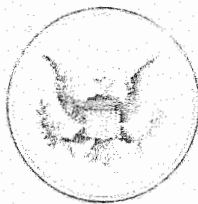
Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

FFF:JGR:aea 5/8/84

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron



Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. General, USA (ret.)

Dear Fellow American:

The last time I wrote to you, I enclosed a book that I am sure you remember well.

It explained how our government could virtually free America from the threat of Soviet ballistic missiles largely by using technology that was proven successful as far back as 1959!

It also revealed how certain members of Congress have been fighting President Reagan's efforts to get this system produced and deployed so that it can finally protect us.

Now, in this letter, I am enclosing another unusual item.

It's a check. And even though it is made out to our national defense organization, it has NOT been sent to you by mistake!

You see, it is up to you to decide whether we can use this check to help President Reagan win for all of us that potent yet long-smothered missile defense system.

But before I tell you how to make that decision, let me be sure that you really understand just how effective and fool-proof this anti-missile "umbrella" is.

The heart of this system is a space-based network of what some defense experts call "shotgun satellites." These are inexpensive non-nuclear satellites that would use a remarkably simple device to knock out any massive ICBM attack by the Soviets.

It works like this:

Since a single anti-missile satellite could normally knock out only one Soviet ICBM -- and since hitting even one demands great accuracy -- this network of "shotgun satellites" would instead fire clouds of high-velocity pellets at any incoming wave of missiles.

Tests already conducted clearly prove that even one pellet striking a ballistic missile at high speed

(over, please)



will destroy it totally. So you can imagine the power of a whole network of satellites each carrying up to 24 ready-to-fire "clouds" of these pellets.

Defense scientists assure our High Frontier group that this part of the system alone would wipe out 80% of any mass ICBM attack while it is still over Soviet territory!

What about the other 20%? With modern radar, a chain of carefully placed non-nuclear ground launched projectiles would easily destroy almost all of these remaining ICBMs.

Naturally, once the Soviets are faced with such a fool-proof anti-missile shield, they will start looking for ways to overpower it.

That's where the third part of this system comes in.

Even as we are getting the first two parts into place, we would be working on a "second generation" of anti-missile satellites. With America's superior scientific brainpower, we could have particle beam and laser-firing satellites in orbit -- ready and waiting for whatever the Soviets come up with.

As you can see, the system I'm talking about here would mean an end to today's frightening "balance of nuclear terror!" In short, the menace of a world ravaged by nuclear devastation would be virtually eliminated. And the cost would not be that great.

But by now you must be wondering what all this has to do with the facsimile check enclosed. So let me explain.

The book I sent to you and thousands of other concerned Americans with my last letter has won enormous popular support for President Reagan's drive to get this missile-defense system into action.

Yet many liberals in Congress are still fighting against it -- insisting instead on a nuclear freeze, or major U.S. concessions in the arms talks with the Soviets. (Either of which would still leave the world facing a nuclear nightmare.)

However, if we can get copies of the book I sent you into the hands of thousands more Americans, the support they would gain for the President would surely be dramatic.

In fact, many in Congress who now oppose his plan for the missile-defense system I've told you about would almost

certainly have to give in. Because these liberals fear informed and angry voters more than anything else.

Yet mailing those books takes money. Far more money than our non-profit group has been able to raise...until recently!

Just the other day a major foundation concerned with America's defense made a substantial sum of money available to our High Frontier organization.

But there is a string attached to this money!

You see, the foundation that donated it wants us to mail out as many copies of our book as we possibly can. So they attached the following requirement to that donation:

We may not use any of their money for our book-mailing campaign until we have at least doubled it with contributions from the American public.

This isn't an unusual requirement. It's called a "matching gift" program. Colleges and hospitals use them to double the funds they get from corporate and other large donors.

And that is why I've sent you the enclosed check.

It represents one part of the "matching gift" fund made available to us by that defense-minded foundation. And if you will return that check along with one of your own for the same amount (or more), you will literally be doubling the dollars you send us!

To put it another way, every check we get for \$15 or more will permit us to mail out at least 60 copies of our book, WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA, instead of a mere 30.

As I said before, an astonishing number of those Americans who have already gotten this book are now solidly behind President Reagan on this issue of national survival.

So the more books we can send out, the more concerned Americans we will win over in support of our penetration-proof High Frontier missile defense system.

And the more Americans we have demanding that their representatives in Congress vote in favor of this system, the sooner America -- and the world -- will be free of the nuclear threat that now hangs over

us all.

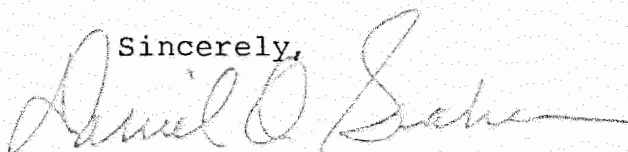
So please send a contribution of your own that at least equals the check enclosed.

Remember, your gift will literally double in dollars when you do! And that will permit us to send out twice as many copies of WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA as we're able to right now.

I'm confident that a responsible and concerned American like you won't let us down. After all, the check you send will be helping to free not only our nation from the threat of Soviet nuclear ICBMs -- but your own loved ones as well!

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Daniel O. Graham".

Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. Gen., USA (Ret.)

PS: If you should decide not to help us with a check of your own, please take a moment to return the enclosed matching-gift check so that we can invite another responsible American to match it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1983

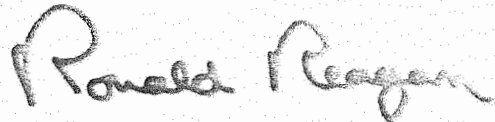
Dear Dan:

It was very kind of you to dedicate your book to me. I appreciate the important work that you and your colleagues have done to prepare the way for a more secure America.

You -- and all those who have made the High Frontier project a reality -- have rendered our country an invaluable service for which all future generations will be grateful. I value greatly your continuing efforts to help us build a national consensus and to find the difficult answers for the profound strategic problems that face all of us in this nuclear age.

God bless you!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "R" at the beginning.

Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA, Ret.  
High Frontier  
Suite 1000  
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Correspondence From L. Arnold Pyle  
Concerning Letter He Received From  
General Daniel O. Graham For High Frontier

You staffed this item to me for direct response, and I have prepared and signed the attached proposed response. Mr. Pyle of Jackson, Mississippi wrote the President to note his objection to representations about America's defenses in fundraising material distributed by High Frontier. You will recall that the material in question contained a copy of the supportive letter from the President to High Frontier's leader, General Daniel Graham, and that by letter dated February 22, 1984, you objected to use of this Presidential letter in fundraising by High Frontier. It seemed appropriate to point out in my response to Mr. Pyle that our office had objected to High Frontier's use of the Presidential letter, since Mr. Pyle could well assume, on the basis of the letter, that the White House was in some sense affiliated with High Frontier. Before sending the response to Pyle, however, I wanted to make certain you had no objection to the reference to our earlier letter to Graham.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1984

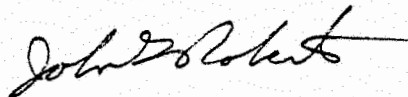
Dear Mr. Pyle:

Thank you for your letter to the President concerning fundraising material sent to you by High Frontier. That letter was only recently referred to this office. Along with that letter you enclosed a copy of a letter you wrote to General Daniel O. Graham of High Frontier, objecting to certain statements in the material distributed by High Frontier.

High Frontier is an independent organization and is not affiliated with the President or the White House. The representations in its literature are its own. Indeed, you may be interested to learn that this office recently advised High Frontier to cease using a letter the President wrote to General Graham about his book in fundraising material for High Frontier. As we stated in our letter to High Frontier, the President adheres to a policy of generally not endorsing particular fundraising projects, no matter how laudable the objectives of the organization benefitting from the fundraising. We were concerned that the unauthorized inclusion of the letter from the President in the fundraising materials would create the false impression that the President had endorsed the appeal for funds.

Thank you for the supportive comments in your letter.

Sincerely,



John G. Roberts  
Associate Counsel to the President

L. Arnold Pyle, Esquire  
Pyle, Harris, Dreher & Mills  
Post Office Box 23004  
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PRD14-09

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence  
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1/11

John - drive

Name of Correspondent:

Dr. Arnold Pyle

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject:

Letter he received from General  
Daniel O. Graham for High Frontier

## ROUTE TO:

## ACTION

## DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)

Action  
CodeTracking  
Date  
YY/MM/DDType  
of  
Response

Code

Completion  
Date  
YY/MM/DD

CW Holland

ORIGINATOR

84103123

CWAT18

Referral Note:

R 8410326

S 84104106

Referral Note:

Referral Note:

Referral Note:

Referral Note:

## ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action  
C - Comment/Recommendation  
D - Draft Response  
F - Furnish Fact Sheet  
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
R - Direct Reply w/Copy  
S - For Signature  
X - Interim Reply

## DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered C - Completed  
B - Non-Special Referral S - Suspended

## FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
Code = "A"  
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

See ID 202239CU

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.



*STR* *nm*  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
**PYLE, HARRIS, DREHER & MILLS**

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 390, 111 CAPITOL BUILDING  
111 EAST CAPITOL STREET  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

218856 *lu*

L. ARNOLD PYLE  
WILLIAM A. PYLE  
W. LARRY HARRIS  
KENNETH R. DREHER  
JERRY L. MILLS  
C. SCOTT WOODS

MAILING ADDRESS:  
POST OFFICE BOX 23004  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39205  
TELEPHONE & TELECOPIER:  
(601) 355-0600

February 2, 1984

*Handwritten mark*  
Honorable Ronald Reagan  
The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

I am taking the liberty to enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have just forwarded to General Daniel O. Graham. I am sure that General Graham's intentions are good, but I sincerely believe that such literature as he is putting out is not in the best interest of the Country, nor is it in the best interest of your campaign for reelection.

I am a seventy-one year old, extremely patriotic American, and I believe very strongly that this Country must maintain a strong defense against any and all kinds of attacks which the Russians may muster against us.

I would like to say to you that I have been extremely pleased with the manner in which you have conducted the affairs of the high office of the President of the United States for the past three years, and I was extremely gratified to hear your announcement last Sunday evening that you were going to seek reelection. I can assure you that you will have my whole-hearted support. I do not have a lot of money to put into the campaign, but I am a member of your Task Force and I do hope to make small contributions from time-to-time.

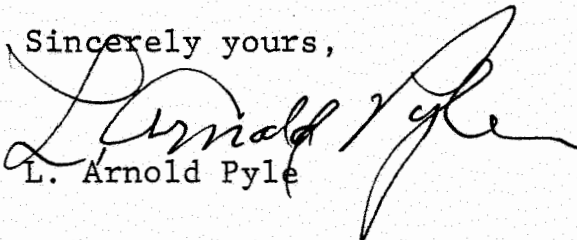


PYLE, HARRIS, DREHER & MILLS

Honorable Ronald Reagan  
February 2, 1984  
PAGE TWO

May God bless you in your continued efforts  
to restore this beautiful Country of ours to a state  
of sanity, dignity and patriotism.

Sincerely yours,

  
L. Arnold Pyle

LAP:jp

Enclosure

PYLE, HARRIS, DREHER & MILLS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 390, 111 CAPITOL BUILDING  
111 EAST CAPITOL STREET  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

L. ARNOLD PYLE  
WILLIAM A. PYLE  
W. LARRY HARRIS  
KENNETH R. DREHER  
JERRY L. MILLS  
C. SCOTT WOODS

February 1, 1984

MAILING ADDRESS:  
POST OFFICE BOX 23004  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39205  
TELEPHONE & TELECOPIER:  
(601) 355-0600

General Daniel O. Graham  
High Frontier  
Post Office Box 37053  
Washington, D.C. 20013

Dear General Graham:

I am in receipt of your mailing which was obviously prepared many months ago, but it bears no date. Among other things it contains a lot of language about such things as "We have no defense whatsoever against any long-range nuclear missile attack!", and a petition to The President with the language, "Yet the shocking truth is that the United States has no defense, in fact it is literally helpless, against a Russian nuclear missile attack." It is my feeling as an ordinary, extremely patriotic American citizen that this kind of language in documentation being used for the purpose of soliciting funds for the operation of your good-will mission under the name of HIGH FRONTIER is extremely unfortunate. I do not believe that it is appropriate to say to the American people that we have no defense against Russian attacks in light of the information we get through the news media that billions of dollars in tax revenue has been expended by the Department of Defense since the closing of World War II for the purpose of preparing this Country against Russian attack.

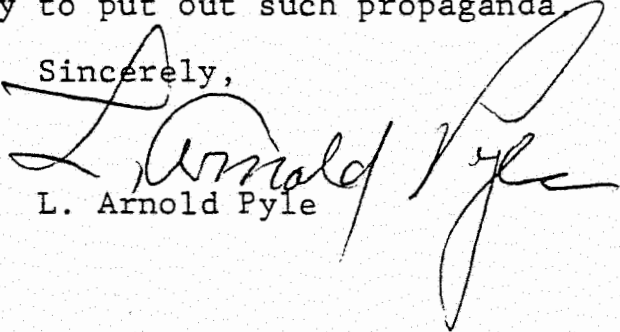
I am very much pleased with The President's efforts to restore this Country to a state of sanity and to restore dignity and patriotism among our people. I do not believe, however, that the way you are going about it helps him in the least.

General Daniel O. Graham  
February 1, 1984  
PAGE TWO

The statements contained in your mailing are, in my judgment, so absurd that no sensible person would fall for these exaggerated claims and, in fact, are going to be quite concerned about the Country having spent the kind of money it has over the past few years and now say to the people that we have nothing available to defend us against the Russian attacks.

I frankly do not feel like it is appropriate to give your agency money to put out such propaganda

Sincerely,

  
L. Arnold Pyle

LAP:jp

Enclosure

cc: ~~L~~ The President  
United States of America

MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

*Jahn*  
☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY -

OF (Organization)

*General Graham*  
*Sign Frontier*  
☒ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

*(Jahn)* *737-4979*  
☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

*Done 5/15 -*  
*Graham out of town until 5/17.*  
*Let's wait will back then.*

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

\* GPO : 1983 O - 381-529 (312)

*5/16/84* *1:55*  
STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)  
Prescribed by GSA  
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6



To JOHN ROBERT  
Date 5.16.84 Time 0800

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M GEN. Richardson  
of \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone 737-4979

Area Code	Number	Extension
TELEPHONED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE CALL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALLED TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILL CALL AGAIN <input type="checkbox"/>
WANTS TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	URGENT <input type="checkbox"/>

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

KLB  
Operator



**AMPAD**  
EFFICIENCY®

23-020 \*

General Richardson for Graham.

1. Did get letter
2. have told to stop
3. other sent out only because they were already "in the pipeline, sealed, automatically go out as to come in"
4. Graham was concerned, since other organizations do this
5. we - we stop it whenever we find out about it

5/16 9:10 a.m.

*High Frontier file*

# CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

## A NEW SHIELD OF THE REPUBLIC:

A Panel Discussion  
On ADVANCED STRATEGIC DEFENSE

July 10, 1984

*Panelists:*

Richard V. Allen  
Karl R. Bendetsen  
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham  
Dr. Robert Jastrow  
Dr. George A. Keyworth, II  
Jeffrey Bell, *Moderator*

*with an introduction by*  
Lew Lehrman





The panel on Advanced Strategic Defense, hosted by CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION on July 10, 1984, at the Hotel Washington. Panelists (left to right) are: Dr. George A. Keyworth, II, Richard V. Allen, Dr. Robert Jastrow, Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, and Karl Bendetsen.



**RICHARD V. ALLEN** served as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs during the first year of the Reagan Administration. From 1977 to 1980, he was Mr. Reagan's Chief Foreign Policy Advisor. He is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. He is a Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation and Chairman of its Asian Studies Center, and Chairman of the Defense Assessment Project. Mr. Allen is President of the Richard V. Allen Company, an international consulting firm in Washington, D.C.



**KARL R. BENDETSSEN** is the former Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer of Champion International. He was the first Chairman of the Board of the Panama Canal Company, chartered by Congress in 1949. In 1956, Mr. Bendetsen gained the rank of Ambassador as Special Assistant to the Secretaries of State and Defense for German Affairs and later for Philippine Affairs. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the New York Stock Exchange. He was also Honorary Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University.

(Continued on inside back cover)



# A NEW SHIELD OF THE REPUBLIC:

A Panel Discussion  
On ADVANCED STRATEGIC DEFENSE

July 10, 1984

*with an introduction by*  
Lew Lehrman

Publication by **CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL  
FOUNDATION**, September, 1984.

Lew Lehrman, *Chairman*.  
Jane Potter, *Editor*.



## INTRODUCTION

There is no single instinct more compelling, to a nation as to an individual, than the instinct for survival, for self-defense. It is a deep and abiding moral law of human nature. Our President assumes the obligation, under oath, to protect and defend the territory and the citizens of the United States; and indeed, the issue of national strategic defense promises to emerge as the gravest concern facing our country in the years ahead.

Today America is held hostage under a terrible shadow, under the threat of nuclear annihilation, simply because we are still trapped in the twisted logic of the mid-'60s, logic which led us to MAD—the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction. The men who took part in this seminar, and whose remarks are transcribed here, are acknowledged authorities on the subject of defense, and men with a profound moral commitment to the peace and lasting security of this nation. And it is for them, the scientists and strategists, to reveal this doctrine for the fearful balance of terror that it is, and to state with President Reagan that it is better to save lives than to avenge them. This panel, part of a seminar hosted by the Citizens For America Educational Foundation on July 10, addresses the most essential of the questions—and the misconceptions—about strategic defense.

America is indeed at a crossroads. Our present military strategy is profoundly flawed; it is the cause of widespread discontent, both left and right. Those who advocate a nuclear freeze and those who advocate unilateral disarmament, themselves misled, are in danger of misleading others. Answers are never to be found in panic or despair, but rather through faith in ourselves and in the strength of reason. Technological obstacles *can* be overcome. A system of self-defense is not provocative or strategically destabilizing; indeed, it may be our surest route to real, significant, and verifiable arms reductions. There *is* a practical solution to the terrible dilemma posed by MAD strategists—and it is as simple and compelling as the solution found by Alexander the Great to the riddle of the Gordian knot.

By now it is evident that there *can be* no solution within the knot of contradictions which is MAD. It is time for America and the free world to take the first step along another path. President Reagan has said, "Peace through strength is more than a slogan; it is a reality." The purpose of the panel, and the reason for this subsequent publication, was to bring the facts to light, that we may see and judge that reality for ourselves. We have today a moral imperative to change the arms race into a race for peace and security. Let us seek a return from madness to reason, from despair to hope.

Lew Lehrman  
August, 1984



## **BELL**

We do have a distinguished panel, and we went to the trouble to get it because the issue that we are going to address—strategic defense—has more and more of a chance to emerge as *the* national security issue of the 1980s, most particularly in the second Reagan term. To underline that, an article appeared in today's *Wall Street Journal* entitled, "From Arms Control to Controlled Security"; I'm sure many of you took a look at it, by Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor under President Carter. The significance of this article is that it is a kind of breakthrough from what might be thought of as the other side of the debate on the national security issue. There are three points that he makes, among others. One, that arms control as a means of preserving the peace internationally is failing. Two, that for the first time it is at least possible that it is in the interests of the Soviet Union to initiate a first strike against the United States. And three, that the policy response to those first two points should be strategic defense. That the "defense" for the first time in many years has become competitive with the "offense" really is the greatest hope for world peace for the rest of this century.

Coming from that source, President Carter's National Security Advisor, this is a momentous statement, and it underlines why it is not only that we have taken the trouble to bring together this outstanding panel, but why they have agreed to come. If we are correct, if this is the crucial issue for the national security of the United States and the world, and if it is also true that this is the issue, thanks to President Reagan's so-called "Star Wars" speech of 1983 and also due to the work of some of the men on this panel, then it is likely to become the key issue in the area of national security.

The first panelist, Karl R. Bendetsen, is the retired Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Champion International Corporation. He is a former Chairman of the Panama Canal Commission and has held many other distinguished positions in the Pentagon and as a national security advisor over several Presidencies. Most pertinently, he more than perhaps anyone else, deserves the credit for bringing to the attention of President

Reagan, by means of a special advisory panel, the overwhelming need to move in this direction in a policy sense. So it is with great pleasure that I introduce our first panelist, Karl R. Bendetsen.

### **BENDETSSEN**

Thank you very much for that splendid introduction. Your statement in and of itself is a fine preliminary to what we are considering. What you have said has a factual basis, which I might summarize.

Since signing SALT I in 1972, the Soviets have proceeded inexorably to build their strategic forces. As the United States has shown restraint, the Soviets now enjoy a three-to-one lead in ICBM warheads and a four-to-one lead in missile throw weight. The backbone of the Soviet ICBM force consists of 818 large modern missiles, that carry a total of over six thousand warheads. Half of their silos have been rebuilt and hardened in the last five years. None of ours have.

In addition to this, the Soviets have deployed nearly four hundred SS-20s. These are so-called Intermediate Range Missiles. But these can be converted quickly to intercontinental range either by adding a third stage—and they have a vast supply of third stages ready—or by removing two of the three warheads in the nose cone. Soviets are also testing two new ICBMs which they call XS-24 and -25 solid fuel missiles, which can be deployed in a mobile mode so they would be very hard to detect and keep track of. Soviet missiles add up to a powerfully overwhelming first-strike capability. All of our submarines in port, all of our planes on the ground, could be destroyed with only a quarter of their ICBM force. Holding the rest in a paralyzing reserve, they would make it nearly inconceivable for us to use any missiles launched by such submarines as were then at sea or to use any airborne weapons carried by our strategic aircraft.

Now the purpose of the Soviet first-strike capability is not to launch World War III, it is to intimidate the United States into total submission, or to put it another way, into total surrender.



Present Soviet power, offset by no credible U.S. deterrent, leads U.S. allies to question U.S. credibility.

The immoral concept of MAD—Mutually Assured Destruction, that is to say—has never been accepted by the Soviets in the first place. Here at home, the same crowd that initiated the disarmament of the United States in 1960 under the first Kennedy Administration and brought about MAD, and the scientists who joined them then and are still on their side, say that we should not develop strategic defenses, and that science cannot really develop a strategic deterrent or if so, not until well into the next century. I repeat, MAD is an immoral concept that led to a treaty prohibiting defenses against nuclear missiles, a commitment that the United States government then made that it would not defend its people.

The Soviets are not playing for anything less than to win. They subjugate Poland, invade Afghanistan. They intimidate countries on their borders. The President told the nation on March 23, 1983, in his eloquent address, that we should develop a strategic defense initiative so that our allies can defend themselves against this power. The MAD treaty, however, does not prohibit research and development nor does it prohibit space weapons.

Not only do the Soviets have the power to destroy us, they have the power to destroy our intelligence and communications satellites which are not defended today. Soviets are now urging us to meet them to negotiate a treaty to prohibit all steps for defense against nuclear missiles and prohibit defensive weapons in space. If we agree to that, *we* would totally refrain. They would not. They would continue to do what they've been doing all along. They have indeed for many years been developing space weapons and space defenses against our nuclear missiles and other nuclear weapons. They have indeed developed, and have up there now, offensive satellites to destroy our intelligence and communications satellites. They have been intensively working toward the development on their part of ground-based defenses against our nuclear weapons in spite of the treaty which prohibits that. They started years ago. They are patently violating the treaty between us which prohibits defenses

against nuclear missiles. And they would have us defer altogether, while they go all out.

Now the scientists who call themselves the Concerned Scientists, who are saying that the research and development would carry us well into the next century, and that it is very doubtful that we could do it, remind me of Copernicus. He propounded the theory that the earth was not the center of the universe, and that the earth revolves around the sun. As long as this heresy was merely a theory, it was grudgingly accepted by the establishment as merely a theory. But when the good scientist Galileo brought in the hard facts that proved that the earth was not the center, he was condemned and incarcerated. Now let us not let that happen to the many fine scientists who say that they can do it, and if it's done properly, in a short time.

One more subject. The Defense Department is a very fine department. It was created in 1947 by the Congress. It has three departments and a defense layer. Its lead time from the initiation of projects to deployment of them, since 1955, has lengthened from five years to fourteen years. The Defense Department is absolutely essential. But we must remember that this project must have a Manhattan Project approach. Remember the Manhattan Project which developed the first atom bomb? Don't shudder. Remember that the first atom bomb and the second one saved five million lives that would have been lost without it, if we had had to invade Japan.

Thank you.

### **BELL**

Thank you, Mr. Bendetsen. I'm next going to call on Lieutenant General Daniel Graham, retired. Dan is a graduate of West Point, and he has been both Deputy Director of the CIA and the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, DIA. I first got to know Dan when he did a very rare thing among those who have risen so high in the national security establishment of this country. He resigned on an issue of policy. He resigned from the Ford Administration, at the same time that James Schlesinger was fired, and he went on to become a



national security advisor to Ronald Reagan. I think it's fair to say that Dan, more than any other single individual, has been able to publicize this issue through his High Frontier program and through his many writings, and put it on the national agenda in the larger society, as well as help Mr. Bendetsen and others get it onto the plate of President Reagan as his major defense initiative. It's with great pride that we introduce Lieutenant General Daniel Graham.

### **GRAHAM**

I'm delighted to be part of this effort that's going on today. I'm proud to be associated in whatever way I can with CITIZENS FOR AMERICA, and the sort of thing they're trying to do. Also, I'd like to say that the High Frontier effort which has been going on since the middle of 1981 has been made possible by the people, a lot of people who are in this room. I don't know that I recognize them all, but I recognize several hundred thousand dollars that have come into High Frontier as a result of the kind of people that are gathered here together. And God bless you—for once, something has paid off.

In March, 1982, we first made public the findings of the High Frontier study which said essentially that we *can* develop a defense against Soviet long-range ballistic missiles. Yes, we can do it at a reasonable cost. Yes, we can do it within the political framework that we have to use.

Between that time and March, 1983, we captured one great supporter, which was the President of the United States. Thanks to efforts of people like Karl Bendetsen and others in this room, we were able to do that. And now you see this issue bubbling up, with the Brzezinskis of this world and others wondering if they aren't on the wrong wicket by opposing the actual defense of the people of the United States for the first time in fifteen, sixteen years as a matter of policy.

We have found as we go around this country and talk to the average American that we only need to make two points in order to get them aboard High Frontier. One is, strangely enough, to convince them that they are not defended from

long-range ballistic missiles. Two out of three Americans, by a scientific poll taken by the Heritage Foundation some time ago, believe themselves to be defended from long-range ballistic missiles. This is not because the American people are stupid, it is because the American people simply cannot conceive of a policy adopted back in the mid-1960s by Robert McNamara that somehow the non-defense of the American people was a good thing, that we should *mandate* the non-defense of the American people, that it was *provocative and destabilizing* to think about defending the American people. Why? Because we'd adopted this crazy idea of Mutually Assured Destruction which says the only way we shall defend ourselves is to threaten to slaughter Russians after they've slaughtered us. It put us in the military in the position of looking forward—not looking forward, but dreading the day—when Americans were being incinerated by nuclear weapons, and we should say, "Feel good about it. We are now going to go slaughter a bunch of Russians."

That is hardly in line with the American military ethic which is so well stated, I believe, in the final stanza of the "Star-Spangled Banner." It says, "so long as free men shall stand between their loved homes and the war's desolation." It does *not* say, "so long as free men stand ready to heap desolation on the other man's house." We have gnawed at our own military ethic, and we've lost the moral high ground that we should have had all along. That moral high ground can be regained by following what we have advocated in High Frontier, what we have advocated successfully with the help of people like those gathered here today: that is, that we shall not merely avenge people, we will save them. As the President said so eloquently, would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them? That's the perfect polemical question. How do you say no to that? You cannot. The American people do not.

We have run a survey in the state of California, and we asked the question, "Do you support or oppose space-borne weapons to intercept long-range nuclear ballistic missiles?" Now we thought that we would get an advantage out of that because of all of our talks around the country, that we'd come out better than 50 percent. The results were absolutely astonishing. 82.3 per-



cent of the Californian voters polled said, "Go! Do it!" And it didn't make any difference whether they were Democrats or Republicans or Independents. It didn't make any difference whether they considered themselves conservatives, or moderates, or liberals. They said, "Go do it." Which shows that the American people sometimes have better sense than those who purport to lead them. This result was of course astonishing because in the state of California you can get 20 percent against Motherhood—in San Francisco maybe 60 percent.

We then decided we had to do a nationwide poll, before the liberal establishment told people how they ought to vote on this issue. But we were beaten to the punch by the Committee on the Present Danger. They polled and asked essentially the same question and the answer came back four to one in favor of High Frontier-type systems.

Now, in this case you'd think we'd have the battle won. Well, we don't have the battle won, because in the 20 percent against, you can bet your bottom dollar, are a lot of powerful, powerful interests. This includes everybody who is running for President on the Democratic side, who say that to defend the people is provocative and destabilizing—taking us back fifteen years. They are still following that policy, which really only could have been devised by a man who'd ushered an Edsel through the Ford company. These people cling to the proposition that MAD is the way to go. These people really benefit by having the threat of enormous destruction, of catastrophic destruction, of apocalyptic destruction hanging over the heads of Americans. And they don't want us out from under that threat. And the reason they don't want us out from under that threat is because that terrible threat allows them to get Americans to do things they would not otherwise do. They get Americans to support things they would not otherwise support.

Take, for example, the polls about nuclear freeze. They polled the people about nuclear freeze and a majority said, "Yes, we'd like to have a nuclear freeze." The next question was, "Would you trust the Soviets to keep a nuclear freeze if we got one?" And they said, "No!"—in the same numbers. So what they were trying to do—and what they very nearly did

do—was to get American citizens to agree to something that made no internal logic to them either. And the way they did it was to terrify—to march through the schools and tell the kids that their eyeballs were going to melt in a nuclear war, to frighten people to death with things like the “Day After” show and so forth. I don’t think that’s the way we should select a policy. And I don’t think that’s what we should be handing out. And I’m delighted to say that is not what we have to hand out.

What we can say today is that the technology is available, through the great heritage we have in superior technology in the United States, to get a defense in place against the most awesome threat the country has ever faced: the threat of destruction within 35 minutes of a decision to do so, by all those Soviet long-range missiles. We can do that. And we can do it in short order if we want to do it, if the political will is there to do it. And I’m here to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that the political will is out there among the people.

Now if we can get at some of the elites, as the *Wall Street Journal* suggested we are doing, and if we can get at the political establishment to say, “Yes, Americans, we will use our technology to defend you against these weapons,” then it will be done. And it will be done quickly. And it will be done at reasonable cost. These things can be done, these things *must* be done. And I’m honored and pleased that CFA is part of the effort to get that done. Thank you very much.

### **BELL**

If there is anyone who can tell us whether this is technologically possible it is our next speaker. Dr. Robert Jastrow is the Founder and the retired Director of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies of NASA. And he was the first Chairman of NASA’s Lunar Exploration Committee. He taught Physics, Astronomy and Geology for twenty years at Columbia, and he is now Professor of Earth Sciences at Dartmouth. He is author of many, many books and has written a recent article entitled, “Reagan Versus the Scientists: Why the President is Right.”

Dr. Robert Jastrow.



## **JASTROW**

Thank you, Mr. Bell, fellow guests, ladies and gentlemen. I was reminded by the remark about Copernicus of the fact that when Galileo got into trouble it wasn't the church, actually, that was mad at him but his fellow professors in astronomy and mathematics who were going to have to rewrite their lecture notes. They ganged up and sicked the church on him. And there's a lesson in that for us today. Professors can be a problem by the way; that's not what I was going to say, but it's just a side remark. They contribute a lot, but they have a mentality like a laser beam, especially my fellow physicists, as I think Dr. Keyworth will agree. It is very penetrating but very narrow. And their success in dealing with severely limited problems, where variables are known, the constraints are clear, gives them a certain arrogance that is causing us some trouble—we who are interested in the safety of this nation.

I would like to say at the start that my admiration for the President is just unbounded—not only for his defense policies but for his economic policies. This is very much a minority view in the academic circles in which I sometimes travel, especially on the campus on which I'm now teaching, where I keep a very low profile on these matters. But I think that the President's proposal for a strategic defense is the most important step taken for the enhancement of the security of the American people since the second World War. A step in which the President, with his tremendous common sense, says, "Here are two fellows with six guns pointed at one another's head, and if either one twitches, both are dead." That is, in Pentagon language, a defense that doesn't degrade gracefully. If it fails, the failure is catastrophic. And it's a bad arrangement.

President Reagan also said, with his basic wisdom (which you don't learn in graduate school—if anything it gets knocked out of you), "It's better to save lives than to avenge them." General Graham repeated that great remark—and that's good sense. But it doesn't sit very well with many of my fellow scientists, and with the academics and the journalist followers in general. One could speculate in private on the reasons, but whatever

those reasons are, it is a fact that many Ph.D.s are hostile to this straightforward reasoning. But they don't admit to their hostility, and this brings me to the point of my little remark; they disguise it under nominally scientific criticisms. They say it won't work.

I've looked into those statements, as have others. General Abrahamson's staff is very competent, and they've helped in this and done a lot of the spade work. These statements are outrageous. For example, the so-called Union of Concerned Scientists put out a report signed and endorsed by some very distinguished scientists. Very competent people—but they couldn't have read the report they signed. They say thousands of satellites are needed for a defensive screen against the Soviet Union, the point being that each one of these satellites costs about as much as the Trident submarine—somewhere between one and ten billion dollars. They are dreadnoughts of the skies.

The right answer has been known for a good ten years to people working in the defense community—responsible people acquainted with these problems. A Los Alamos report shows that the right answer is less than one hundred satellites—mathematically worked out, checked *ad infinitum*. And I, when I got into this—physicists tend not to take someone else's word for matters in their own field—I did some rough calculations of my own that assured me that that was the right ballpark: less than a hundred. The difference between that and this egregious exaggeration by Garwin and Sagan and that ilk is the difference between a reasonable and practical program which, as Dr. Keyworth said, can be fitted into the present budget projections for our strategic forces between now and the end of the 1990s, and a program which would cost many trillions of dollars. It casts an aura of impracticality over the President's proposal, and it is pseudo-science; there is no justification for this. It is just simply irresponsible.

One other example, and then to the conclusion. A suggestion frequently made is that the Soviets can counter our defense easily. In fact on close examination none of these countermeasures turns out to be either easy or feasible. You have to pay heavily in the payload cost. They nullify the offensive potential



of that terrible arsenal in the act of constructing countermeasures.

For example, it's possible to smear in a blade of a protective covering over the skin of a missile like the SS-18—which is a mammoth thing, by the way, an awesome ICBM that is twice as big as the MX. You never read this in the *New York Times*, but as we struggle over whether we will deploy twenty-one or a hundred MX missiles, the Soviets now have in the field 308 of these SS-18s, each twice as big as an MX, carrying a total of three thousand terribly destructive and accurate warheads. You could protect this missile against our lasers by smearing a covering on it.

I engaged in a debate with Richard Garwin at the AAAS meeting in New York last month on this matter in which I pointed this out. Garwin said that this covering would weigh 660 pounds, which seems a modest price to pay for protection against our defense. However, I did the arithmetic—and this is something you do on the back of an envelope, not with a computer. You just have to know the formula for the area of a cylinder and how big the missile is, which is in Ashford Carter's report, and is unclassified information. I have no access to classified information, I don't rely on it in rebutting this pseudoscience. This is all open literature. Anyway, the right answer is 4.8 tons, assuming you leave the lower third of the missile uncovered which is sort of conventional wisdom in this field. 4.8 tons is 60 percent of the payload of the SS-18, which is eight tons. Reducing the destructive potential of the most fearsome weapon in the Soviet arsenal by 60 percent is not a bad return from the American side of the community. Reducing it by 60 percent—not a bad return on the President's call to scientists to devise means of rendering these missiles impotent and obsolete. I think it's a very good first start.

Finally, as a physicist, I'm deeply disturbed by the politicization of the American physics community, and the scientific community as a whole, which extends into the highest reaches of the organizational structure. I can quote to you from the journal of the AAAS—which is the largest organization of scientists in the country—"The Journal of Science," statements

which read like they come straight out of *Pravda*. I have one here that says the U.S. is "aggressive and provocative." That's a quote. It says that our Defense Department is working hard at developing ways of initiating a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. I've read the statements that come out of Russia on this matter, and they use the same language.

The journalist fellow travelers of these fellows in the scientific community echo these thoughts. Anthony Lewis wrote in the *Times* a while ago, "The United States is the most dangerous and destructive power in the world." Again, one asks, how can anyone who reads the papers, and has his eyes open, draw this conclusion about these two countries? I don't know.

So it has to be said plainly that these fellows, the Garwins, the Carl Sagans, are carrying on a campaign in which they are working actively to scuttle plans for defending the American people against the most terrible threat to their existence we have known since the founding of this republic. Their criticisms turn out, on examination by other Ph.D.s,—and it takes one Ph.D. to cancel another, at least in the public eye—to be invalid. So the criticism can't come from Secretary Weinberger. It's got to come from a fellow scientist. And these invalid and often factless comments, which are presented as serious scientific analysis, are accepted unquestioningly by the *New York Times* and by sincere Congressmen and their staffers on the Hill. This group is putting an enormous amount of energy into an effort that can only be described as being in the interests of the Soviet Union—whether that is their intention or not—in its campaign of nuclear intimidation. And it is time, I think, for scientists who see things the way the President does on the defense of this nation to speak up and say this is not science but pseudo-science. I personally intend to put all of my energy, all I can, into this effort in the next year.

It is critical as we move into finding the support for the funding of the Strategic Defense Initiative in fiscal '86, when it takes its first big jump upwards and when the most serious attacks will be mounted on it by the Soviets on that side and by some people of our scientific community on this side. For



scientists this is the counterpart of what you good people are doing in the political and economic arena in your organization.  
Thank you.

### **BELL**

Thank you, Dr. Jastrow. Thank you, and we will be calling on you as those appropriations come up for a vote next year or the year after that. And your expertise will be helpful to many of the people in this room as we attempt to win those appropriations and move the missile defense forward.

There was a "round one" on this debate, and I remember talking to our next speaker, Richard V. Allen, about it as long ago as 1968 when he was Director of Foreign Policy Studies in the Nixon campaign. Our side, the side that wanted to defend the American people, lost round one of that debate, and one of the reasons that we lost round one of that debate is that Richard V. Allen, instead of becoming National Security Advisor to the President that we elected in 1968, became Deputy National Security Advisor to the President. He did attain that position, as you know, under President Reagan. And that is probably one very good reason why we are moving ahead with it at long last. We have a good chance with the Great Communicator on our side to win round two of the missile debate because round one, which took place mainly in the late Johnson and Nixon years, was lost. We did decide to leave our people, and indeed our weapons, vulnerable in that first round of debate.

Richard V. Allen has held so many positions, and our time is so limited, that I'm not going to name them all. I mentioned his two most eminent governmental positions and presently he is the Distinguished Fellow of the Heritage Foundation, Chairman of its Asian Studies Center, and he is Chairman of the Defense Assessment Project.

Richard V. Allen.

## ALLEN

It is a great pleasure to be here. And it is a great tribute to the skills of Jack Hume and Lew Lehrman, and his competent staff and the organizers throughout the United States that you are able to be in Washington today and to celebrate this first important anniversary of CITIZENS FOR AMERICA.

I have to immediately remind one of my fellow panelists that you don't have to get a Ph.D. to dispute the issues on defense because I was listening to Jesse Jackson just this morning on television, and I heard that the United States was an imperialist, war-monger, provocative power in the world that is destabilizing all the forces of democracy. So perhaps if you get Jesse Jackson in some of those scientific debates, Dr. Jastrow, things will be a lot better.

Instead of attempting to ply you with any expertise, or pseudo-expertise, about the subject of strategic defense, let me put into perspective what has happened in roughly the last twenty-five years. In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected with what he thought was a mandate. In that mandate, or encompassed in that mandate, was the notion that the United States was certainly worth defending, that the United States would spare no burden to defend its interests around the world, that we would stand with our friends whenever necessary and that implied in all this would be a defense policy of which the United States could be proud. By October of 1962 the United States had reached that great watershed. We were eyeball to eyeball with the Soviet Union and in confrontation over the emplacement of Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles in Cuba, ninety miles off the shore of the United States.

The result of that particular confrontation was highly satisfying to some. Some concluded that the Soviet Union would henceforth no longer attempt to keep up with the United States, much less to overtake the United States in the field of defense—that is, of armaments. Some concluded that the Soviet Union would then withdraw and begin to pay more attention to the consumer needs of the Soviet citizen. Some believed that the Soviet leadership, having stared down the nuclear gun barrel, so to speak, and having gotten into deep hot water with its



Chinese allies, had finally come to the conclusion that its way was wrong. Others believed that the Soviet Union indeed was heading on some sort of convergence footing with the United States and that somewhere in the future, some indeterminate point, the United States and the Soviet Union would be on the same side, particularly as we drifted steadily leftward and they steadily toward our course. Ultimately, we would be able to come together to protect the peace, that we wouldn't really have to be concerned about defense. That was the beginning of the detente, as we came to know it in later years.

When that detente policy was elevated from the position of a tactic to a theology in the first Nixon Administration, much of what we had sought was lost. That is, what we had sought in terms of our own security was lost, some thought forever. As detente unfolded, the theory was that the Soviet Union could gradually be coaxed into better behavior abroad, that the Soviet Union would stop undercutting the United States, and would indeed stop deploying weapons of mass destruction if the Soviet Union knew that the flow of technology and credits could ultimately be cut off by a determined United States in retaliation for the Soviet Union's continued bad behavior. It never happened.

And so during the years of the Nixon and Ford Administrations, and on into the Carter Administration, our defenses lagged. Organizations that were crying in the wilderness, such as the Committee on the Present Danger, tried to point out that if this trend continued the nation would be faced with disaster. President Ronald Reagan took up the cudgels very early in this debate. He'd long been a proponent of a strong defense. He came to a full understanding of the issues, obviously in preparation for his race in 1976. Between 1977 and 1980, he spent an extraordinary amount of time—in fact, the most time he spent on any issue was the issue of the nation's defenses and how to get meaningful, balanced and equitable, verifiable arms control or arms reduction agreements. He became intrigued with the notion of defense, and it was as a consequence of his feeling about the entire subject that I believe strategic defense has finally been able to come of age in the United States.

The Reagan agenda is, on its face, a contradiction of the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction—although we still haven't rid ourselves of that pernicious doctrine, as Dan Graham and others have pointed out. The notion that somehow Americans should let themselves be held hostage to Soviet missiles is indeed a strange concept. So President Reagan, in the process of trying to create a new foreign policy for the United States, decided that strategic defense could indeed serve a very positive and useful purpose. Not only would it make sense for America but it would make sense for the world. The notion of defending, actually defending ourselves, is not, he decided, provocative or destabilizing. If we could defend ourselves, then we could deter perhaps better than we have deterred through the process of the adoption of the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction, a doctrine which does nothing more than permit the continued accumulation of weapons. And for what purpose? Obviously, for the purpose on the side of the Soviet Union to intimidate, demoralize, and destabilize the United States and our Western allies.

Ronald Reagan has often been depicted in the press, and caricatured, as a man with his finger on the nuclear trigger, just itching to pull it. In point of fact, his strong support for the notion of strategic defense may be the new watershed for the United States. His decision will constitute a sea-change in the United States. It is nothing more and nothing less than the harnessing of the enormous technological talent that we have in the West, in the United States, in the service of defending the American people and our allies everywhere. Bear in mind, too, that President Reagan even indicated that he would not be uncomfortable with the notion that the Soviet Union should also develop a similar capability. Because deterrence will really come when the other side is truly deterred.

We have shifted, then, from a notion of simple accumulation of weapons to kill, to the notion of trying to stop killing through the harnessing of technology on the ground and in outer space. Nowhere is this more misunderstood than in Europe today. I had the opportunity to spend last week discussing this with members of friendly governments and parties from various



countries in Europe and in Asia at a conference in Oslo, Norway. No one understands, for example, that the fabled "Star Wars" approach is a strategic, non-nuclear defense in behalf of the United States. It is a space-based defense that does not require the use of nuclear weapons. It is widely misunderstood and therefore is vulnerable to continued Soviet propaganda. The accent must be, in the United States, that the mere accumulation of weapons does not constitute a strategy for us. Deter we must in the short term. But the innovative, inspirational theme of strategic defense can indeed come to the rescue of our country and can provide the kind of security that will be in place for many, many years to come. Of course, it is not, and will not be considered to be perfect from the outset, but it's a start.

The patronage of the President is exceptionally important in this regard. We should emphasize what is positive in this new strategy, what it is that defends the American people, what it is that is moral in this doctrine, and we should not at all accept the conclusion that it cannot come to pass through technological deficiency. We have the will. Of course, your interest, your participation in developing this campaign throughout the United States would be of enormous value to the people who have pioneered it to date, people like Dan Graham and Karl Bendetsen and others, who have labored long and hard and against great odds to get this, not only as a doctrine but as a strategy and as a new scientific program, adopted. Do your best. The challenge is for each and every one of us. If we can't meet that challenge, who indeed can?

Thank you.

### **BELL**

Thank you, Dick. Our concluding panelist is George Keyworth, a nuclear physicist for thirteen years at Los Alamos. In 1981 he was appointed Science Advisor to President Reagan and he is also Director of the Office of Science and Technology

Policy. Lew and I and others at CFA have met with Dr. Keyworth. We're very impressed with him. We look forward to working with him, and we think you will too. Dr. George Keyworth.

### **KEYWORDH**

Well, thank you very much. Let me focus on what I consider to be today the overwhelmingly important issue connected with strategic defense. That issue is arms reductions.

Strategic defense is a means to rewrite the strategic arms equation that we have lived with for more than two decades. You know the strategy of mutual retaliation is actually somewhat dubious because it becomes, as we are seeing today, somewhat less stable as technology advances. I for one am not content to bet the future of the world on the continuing ability to maintain a deterrent against the possibility of a successful preemptive attack by the Soviets. And while I do understand the motivations of those people who believe that mutual retaliation is only a transitional phase because we're certain to find a safe haven through arms control, you know history is hardly encouraging.

So far, in spite of their well-intentioned desires to negotiate weapons reductions, I don't see any realistic proposals that are likely to take us from here to there. And when I say "there," I don't mean freezes or token arms reductions, which are unlikely to make a truly significant difference to nuclear instability. For me, "there" means drastic arms reductions. And that's precisely why the President proposed that we undertake a program to develop strategic defense.

You know, he understands all too well that the surest way to bring about drastic reductions of weapons is to reduce drastically the value of those very weapons. I, too, have great confidence that strategic defense is truly technically feasible. I wouldn't have said that a few years ago. But a number of recent advances have been so remarkable that the overwhelming obstacles that precluded an effective defense against ballistic missiles in earlier years have virtually evaporated.



So in spite of what you may hear opponents saying, this is not primarily a technical issue. But it is an issue of understanding how the introduction of a system, even an early, partial system, would have an immediate impact on arms balances. If each side is worried about the possibility that the other might attack pre-emptively—that is, start the big war because it thinks it can win at the outset by destroying the other's ability to retaliate, then the best way to defuse any such plans is to make it clear that a pre-emptive strike cannot possibly succeed.

Does that mean that you have to have a perfect defense system that intercepts each and every one of the enemy's attacking missiles? Of course not. A defense has to be effective enough to introduce only uncertainty into the attacker's detailed plan. If the Soviets couldn't be certain that a pre-emptive strike would cripple our ability to retaliate, then they simply won't attack. Remember in any arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets they do protect their land-based ICBMs above everything else. The reason is that their defense plans call for their use in a pre-emptive manner. But if the advent of strategic defense causes them to write off the possibility of a pre-emptive attack, then they have an enormous force of land-based ICBMs with very little military value. And that finally provides the long-missing common basis for negotiating seriously about massive reductions in land-based ICBMs—the single most important arms control objective before us. Perhaps you will read and you will hear debate and discussion in the coming months that will tell us a lot more about strategic defense and how it can provide other important leverage for further reductions. But my point is simply that strategic defense can be that long-awaited catalyst for meaningful improvements in our quest for long-term nuclear stability. I thank you very much.

### **BELL**

Thank you, Dr. Keyworth. We are already into the time allotted for our stretch break, but I will take just a few questions.

---

**QUESTION:** *Are the missile-tracking satellites vulnerable to being shot down?*

---

**KEYWORTH**

Of course, today virtually all of our space-based systems are potentially vulnerable. It's one of the characteristics of space. There's very little up there except an occasional star and a lot of satellites that are clearly visible. We are taking steps in definition of this so-called "Star Wars" program to ensure the survivability of our space assets. There are many different ways in which you can do that. I won't elaborate upon them all. That is an absolutely key issue. That very point you raise has been one of the hurdles that had to be overcome in the last fifteen years—since the debate that surrounded the 1972 ABM Treaty—in order for us to take the confident position we have today.

**JASTROW**

Since I have no access to classified information I can speak freely—I just read *Aviation Week*. From that I learned that, in fact, these satellites will not be launched until the classic methods of protection have been built into them. That is a lot easier in the satellite than the missile because the weight is no penalty. The methods are proliferation and decoys, that is, putting up dummy or multiple silent replicas of the active satellite, hardening, that is armor, and guns; these will, by definition, be well equipped to shoot down oncoming intruding interceptor missiles. And those three methods will be employed in combination to make them dreadnoughts of the skies. A lot of expense will go into it and they won't be launched until they are relatively invulnerable.



---

**QUESTION:** *What kind of funds have we allotted to start launching this program? And what are we going to be doing in reality to make sure this is a Manhattan project?*

---

### **KEYWORDH**

The Soviets today are spending, according to the best of our estimates, something well in excess of five billion dollars for the very specific, high-leverage technologies we're talking about here, let alone their existing system to defend Moscow. Next year we propose to spend slightly less than two billion dollars. The Congress has somewhat restricted that, but most of it will be developed. And I expect to see that program expand very rapidly over the next few years.

In sharing many of Karl Bendetsen's sentiments let me point out to you that there is an enormous resistance to change in the bureaucracy in the government. And, I think, technically if we undertook this program in the same sense that we undertook the development of the atomic bomb in 1942, we could expect progress of comparable effectiveness in a comparable length of time. I say that purely technically. I think you will see that stretched by a factor of several, at the very least, because of our failure to completely overcome this resistance to change. So your question is well taken. I wish I had a nice clear answer. We are trying as aggressively as possible with the very, very strong and critical support from the President to try to get this program firmly established and supported by the public. I think that's still in the process of happening. And I think many of the participants here today are strong contributors to that effort. But we are not there yet.

### **BENDETSSEN**

I'll say a brief additional word about the Manhattan Project approach. The War Department was a very efficient organi-

zation. It had two services. But at that time it was essential to take the project out of the War Department totally. Now the Defense Department is entirely a different matter. The Secretary of Defense has no general staff; he has about twenty-three people reporting to him. By law he can make no general delegation to anyone but the Deputy Secretary of Defense. That's in the statute. The chiefs of each of the services, most of whom I've known well and admire, are the ombudsmen of their services. The only staff at the defense level is the Joint Staff of the combined Chiefs of Staff. They come from the services; they are excellent officers—most of them below General Officer level—but their futures are in their services. So there are no compromises ever made in the Joint Chiefs of Staff by the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Consequently, at base, this urgently needs a Manhattan Project approach to remove it from the vast bureaucracy of the Defense Department. We cannot afford fifteen years. We can probably do this in three or five. I hope you all really become interested in persuading the government to follow a successful compromise.



---

**QUESTION:** *What is your assessment of the Administration's progress in terms of funding, personnel, and how they are setting this thing up?*

---

**GRAHAM**

I can be a little tougher than Jay because he's in the apparatus. Let me tell you a little story that illustrates the problem.

In 1956, Dwight Eisenhower was presented with a wild idea by a bunch of smart young Navy fellows. It was that you could build a great big nuclear submarine and that you could put missile silos in the submarine, that you could fire those missiles from under the water and come up through the water. And they would ignite after they got out of the water. You could keep that submarine located well enough that you could actually hit something. We didn't know how to do any of those things. But Eisenhower loved it. He said it was good for America because he was going to have a deterrent system that was going to be very difficult for the Soviets to locate. Do you realize that within less than four years, all of those technological hurdles had been jumped over and the first Polaris submarine put to sea? Now when we get around to trying to build a new fighter aircraft like an F-16, you get a decision thirteen years later. You get one aircraft. And we know how to build aircraft. We didn't know how to build a Polaris submarine.

Nixon, around 1970, in order to get the Joint Chiefs to go along with the ABM Treaty, offered a product improvement on this Polaris submarine; it's called a Trident. So the Chiefs were bought off on it. Thirteen years later the first Trident submarine went down the waves. Is this because we've lost our technical know-how? NO! Is it because our industry doesn't know how to produce a submarine any more? NO! It's because we've loaded up red tape on top of the process to the point where we're killing our own security. And this is why what Karl Bendetsen says is true. You've got to get some kind of special management.



**BENDETSSEN:**

Let me add this one statement. For a budget item to be cleared it has to have *two thousand* stops in the Pentagon.

**GRAHAM**

One other point was brought up by the gentleman over here which I think is very important and we haven't really touched on it. What are the Soviets up to? The Soviets are up to seizing military control of space. The only reason they haven't been able to do it yet is because they lag us in certain technologies. Transportation—they don't have a shuttle. Micro-miniaturization. We make things small, light, and efficient so when we put a pound in space it does six or eight times as much work as any pound that the Soviets put up. In other words, they have to put a lot more weight up there to do what we can do.

A third reason is our superior computer capability, which is vital to being able to run any kind of defensive system against missiles. If they had that, given their efforts which started back when I was running Defense Intelligence, they would have military control of space today. They're working hard to get it.

If they succeed, if the Soviets get something like High Frontier or some kind of space control system, they'll treat space the same way they treat their air space. And you know what happens in their air space. Certainly over two hundred people on the Korean airliner 007 know how they treat their air space. The Soviets, if they get this kind of capability ahead of us, will say, "What do you mean you're sending up a shuttle? We have not approved of the payload. You're not going to send up a shuttle. If you do we'll shoot it down." That's the down side of not doing what we're proposing here today. We must do it for the future of these United States; for your children, your grandchildren, and mine. We cannot allow a totalitarian system to seize the new high seas—which is space.

**BELL**

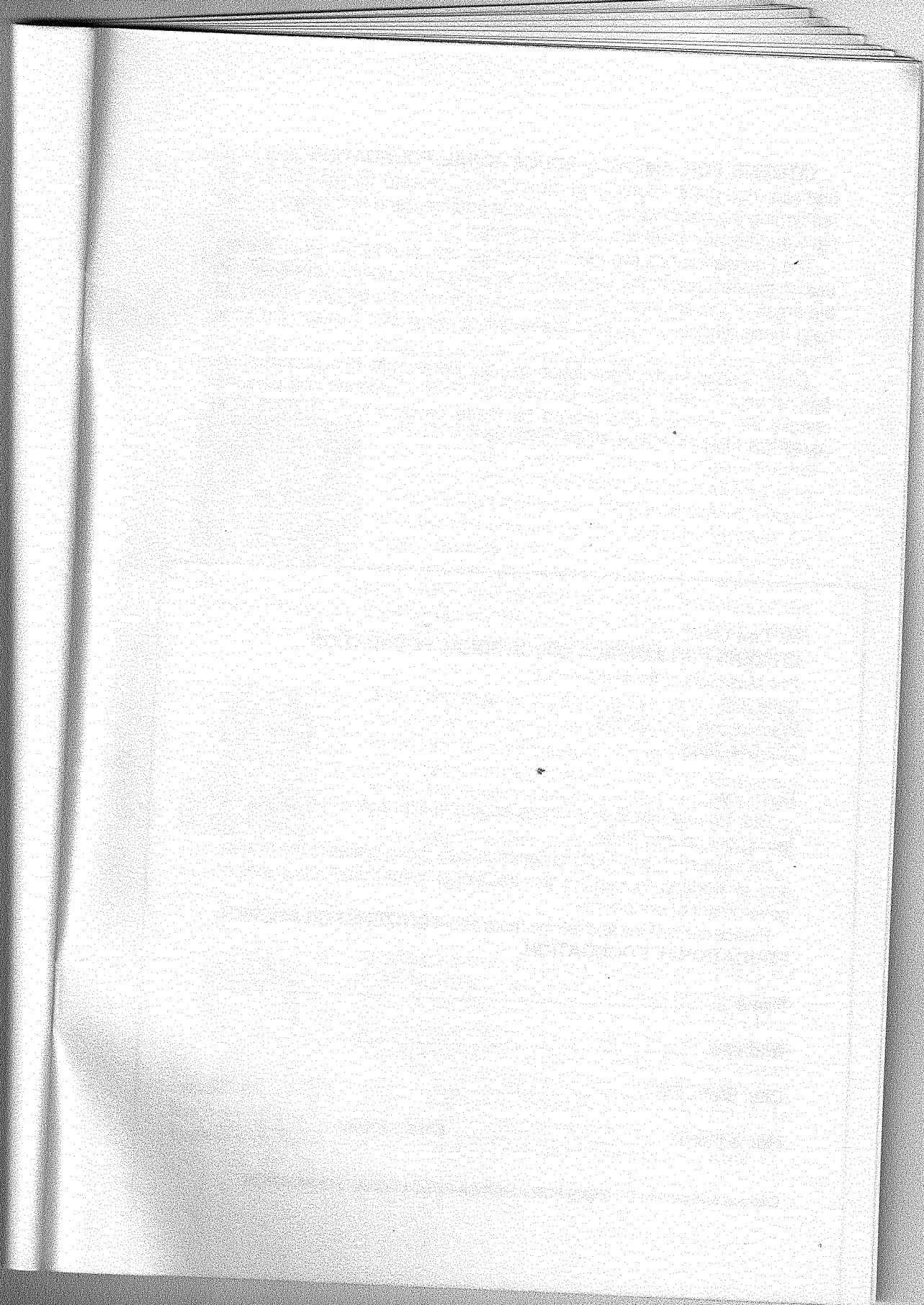
Thank you, General Graham, and thanks to the panel.

## NOTES



## NOTES





**CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION** is a non-partisan, non-profit educational organization, created for the purpose of reaffirming the basic values of our people and the standards by which they have traditionally assessed their government.

The Foundation has two main objectives; first, to educate local leaders across the nation with the facts about federal public policy, specifically in the areas of the American economy and national security; and second, to help these leaders bring their ideas before the public through the local media.

Contributions to the Foundation are tax deductible and do not count against your Federal Election Commission limits. Corporate and personal checks are welcome and should be made payable to "CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION."

Mr. Lew Lehrman

**CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION**

214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.

Suite 320

Washington, D.C. 20002

202-544-7888

Dear Lew:

Yes, I would like to learn more about the vital public policy issues facing our country today.

I'm interested in helping to communicate those issues to the public, and in working to reaffirm the traditional values and standards of government of our people.

Please contact me and tell me more about **CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION**.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

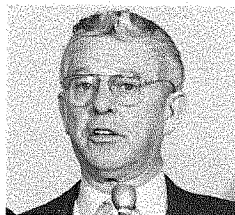
Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_

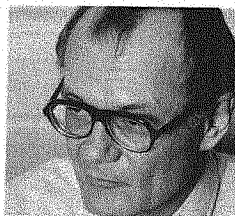
Home phone \_\_\_\_\_ Office phone \_\_\_\_\_

Clip out and mail to CITIZENS FOR AMERICA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION.

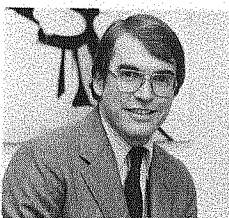




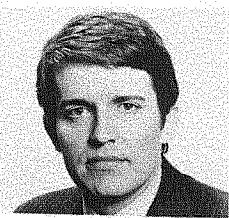
**LT. GEN. DANIEL O. GRAHAM** has served as the Deputy Director of the CIA and as the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. From 1959 to 1963 he was assigned to the office of the Assistant Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army as an Estimator for Soviet and East European Affairs. Since retiring in 1976, General Graham has served as an advisor to Ronald Reagan in the 1976 and 1980 campaigns, as a member of the American Security Council, and as Co-Chairman of the Coalition for Peace through Strength. He is presently the Director of High Frontier.



**DR. ROBERT JASTROW** is the Founder and past Director of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies of NASA, and former chairman of NASA's Lunar Exploration Committee. He joined NASA when it was formed and set up the Goddard Institute for Space Studies in New York as a U.S. Laboratory charged with carrying out research in astronomy, planetary science, and weather and climate prediction. Scientists of the Goddard Institute, working under Dr. Jastrow's direction, have played a key role in the Pioneer, Voyager and Galileo planetary missions.



**DR. GEORGE A. KEYWORTH, II** is the Science Advisor to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology. From 1968 to 1980 he was a member of the staff at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory studying nuclear physics. In 1974 Dr. Keyworth assumed leadership at Los Alamos of a comprehensive program in nuclear and fundamental interaction physics, and in 1978 he became head of the experimental physics division. He has served as President Reagan's Science Advisor since 1981.



**JEFFREY BELL**, Deputy Chairman of CITIZENS FOR AMERICA, was the Republican nominee from New Jersey for the U.S. Senate in 1978, and a Reagan delegate from New Jersey's 4th congressional district in 1980. As a policy aide to Ronald Reagan from 1974 to 1976, he helped draft Reagan's first proposals for federal budget and tax reduction. He has been a Fellow at the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard, the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers, and the American Enterprise Institute.



*Other Publications by  
Citizens for America  
Educational Foundation*

- The Facts About Central America
- Grenada Rescue Operation
- Moving Toward Economic Growth: The First 1000 Days
- President Reagan's Solution to Nuclear Holocaust: Strategic Defense
- The Facts About Enterprise Zones
- The Facts About Line-Item Veto Authority for the President
- Central America Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative Act
- Addendum: The Facts About the President's Central America Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative Act
- The Facts on Economic Progress in the Reagan Administration
- The Facts About Nicaraguan Freedom Fighter Aid

LEW LEHRMAN

Sept 18, '84

I thought of you and  
welcome your comments


Lew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DIANNA G. HOLLAND

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: High Frontier Solicitation

Mr. Fielding was sent a High Frontier fundraising packet by an anonymous correspondent, who asked if it were legitimate. Our office previously objected to General Graham's including a letter from the President in his fundraising solicitation. The present packet does not contain the letter, or any other suggestion that the President has endorsed the fundraising. The material does state that funds are being raised to promote the anti-missile defense plan backed by the President, but that is wholly accurate. No action is necessary.

Attachment



**WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

*NDA18*

- ☐ O - OUTGOING  
☐ H - INTERNAL  
☐ I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence  
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1 / 1

Name of Correspondent: Anonymous

☐ MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: David O. Graham mailing

**ROUTE TO:**

**ACTION**

**DISPOSITION**

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>WHolland</u>		<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>9/11/20</u>			<u>1 1</u>
<u>WAT18</u>		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>8/11/20</u>			<u>58/11/30</u>
		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

**ACTION CODES:**

A - Appropriate Action  
C - Comment/Recommendation  
D - Draft Response  
F - Furnish Fact Sheet  
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
R - Direct Reply w/Copy  
S - For Signature  
X - Interim Reply

**DISPOSITION CODES:**

A - Answered  
B - Non-Special Referral  
C - Completed  
S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
Code = "A"  
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.



IS THIS  
LEGITIMATE?

Daniel O. Graham  
Lt. General, USA (ret.)

277277

Dear Fellow American:

What I am about to tell you may seem hard to believe. But as a retired Army general, I can assure you that every word is true.

Right now, at this very moment, members of our own government are blocking a plan by President Reagan that would make America safe from attack by Soviet nuclear missiles!

That's right, the U. S. has developed the ability to knock out entire waves of enemy ICBMs -- destroying most of them while they're still over Soviet territory -- without harm to any human life.

And the President wants to start putting that know-how to work for our protection right now.

But a group of liberal senators and congressmen are doing everything in their power to prevent Ronald Reagan from building that missile-proof shield over America.

These opponents of the White House are telling the press and anyone else who will listen that the President's plan is like something out of Star Wars...a real Buck Rogers idea...and sure to be a costly failure.

Well I want you to know that's a load of hogwash!

I can tell you from experience that we not only have the technology it would take, we've had most of it for a long time! And it's been successfully proven in actual tests.

In short, we could honestly put a missile-destroying shield over America that would stop any Soviet ICBM attack. And we could start work on it tomorrow!

It's not even very complicated. The heart of this system is a chain of what some defense experts call "shotgun satellites" placed in orbit to cover the flight-paths that Soviet ICBMs must follow when they're launched.

These inexpensive, non-nuclear satellites would be armed with a remarkably simple device capable of breaking up any missile attack, no matter how massive it might be.

It works like this:

Since a single anti-missile satellite could normally knock out only one Soviet ICBM -- and since hitting even one demands great accuracy -- our "shotgun satellites" would instead fire clouds of high-velocity projectiles (much like simple bullets) at the waves of incoming missiles.

Tests already conducted clearly prove that even one projectile striking a missile moving at supersonic speed would destroy it totally.

So you can imagine the protective power of a whole network of satellites each armed with 24 or more of these read-to-fire "clouds" of projectiles.

Defense scientists assure our HIGH FRONTIER group that this part of the system alone would wipe out 80% of any attacking missiles, many of them while still over the Soviet Union! A second layer of satellites can destroy 80% of those that get through the first, reducing the attack by a total of 96%.

As you can see, the system I'm talking about here would mean an end to today's frightening "balance of nuclear terror." In short, the menace of a world destroyed by nuclear war would be virtually eliminated! And the cost would not be that great.

So why are all those 'peace loving' liberals in Congress fighting President Reagan's efforts to protect us with this highly effective defense against nuclear attack.

Many claim it would be "destabilizing" -- which simply means that it would upset the Soviets because they would not be able to threaten us with nuclear attack anymore.

Others are pushing for a "nuclear freeze," or major U. S. concessions in arms talks with the Soviets (either of which would still leave the world facing a nuclear nightmare).

In other words, these liberal politicians would rather negotiate with the Soviets than allow the President to build a defense against missiles that would start ICBMs on the road to becoming useless.

The trouble is, these politicians are also the ones most favored by the press and the rest of the media.

So most Americans hear only what THEY have to say about the President's plan for a missile-destroying shield over America.



That's one of the reasons our HIGH FRONTIER organization was founded. Made up of concerned citizens and scientists, our group is determined to get the truth about this vital defensive system to all American voters.

And we've done a pretty good job thus far. In fact, you may have already seen one of the articles of full-page "ads" we've managed to insert in newspapers all over the country.

Such efforts have aroused many thousands of our fellow citizens. And these voters have begun making it clear that they want their senators and congressmen to back President Reagan on this issue of national survival.

Yet we must reach countless more Americans if we really want to help the President win the support he needs to protect us with this defensive shield.

That means getting the full story on national TV. And that, in turn, means money our non-profit group doesn't have.

Which brings me to the facsimile check enclosed.

I recently explained our need for funds to a foundation that's deeply concerned about America's defense. After hearing me out, this group made a substantial contribution to our HIGH FRONTIER organization.

But there is a string attached to that money.

The foundation that donated it wants us to use it as "seed money" to raise funds for an entire multi-media campaign -- one that's big enough to get the truth about President Reagan's plan for missile-proofing our country INTO EVERY AMERICAN HOME!

So they stated that we may not use one cent of their money until we have at least doubled it with donations from the public.

This isn't an unusual requirement. It's called a "matching gift" program. Colleges and hospitals use them to double the funds they raise from corporations and other large donors.

And that is why I've sent you the enclosed facsimile check.

It represents \$15 worth the "matching gift" funds made available to us by that defense-minded foundation.



Please make your check  
payable to:  
High Frontier

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FORM

TO: General Daniel O. Graham  
HIGH FRONTIER

☐ YES, General Graham—I will help your organization in its efforts to bring President Reagan the vital national support he needs to overcome those liberals who oppose an ICBM-stopping shield over America.

I am enclosing your "matching gift" check(s) along with my own made out for

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Also, please send me a free copy of your book, WE MUST DEFEND AMERICA.

High Frontier  
Matching Gift Account

15-80  
540

OCTOBER 12, 1984

PAY  
TO THE  
ORDER OF

High Frontier

\$ 15.00

15 00

DOLLARS



SECURITY NATIONAL BANK  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

This facsimile valid only if accompanied by  
a donation check of equal or greater value.

⑆054000807⑆