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ADDRESS ON SDI/INF MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT

DENVER, COLORADO TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

THANK YOU. AND THANK YOU MR. (POE-NAL)
AND GENERAL ABRAHAMSON. IT IS AN HONOR FOR
ME TO BE AT MARTIN-MARIETTA WITH ALL OF YOU,
MEN AND WOMEN OF SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING,
WHO PLAY SUCH A VITAL ROLE IN THIS AGE OF
TECHNOLOGY. I WILL HAVE TO ADMIT I'M A BIT
AWED BY WHAT I'VE SEEN AND HEARD TODAY.

OF COURSE, NOT ALL MY PREDECESSORS

SHARED MY SENSE OF WONDER ABOUT SUCH THINGS.

ONE, PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES PLAYED

HOST TO A NOTABLE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

EVENT BACK IN THE 1870'S -- A DEMONSTRATION

OF THE NEWLY INVENTED TELEPHONE.

PRESIDENT HAYES' REACTION: "THAT'S AN AMAZING INVENTION," HE SAID, "BUT WHO WOULD EVER WANT TO USE THEM?" [PAUSE] WHEN I HEARD HIM SAY THAT, I THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE MISTAKEN.

SERIOUSLY THOUGH, I WAS BORN IN A SMALL TOWN IN THE FARM COUNTRY OF ILLINOIS.

PROGRESS IN THOSE DAYS MEANT INDOOR

PLUMBING, ELECTRIC LIGHTS, A TELEPHONE,

AND LATER, PERHAPS, A RADIO CRYSTAL SET.

JUST IN MY LIFETIME, WE'VE GONE FROM A TIME

WHEN MANY, IF NOT MOST, PEOPLE TRAVELED BY

HORSE POWER -- AND I MEAN THE KIND THAT EATS

HAY -- TO AN ERA OF SUPERSONIC PASSENGER

SERVICE.

AND JUST POSSIBLY BEFORE I LEAVE THE SCENE,
WE WILL HAVE DEVELOPED A CRAFT THAT WILL
TAKE OFF FROM RUNWAYS AS PLANES DO TODAY,
BUT ONCE AT HIGH ALTITUDE, THIS CRAFT WILL
ROCKET ITSELF INTO SPACE AND ZIP TO ITS
DESTINATION AT 18 OR 20 TIMES THE SPEED OF
SOUND -- FROM NEW YORK TO TOKYO IN
90 MINUTES. [PAUSE] THIS COULD BRING A
WHOLE NEW MEANING FOR "SUSHI TO GO."

6

THE AMERICA I WAS BORN INTO WAS

ACCLAIMED FOR ITS LIBERTY AND OPPORTUNITY,

YET THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR WHICH WE WERE SO

PROUD HAS BEEN EXPANDED TODAY BEYOND

ANYTHING THE AMERICANS OF MY YOUTH COULD

POSSIBLY HAVE IMAGINED. AFFORDABLE

WORLD-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION

HAVE NOT JUST EXTENDED, BUT ELIMINATED

HORIZONS.

COMPUTER CAPABILITY, WHICH A SHORT TIME AGO
WAS AVAILABLE ONLY TO LARGE CORPORATIONS,
IS NOW BEING PUT TO USE BY SMALL BUSINESS
AND INDIVIDUAL ENTREPRENEURS.

WE ARE IN AN AGE WHEN THE COMMON MAN
CAN DO AND EXPERIENCE WHAT IN PAST TIMES WAS
ENJOYED ONLY BY ROYALTY, ARISTOCRACY, AND
THE ELITE. JEFFERSON, WASHINGTON, AND
MADISON LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR LIBERTY AND
EQUALITY; EDISON, EINSTEIN, GODDARD,
AND OTHERS LIKE THEM, LIKE MANY OF YOU,
BUILT ON THAT FOUNDATION. IT HAS BEEN
TECHNOLOGY AND FREEDOM, TOGETHER, THAT HAVE
PUSHED AMERICA EVER FORWARD AND MADE HER THE
LAND OF ABUNDANCE AND PROGRESS WE LOVE SO
DEARLY.

ARTHUR BALFOUR ONCE NOTED, "SCIENCE IS THE GREATEST INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE...
THE MOST VITAL OF ALL REVOLUTIONS WHICH MARKED THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN
CIVILIZATIONS."

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL-BASED
REVOLUTIONS IN HEALTH CARE, FOOD PRODUCTION,
COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORTATION,
MANUFACTURING, AND OTHER ENDEAVORS HAVE
CHANGED HOW WE LIVE AND THE QUALITY OF OUR
LIVES. BEFORE JOINING YOU, I WAS GIVEN
A CLASSIFIED UPDATE ON SOME OF THE KEY
ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM YOU'RE WORKING ON.
IT'S CLEAR THAT THE PROJECT IS BOUNDING
FORWARD AND I COULDN'T BE MORE PLEASED.
AFTER WHAT I HAVE SEEN TODAY, I BELIEVE THAT
MANKIND IS AGAIN ON THE EDGE OF A REVOLUTION
THAT WILL CHANGE THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS UPON
WHICH WE BASE OUR DECISIONS AND RESHAPE THE
WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.

UNTIL NOW, MANKIND'S SEARCH FOR
SECURITY OFTEN FOCUSED ON EXPANDING THE
ABILITY TO LASH OUT, TO KILL, TO DESTROY.
TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES THROUGHOUT THE AGES
INCREASED MAN'S DESTRUCTIVE POWER, AND THOSE
NATIONS THAT DID NOT KEEP PACE SOON FELT THE
STING OF DEFEAT AND THE PAIN OF SUBJUGATION.
BUT HUMANITY, IN ALMOST EVERY CASE FOUND
A DEFENSE FOR EVERY OFFENSE, AND THAT IS
EXACTLY WHAT WE ARE SEEKING: A DEFENSE
AGAINST MANKIND'S MOST DEADLY WEAPONS:
BALLISTIC MISSILES.

YOU ARE LABORING TO DEVELOP A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM THAT WILL CHANGE HISTORY. ONCE YOU'VE COMPLETED YOUR WORK, THE WORLD WILL NEVER BE THE SAME. I SUGGEST IT WILL BE A BETTER AND A SAFER WORLD. AND WHAT BETTER LEGACY CAN THIS GENERATION LEAVE THAN A SAFER WORLD?

OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE OFFERS
MANKIND SECURITY THROUGH PROTECTION RATHER
THAN RETALIATION. IT IS A SCIENTIFIC
ADVANCE THAT WILL BE JUDGED A SUCCESS BASED
NOT ON HOW MANY LIVES IT IS CAPABLE OF
TAKING -- WHICH IS NONE -- BUT ON HOW MANY
IT IS ABLE TO PROTECT. IT IS A MORAL AS
WELL AS SCIENTIFIC ENDEAVOR WORTH EVERY
MINUTE AND HOUR YOU ARE DEDICATING TO IT.
OUR GOAL IS TO STRENGTHEN DETERRENCE BY
MOVING AS SOON AS WE ARE READY TO INCREASING
RELIANCE ON DEFENSES TO KEEP THE PEACE.

I REALIZE THAT BEING A GOVERNMENT
PROJECT, WITH ALL THE POLITICS THAT GOES
WITH THAT REALITY, YOUR WORK CAN BE
FRUSTRATING. WERNHER VON BRAUN ONCE SAID,
"WE CAN LICK GRAVITY, BUT SOMETIMES THE
PAPERWORK IS OVERWHELMING."

I APPRECIATE THE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT EACH OF YOU IS MAKING. YOUR MENTAL PROWESS AND CREATIVITY, AND, YES, YOUR HARD WORK, WILL MAKE OR BREAK THE PROGRAM. AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW, WHAT YOU ACCOMPLISH WILL BE PUT TO GOOD USE IN PROTECTING YOUR COUNTRY, THE FREE WORLD, AND PERHAPS ALL MANKIND AGAINST THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. YOU ARE NOT WORKING TO BUILD A BARGAINING CHIP. "IT WILL NOT BE TRADED AWAY.

YES, THERE ARE THOSE WHO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE COST. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, HIMSELF A MAN OF SCIENCE AND POLITICS, ONCE OBSERVED, "THE EXPENSES REQUIRED TO PREVENT A WAR ARE MUCH LIGHTER THAN THOSE THAT WILL, IF NOT PREVENTED, BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN IT."

WELL, MIRRORING THAT THOUGHT, I'D SAY
THAT WHAT WE SPEND TO PROTECT OURSELVES FROM
NUCLEAR MISSILES IS MUCH LIGHTER THAN THE
COST, HUMAN AND OTHERWISE, IF EVEN ONE
NUCLEAR MISSILE IS FIRED, EVEN IF BY
MISTAKE, AND WE HAVE TO SUFFER THE
CONSEQUENCES BECAUSE THERE IS NO WAY TO STOP
IT. IN THE CASE OF S.D.I., AMERICA CANNOT
AFFORD NOT TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO
DEVELOP THIS MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AND PUT
IT INTO OPERATION.

THE SOVIET UNION, EVEN AS THEY
CRITICIZE AND TRY TO CRIPPLE OUR
S.D.I. RESEARCH EFFORT, HAS BEEN
AGGRESSIVELY MOVING AHEAD ON ITS OWN
ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE. THEY HAVE
SPENT ROUGHLY \$200 BILLION IN THE LAST
10 YEARS -- AND HAVE CONCENTRATED THE ENERGY
AND TALENT OF THEIR BRIGHTEST SCIENTIFIC
MINDS.

MORE THAN 10,000 SKILLED SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS ARE WORKING ON MILITARY LASERS ALONE -- WITH THOUSANDS MORE DEVELOPING HIGH-TECH WEAPONS THAT USE PARTICLE BEAMS AND KINETIC ENERGY.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAGES ITS
PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR
S.D.I. RESEARCH, EVEN WHILE THEY WORK
OVERTIME TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN S.D.I.-LIKE
SYSTEM. WE MUST NOT BE LULLED INTO REDUCING
OUR COMMITMENT. THEIR MILITARY PROGRAM,
WHICH INCLUDES EVERYTHING FROM KILLERSATELLITES TO THE MODERNIZED ANTI-MISSILE
SYSTEM THAT PROTECTS MOSCOW, DWARFS OUR
S.D.I. PROGRAM ALREADY. THOSE WHO WOULD CUT
OR ELIMINATE FUNDS FOR OUR EFFORT WOULD
GRANT A CLEAR MONOPOLY IN THIS VITAL AREA TO
OUR ADVERSARY, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE
PRESENT BASIS OF DETERRENCE.

BECAUSE THE QUESTION IS NOT, WILL STRATEGIC DEFENSES BE DEVELOPED? THE QUESTION IS RATHER, WILL THE SOVIET UNION BE THE ONLY COUNTRY TO POSSESS THEM? THE CHOICE IS OURS.

FURTHERMORE, THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE
INITIATIVE IS NOT AIMED AT PROTECTING US
AND OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION
ALONE. FRANCIS BACON ONCE WROTE, "HE THAT
WILL NOT APPLY NEW REMEDIES MUST EXPECT NEW
EVILS; FOR TIME IS THE GREATEST INNOVATOR."
WELL, IN THE DECADES AHEAD, WHO KNOWS WHAT
GOVERNMENTS WILL OBTAIN BALLISTIC MISSILE
TECHNOLOGY? WHO KNOWS HOW RATIONAL OR
COMPETENT THOSE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE.
I SPOKE BEFORE A MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE LAST WEEK AND
I CALLED S.D.I. AN INSURANCE POLICY.
AND THAT'S WHAT IT IS.

S.D.I. IS NOT A WEAPON OF WAR, BUT AN INSURER, A PROTECTOR, OF THE PEACE. IT IS TOTALLY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE A.B.M. TREATY. LET ME ADD, THE UNITED STATES HAS OBSERVED THE A.B.M. TREATY, BUT WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HUGE PHASED-ARRAY RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK THE SOVIETS HAVE VIOLATED ONE OF THE TREATY'S KEY PROVISIONS. THIS IS BUT ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHY IT'S IMPORTANT NOT TO RELY ON WORDS ALONE. THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, YOU SEE, UNDERWRITES OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE OFFENSIVE ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENTS. WITH A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM IN PLACE, THE POSSIBILITY THAT ONE SIDE HAS CHEATED, AND HAS A FEW MISSILES IN HIDING, IS FAR LESS THREATENING.

S.D.I., THEN, MAKES FURTHER REDUCTIONS
MORE LIKELY. A SYSTEM THAT MAKES
BALLISTIC MISSILES LESS EFFECTIVE,
MAKES THOSE MISSILES MORE NEGOTIABLE.

NOW THERE ARE THOSE WHO MAY BE
PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF DEEP
REDUCTIONS IN U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR
ARSENALS, BUT LET US NOT FORGET THAT IN
1981, WHEN I FIRST PROPOSED OUR ZERO OPTION,
IT TOO WAS ALL BUT WRITTEN OFF BY MANY
COMMENTATORS. IN THE TIME THAT HAS
FOLLOWED, WE PERSEVERED AND STUCK TO OUR
PRINCIPLES. WE HELD FIRM AGAINST THE
ADVOCATES OF A SO-CALLED NUCLEAR FREEZE.
WE FOLLOWED THROUGH ON OUR MODERNIZATION
PROGRAM AND IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH OUR
ALLIES, INSTALLED THE CRUISE AND PERSHINGS
IN EUROPE.

WHEN AT LONG LAST IT WAS REALIZED THAT WE IN THE ALLIANCE HAD THE COURAGE TO PROTECT OUR OWN LONG-RUN INTERESTS, PROGRESS TOWARD A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TREATY ENSUED.

AS YOU ARE ALL AWARE, GENERAL SECRETARY
GORBACHEV WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON
BEGINNING DECEMBER 7TH. IF THE LAST-MINUTE
DETAILS CAN BE WORKED OUT, WE HOPE TO SIGN
AN HISTORIC TREATY THAT WILL ELIMINATE A
WHOLE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR-ARMED
INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM THE FACE OF
THE EARTH, THE FIRST MUTUALLY AGREED UPON
REDUCTION IN OUR NUCLEAR ARSENALS EVER.

AND THIS COULD WELL BE JUST A
BEGINNING. WE HOPE WE CAN SEE FORWARD
MOVEMENT ON A NUMBER OF OTHER FRONTS.
THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS PROPOSED
A 50-PERCENT REDUCTION IN U.S.-SOVIET
OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC FORCES.

MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD A START AGREEMENT AND MORE IS POSSIBLE. BUT LET THERE BE NO DOUBT, GIVING UP THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE AND THE PROTECTION IT WILL PROVIDE IS TOO HIGH A PRICE FOR ANY AGREEMENT.

NEITHER THE I.N.F. TREATY WE HOPE TO SIGN DURING THE UPCOMING SUMMIT, NOR ANY OTHER AGREEMENT THAT FOLLOWS, WILL BE BUILT ON TRUST. AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE BASED ON RECIPROCITY, VERIFICATION, AND REALISM. AND WHILE WE WANT TO BOLSTER THE PEACE AND DO OUR PART TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, NO AGREEMENT SHOULD EVER BE SIGNED SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF SIGNING AN AGREEMENT. FOR THE SAKE OF ATMOSPHERICS.

IMPROVING THE GENERAL TONE OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AS I'VE OUTLINED ON
SEVERAL OCCASIONS, WILL REQUIRE MUCH MORE
MOVEMENT FROM THE OTHER SIDE TOWARD THE
SOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, A FAR
GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. AS I'VE EXPLAINED TO
GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, OUR COUNTRIES
DO NOT HAVE DIFFERENCES BECAUSE WE ARE
WELL-ARMED, WE ARE WELL-ARMED BECAUSE WE
HAVE DIFFERENCES.

EVEN WITH ALL THE TALK OF OPENNESS

AND GLASNOST, MUCH CHANGE NEEDS TO TAKE

PLACE BEFORE TRUST, LIKE THAT WE HAVE WITH

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, CAN COME INTO PLAY.

THE SOVIET PEOPLES THEMSELVES -- EVEN THOUGH

THERE HAS BEEN SOME CHANGE -- STILL TELL

STORIES AND JOKE ABOUT THEIR PLIGHT.

I HEARD ONE ABOUT A FELLOW WHO WENT TO THE K.G.B. TO REPORT THAT HE LOST HIS PARROT.

THE K.G.B. ASKED HIM WHY HE WAS BOTHERING THEM. WHY DIDN'T HE JUST REPORT IT TO THE LOCAL POLICE. HE ANSWERED, "I JUST WANT YOU TO KNOW, I DON'T AGREE WITH A THING THAT PARROT HAS TO SAY."

6

IN 4 MONTHS, WE WILL MARK THE

5TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH 23, 1983,

SPEECH IN WHICH I CHALLENGED THE SCIENTIFIC

COMMUNITY TO DEVELOP A SYSTEM THAT WOULD

MAKE BALLISTIC MISSILES OBSOLETE. GENERAL

GEORGE PATTON ONCE SAID, "NEVER TELL PEOPLE

HOW TO DO THINGS. TELL THEM WHAT TO DO

AND THEY WILL SURPRISE YOU WITH THEIR

INGENUITY." THAT STATEMENT SHOWED A DEEP

INSIGHT INTO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, AND

IT HAS BEEN PROVEN AGAIN IN OUR DRIVE TO

ESTABLISH A STRATEGIC DEFENSE SYSTEM.

TODAY, I HAVE BEEN DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH WHAT I'VE SEEN AND HEARD. THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARD ACHIEVING OUR GOALS GIVES US REASON FOR CONFIDENCE. THE CRITICS WHO CLAIMED IT COULDN'T BE DONE HAVE BEEN PROVEN WRONG AGAIN -- JUST HAS BEEN THE CASE WITH ALMOST EVERY TECHNOLOGICAL TRIUMPH IN THE PAST. THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING WORK YOU ARE DOING, ALONG WITH THAT OF OTHERS LIKE YOU IN HUNDREDS OF LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT THIS GREAT LAND, IS A TRIBUTE TO THE GENIUS OF AMERICA. THIS IS TRULY A NATIONAL EFFORT --BOTH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR --INVOLVING PRE-EMINENT INDIVIDUALS IN INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, AND THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.

NO PRESIDENT COULD BE PROUDER OR MORE

GRATEFUL THAN I AM FOR ALL YOU, AND YOUR

FELLOW COLLEAGUES AROUND THE COUNTRY,

ARE DOING. GOD BLESS YOU.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF problems with others.

MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT

DENVER, COLORADO

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. And thank you Mr. Pownall and General Abrahamson. It is an honor for me to be at Martin-Marietta with all of you, men and women of science and engineering, who play such a vital role in this age of technology. I will have to admit I'm a bit awed by what I've seen and heard today.

of course, not all my predecessors shared my sense of wonder about such things. One, President Rutherford B. Hayes played the 1870; host to a notable science and technology event back in 1876 -- a demonstration in the White House of the newly invented telephone. President Hayes' reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) When I heard him say that, I thought he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born in a small town in the farm country of Illinois. Progress in those days meant indoor plumbing, electric lights, a telephone, and perhaps a radio crystal set. Just in my lifetime, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horse power -- and I mean the kind that eats hay -- to an era of supersonic passenger service. And just possibly before I leave the scene, we will have developed a craft that will take off from runways as planes do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at four or five

times the speed of sound -- from New York to Tokyo in 90 minutes.

(PAUSE) This could bring a whole new meaning for "sushi to go."

The America I was born into was acclaimed for its liberty and opportunity, yet that opportunity for which we were so proud has been expanded today beyond anything the Americans of my youth could possibly have imagined. Affordable world-wide communications and transportation have not just extended, but eliminated horizons. Computer capability, which a short time ago was available only to large corporations, is now being put to use by small business and individual entrepreneurs.

We are in an age when the common man can do and experience aristocracy what in past times was enjoyed only by kings, royalty, and the elite. Jefferson, Washington, and Madison laid the foundation for liberty and equality; Edison, Einstein, Goddard, and others like them, like many of you, built on that foundation. It has been technology and freedom, together, that have pushed America ever forward and made her the land of abundance and progress we love so dearly.

greatest instrument of social change... the most vital of all revolutions which marked the development of modern civilizations."

Science and technological-based revolutions in health care, food production, communications, transportation, manufacturing, and other endeavors have changed how we live and the quality of our lives. Before joining you, I was given a classified update on some of the key elements of the program you're working on.

It's clear that the project is bounding forward and I couldn't be more pleased. After what I have seen today, I believe that mankind is again on the edge of a revolution that will change the basic assumptions upon which we base our decisions and reshape the world in which we live.

Until now, mankind's search for security often focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy. Technological advances throughout the ages increased man's destructive power, and those nations that did not keep pace soon felt the sting of defeat and the pain of subjugation. humanity, in almost every case found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense against mankind's most deadly weapons: ballistic missiles.

You are laboring to develop a defensive system that will change history. Once you've completed your work, the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and a safer world. And what better legacy can this generation leave than a safer world?

Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers mankind security

is to strengthen deterrence by moving as soon as we are ready to

increasing reliance on defenses to keep the peace.

the threat of through protection rather than retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success based not on how many lives it is capable of taking -- which is none -- but on how many it is able to protect. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it. Our goal

I realize that being a government project, with all the politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating. Wernher von Braun once said, "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming."

I appreciate the extraordinary effort each of you is making. Your mental prowess and creativity, and, yes, your hard work, will make or break the program. And I want you to know, what you accomplish will be put to good use in protecting your country, the free world, and perhaps all mankind against the threat of nuclear holocaust. You are not working to build a bargaining chip. It will not be traded away.

Yes, there are those who complain about the cost. Benjamin Franklin, himself a man of science and politics, once observed, "The expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it."

Well, mirroring that thought, I'd say that what we spend to protect ourselves from nuclear missiles is much lighter than the cost, human and otherwise, if even one nuclear missile is fired, even if by mistake, and we have to suffer the consequences because there is no way to stop it. In the case of S.D.I., America cannot afford not to do everything necessary to develop this missile defense system and put it into operation.

our S.D.I. research effort, has been aggressively moving ahead on its own anti-ballistic missile defense. They are spending many billions of dollars the ballistic many than we have in the last

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10 years -- and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 skilled scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle the same than the same than the same the sold program began in 1983.

The Soviet government wages its propaganda campaign against

their own S.D.I.-like system. We must not be lulled into reducing our commitment. Their military program, which includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized anti-missile system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our S.D.I. program already.

Those who would cut or eliminate funds for our effort would grant a clear monopoly in this vital area to our adversary. Because leterrene the question is not, will strategic defenses be developed? The question is rather, will the Soviet Union be the only country to possess them? The choice is ours.

Furthermore, the Strategic Defense Initiative is not aimed at protecting us and our allies against the Soviet Union alone. Francis Bacon once wrote, "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator." Well, in the decades ahead, who knows what governments will obtain ballistic missile technology? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be. I spoke before a meeting of the American Council of Life Insurance last week and I called S.D.I. an insurance policy. And that's what it is.

S.D.I. is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector, of the peace. It is totally within the limits of the A.B.M.

& Policy

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Policy

treaty. Let me add, the United States has observed the A.B.M. treaty, but with the construction of the huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk the Soviets have violated one of the treaty's lay ke provisions. This is but another example of why it's important not to rely on words alone. The Strategic Defense Initiative, the local bring the Soviets back to the magnification to you see, underwrites our efforts to achieve offensive arms reduction agreements. With a defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated, and has a few missiles in hiding, is far less threatening. S.D.I., then, makes further reductions more likely. A system that makes ballistic missiles less effective, makes those missiles more negotiable.

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Now there are those who may be pessimistic about the chances (1.5. and Societ)

of deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals, but let us not forget that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option, it too was all but written off by many commentators. In the time that has followed, we persevered and stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze. We followed through on our modernization program and in close cooperation with our allies, installed the Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we in the alliance had the courage to protect our own long-run interests, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev will be visiting Washington beginning December 7th. If the last-minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty that will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the

Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear But the Soviets have to drop their techie of Holding strategic offensive reductions hartage arsenals ever. to their efforts to cripple SPI.

And this could well be just a beginning. We hope we can see forward movement on a number of other fronts. The United States. for example, has proposed a 50-percent reduction in U.S.-Soviet Offensive Strategic Forces. Much progress has been made toward a START agreement and more is possible. But let there be no doubt. giving up the Strategic Defense Initiative and the protection it) We therefore have will provide is too high a price for any agreement. Soviets that we won't accept restrictions on defenses that go beyond those Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to sign during the

upcoming summit, nor any other agreement that follows, will be

Policy Les

built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based reffective on reciprocity, verification, and realism. And while we want to ado our part to bolster the peace and improve relations, no agreement should ever be signed simply for the sake of signing an agreement, for the sake of atmospherics. Improving the general tone of relations between our countries, as I've outlined on several occasions Constructive Soviet policy from the other side will require much more movement toward the solution of regional conflicts, a far greater respect for human rights within the Soviet Union, and progress on a number of bilateral issues between our countries. As I've explained to General Secretary Gorbachev, our countries do not have differences because we are well-armed, we are well-armed because we have differences.

Even with all the talk of openness and Glasnost, much change needs to take place before trust, like that we have with democratic governments, can come into play. The Soviet peoples themselves -- even though there has been some change -- still

tell stories and joke about their plight. I heard one about a fellow who went to the K.G.B. to report that he lost his parrot. The K.G.B. asked him why he was bothering them. Why didn't he just report it to the local police. He answered, "I just want you to know, I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

In 4 months, we will mark the 5th anniversary of the March 23, 1983, speech in which I challenged the scientific community to develop a system that would make ballistic missiles obsolete. General George Patton once said, "Never tell people for the following of the what to do and they will surprise you with their ingenuity." That statement showed a deep insight into the American character, and it has been proven again in our drive to develop a strategic defense system.

Accuracy ("Develop" is buzzword)

policy found

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and gives us reason to heard. The progress made toward achieving our goals has been continued in the property. The critics who claimed it couldn't be done have been proven wrong again -- just has been the case with almost every technological triumph in the past.

The scientific research and engineering work you are doing, along with that of others like you in hundreds of locations throughout this great land, is a tribute to the genius of America. This is truly a national effort -- both government and private sector -- involving pre-eminent individuals in industry, education, and the scientific community. No President could be prouder or more grateful than I am for all you, and your fellow colleagues around the country, are doing. God bless you.

11-23-87 All highlighted Cycllous Rohrabacher/ARD) November 21 Dints, as well as seen 5:00 p.m. Speech Description Address: Specifically but also SDI/INF MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT DENVER, COLORADO TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987 And thank you Mr. and Genera Thank you. Affairs ad Advance 03947-5364 It is an honor for me to be at Martin-Marietta with marti ' IO. Martin M. all of you, men and women of science and engineering, who play such a vital role in this age of technology. I will have to admit I'm a bit awed by what I've seen and heard today. Of course, not all my predecessors shared my sense of wonder about such things. One, President Rutherford B. Hayes played 8705 host to a notable science and technology event back in 1878 > Marvin Kraus demonstration in the White House of the newly invented telephone. huariaan History. The President has used this several times previous. President Hayes' reaction: ["That's an amazing invention," he 287-1405. In it BEMONE METION My or may not hour said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) seen in W.H. heard him say that, I thought he might be mistaken. 877-1879 Seriously though, I was born in a small town in the farm Minne Seale country of Illinois. Progress in those days meant indoor as 1st phone plumbing, electric lights, a telephone, and perhaps a radio crystal set. Just in my lifetime, we've gone from a time when Sec File many, if not most, people traveled by horse power -- and I mean the kind that eats hay -- to an era of supersonic passenger service. And just possibly before I leave the scene, we will om Bishor have developed a craft that will take off from runways as D.S.T.P. 7710 do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket Hach 25 itself into space and zip to its destination at four or five approx. 18 or 20 roles . Orbital - higher speed but tattes longer to reach orbite than (in the area of isk to 25 k mph

) - Suborbital - 2 ip along at 150,000 feet

Cecelarant.

times the speed of sound -- from New York to Tokyo in 90 minutes. This could bring a whole new meaning for "sushi to go."

The America I was born into was acclaimed for its liberty and opportunity, yet that opportunity for which we were so proud has been expanded today beyond anything the Americans of my youth could possibly have imagined. Affordable world-wide communications and transportation have not just extended, but eliminated horizons. capability, which a short Computer' was available only to large corporations, is now being put to use by small business and individual entrepreneurs.

Dr. James Mierd (518) 276-6000 trougst. Rensleer 'olytechnical Enstidute N.Y. State

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Jim Hoeley

Rick Amparn

OK.

We are in an age when the common man can do and experience what in past times was enjoyed only by kings, royalty, and the elite. Jefferson, Washington, and Madison laid the foundation for liberty and equality; Edison, Einstein, Goddard, and others like them, like many of you, built on that foundation. been technology and freedom, together, that have pushed America ever forward and made her the land of abundance and progress we love so dearly.

British statesman Anthur Balfour once noted, "Science is the greatest instrument of social change... the most vital of all revolutions which marked the development of modern

civilizations."

Science and technological-based revolutions in health care, food production, communications, transportation, manufacturing, itributable . I.D. and other endeavors have changed how we live and the quality of our lives. Before joining you, I was given a classified update ivent Concept Mem D on some of the key elements of the program you're working on.

It's clear that the project is bounding forward and I couldn't be more pleased. After what I have seen today, I believe that mankind is again on the edge of a revolution that will change the basic assumptions upon which we base our decisions and reshape the world in which we live.

Until now, mankind's search for security often focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy.

Technological advances throughout the ages increased man's destructive power, and those nations that did not keep pace soon felt the sting of defeat and the pain of subjugation. But humanity, in almost every case found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense against mankind's most deadly weapons: ballistic missiles.

You are laboring to develop a defensive system that will change history. Once you've completed your work, the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and a safer world. And what better legacy can this generation leave than a safer world?

Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers manking security through protection rather than retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success based not on how many lives it is capable of taking -- which is none -- but on how many it is able to protect. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it. Our goal is to strengthen deterrence by moving as soon as we are ready to increasing reliance on defenses to keep the peace.

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Fred Osdway ROD Space Expert.

I realize that being a government project, with all the politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating. Wernher von Braun once said, "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming."

I appreciate the extraordinary effort each of you is making. Your mental prowess and creativity, and, yes, your hard work, will make or break the program. And I want you to know, what you accomplish will be nut to good use in protesting your country, the free world, and perhaps all manking against the threat of nuclear holocoust. You are not working to build a bargaining chip. It will not be traded away.

Yes, there are those who complain about the cost. Benjamin Franklin, himself a man of science and politics, once observed, field. From Intellation The expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it."

> Well, mirroring that thought, I'd say that what we spend to protect ourselves from nuclear missiles is much lighter than the cost, human and otherwise, if even one nuclear missile is fired, even if by mistake, and we have to suffer the consequences because there is no way to stop it. In the case of S.D.I., America cannot afford not to do everything necessary to develop this missile defense system and put it into operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize and try to cripple our S.D/I. research effort, has been aggressively moving ahead on its own anti-ballistic missile defense. They are spending many billions of dollars -- 20 times more than we have in the last

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brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 skilled scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

our S.D.I. research, even while they work overtime to develop

their We must not be lulled into

reducing our commitment. Their military program, which includes

everything from killer satellites to the modernized anti-missile

system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our S.D.I. program already.

Those who would cut or eliminate funds for our effort would grant

a clear monopoly in this vital area to our adversary. Because

the question is not, will strategic defenses be developed? The

question is rather, will the Soviet Union be the only country to

possess them? The choice is ours.

Detecting us and our arries against the Soviet Union alone.

Detecting us and our arries against the Soviet Union alone.

Detecting us and our arries against the Soviet Union alone.

The Bacon once wrote, "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator."

Well, in the decades ahead, who knows what governments will obtain ballistic missile technology? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be. I spoke before a meeting of the American Council of Life Insurance last week and I called S.D.I. an insurance policy. And that's what it is.

Furthermore, the strategic berense initiative is

S.D.I. is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector, of the peace. It is totally within the limits of the A.B.M.

NS.C. Steve Steiner

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MS. C. Ster Steiner 1547 treaty. Let me add, the United States has observed the A.B.M. treaty, but with the construction of the huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk the Soviets have violated one of the treaty's lay provisions. This is but another example of why it's important not to rely on words alone. The Strategic Defense Initiative, you see, underwrites our efforts to achieve offensive arms reduction agreements. With a defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated, and has a few missiles in hiding, is far less threatening. S.D.I., then, makes further reductions more likely. A system that makes ballistic missiles less effective, makes those missiles more negotiable.

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Now there are those who may be pessimistic about the chances of deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals, but let us not that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option it too In the time that has followed, we persevered and stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze. followed through on our modernization program and in close IS. C. CONCURS cooperation with our allies, installed the Cruise and Pershings When at long last it was realized that we in the alliance had the courage to protect our own long-run interests, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev will be visiting Washington beginning December 7th. No details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty that will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the

Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

And this could well be just a beginning. We hope we can see forward movement on a number of other fronts. The united states, for manyle, has proposed to the reduction in o.s. soviet before because of much proposed to be been made toward a states. From START agreement and make in possible But let there be no loubt, copering up the Strategic Defence Initiative and the protection it.

is too high a price for

US.C. does uneur however with this page,

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to sign during the upcoming summit, nor any other agreement that follows, will be built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based on reciprocity, verification, and realism. And while we want to bolster the peace and improve relations, no agreement should ever be signed simply for the sake of signing an agreement, for the sake of atmospherics. Improving the general tone of relations between our countries, as I've outlined on several occasions, will require much more movement toward the solution of regional conflicts, a far greater respect for human rights within the Soviet Union, and progress on a number of bilateral issues between our countries. As I've explained to General Secretary Gorbachev, our countries do not have differences because we are well-armed, we are well-armed because we have differences.

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eneral Assembly

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Even with all the talk of openness and Glasnost, much change needs to take place before trust, like that we have with democratic governments, can come into play. The Soviet peoples themselves -- even though there has been some change -- still

tell stories and joke about their plight. I heard one about a fellow who went to the K.G.B. to report that he lost his parrot. The K.G.B. asked him why he was bothering them. Why didn't he just report it to the local police. He answered, "I just want you to know don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

In 4 months, we will mark the 5th anniversary of the March 23, 1982, speech in which I challenged the scientific See File Copy community to develop a system that would make ballise missiles General George Patton once said, "Never tell people how to do things; well them what to do and they will surprise you with their ingenuity." That statement showed a deep insight into the American character, and it has been proven again in our drive to develop a strategic defensé system.

> Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The progress made toward achieving our goals has been nothing less than astounding. The critics who claimed it couldn't be done have been proven wrong again -- just has been the case with almost every technological triumph in the past. The scientific research and engineering work you are doing, along with that of others like you in hundreds of locations throughout this great land, is a tribute to the genius of America. Tarry a lice to lice to the total and the to involving prinent individuals in industry, education, and the setatific community. No President could be prouder or more grateful than I am for all you, and your fellow colleagues around the country, are doing. God bless you.

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11/23/87 - 4 P.M.

(ROHRABACHER)

ADDRESS ON SDI/INF MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT

DENVER, COLORADO TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

THANK YOU. AND THANK YOU MR. (POE-NAL)
AND GENERAL ABRAHAMSON. IT IS AN HONOR FOR
ME TO BE AT MARTIN-MARIETTA WITH ALL OF YOU,
MEN AND WOMEN OF SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING,
WHO PLAY SUCH A VITAL ROLE IN THIS AGE OF
TECHNOLOGY. I WILL HAVE TO ADMIT I'M A BIT
AWED BY WHAT I'VE SEEN AND HEARD TODAY.

OF COURSE, NOT ALL MY PREDECESSORS

SHARED MY SENSE OF WONDER ABOUT SUCH THINGS.

ONE, PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES PLAYED

HOST TO A NOTABLE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

EVENT BACK IN THE 1870'S -- A DEMONSTRATION

OF THE NEWLY INVENTED TELEPHONE.

PRESIDENT HAYES' REACTION: "THAT'S AN AMAZING INVENTION," HE SAID, "BUT WHO WOULD EVER WANT TO USE THEM?" [PAUSE] WHEN I HEARD HIM SAY THAT, I THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE MISTAKEN.

SERIOUSLY THOUGH, I WAS BORN IN A SMALL TOWN IN THE FARM COUNTRY OF ILLINOIS.

PROGRESS IN THOSE DAYS MEANT INDOOR

PLUMBING, ELECTRIC LIGHTS, A TELEPHONE,

AND LATER, PERHAPS, A RADIO CRYSTAL SET.

JUST IN MY LIFETIME, WE'VE GONE FROM A TIME

WHEN MANY, IF NOT MOST, PEOPLE TRAVELED BY

HORSE POWER -- AND I MEAN THE KIND THAT EATS

HAY -- TO AN ERA OF SUPERSONIC PASSENGER

SERVICE.

AND JUST POSSIBLY BEFORE I LEAVE THE SCENE,
WE WILL HAVE DEVELOPED A CRAFT THAT WILL
TAKE OFF FROM RUNWAYS AS PLANES DO TODAY,
BUT ONCE AT HIGH ALTITUDE, THIS CRAFT WILL
ROCKET ITSELF INTO SPACE AND ZIP TO ITS
DESTINATION AT 18 OR 20 TIMES THE SPEED OF
SOUND -- FROM NEW YORK TO TOKYO IN
90 MINUTES. [PAUSE] THIS COULD BRING A
WHOLE NEW MEANING FOR "SUSHI TO GO."

THE AMERICA I WAS BORN INTO WAS

ACCLAIMED FOR ITS LIBERTY AND OPPORTUNITY,

YET THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR WHICH WE WERE SO

PROUD HAS BEEN EXPANDED TODAY BEYOND

ANYTHING THE AMERICANS OF MY YOUTH COULD

POSSIBLY HAVE IMAGINED. AFFORDABLE

WORLD-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION

HAVE NOT JUST EXTENDED, BUT ELIMINATED

HORIZONS.

COMPUTER CAPABILITY, WHICH A SHORT TIME AGO
WAS AVAILABLE ONLY TO LARGE CORPORATIONS,
IS NOW BEING PUT TO USE BY SMALL BUSINESS
AND INDIVIDUAL ENTREPRENEURS.

WE ARE IN AN AGE WHEN THE COMMON MAN
CAN DO AND EXPERIENCE WHAT IN PAST TIMES WAS
ENJOYED ONLY BY ROYALTY, ARISTOCRACY, AND
THE ELITE. JEFFERSON, WASHINGTON, AND
MADISON LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR LIBERTY AND
EQUALITY; EDISON, EINSTEIN, GODDARD,
AND OTHERS LIKE THEM, LIKE MANY OF YOU,
BUILT ON THAT FOUNDATION. IT HAS BEEN
TECHNOLOGY AND FREEDOM, TOGETHER, THAT HAVE
PUSHED AMERICA EVER FORWARD AND MADE HER THE
LAND OF ABUNDANCE AND PROGRESS WE LOVE SO
DEARLY.

ARTHUR BALFOUR ONCE NOTED, "SCIENCE IS THE GREATEST INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE... THE MOST VITAL OF ALL REVOLUTIONS WHICH MARKED THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CIVILIZATIONS."

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL-BASED
REVOLUTIONS IN HEALTH CARE, FOOD PRODUCTION,
COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORTATION,
MANUFACTURING, AND OTHER ENDEAVORS HAVE
CHANGED HOW WE LIVE AND THE QUALITY OF OUR
LIVES. BEFORE JOINING YOU, I WAS GIVEN
A CLASSIFIED UPDATE ON SOME OF THE KEY
ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM YOU'RE WORKING ON.
IT'S CLEAR THAT THE PROJECT IS BOUNDING
FORWARD AND I COULDN'T BE MORE PLEASED.
AFTER WHAT I HAVE SEEN TODAY, I BELIEVE THAT
MANKIND IS AGAIN ON THE EDGE OF A REVOLUTION
THAT WILL CHANGE THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS UPON
WHICH WE BASE OUR DECISIONS AND RESHAPE THE
WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.

UNTIL NOW, MANKIND'S SEARCH FOR
SECURITY OFTEN FOCUSED ON EXPANDING THE
ABILITY TO LASH OUT, TO KILL, TO DESTROY.
TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES THROUGHOUT THE AGES
INCREASED MAN'S DESTRUCTIVE POWER, AND THOSE
NATIONS THAT DID NOT KEEP PACE SOON FELT THE
STING OF DEFEAT AND THE PAIN OF SUBJUGATION.
BUT HUMANITY, IN ALMOST EVERY CASE FOUND
A DEFENSE FOR EVERY OFFENSE, AND THAT IS
EXACTLY WHAT WE ARE SEEKING: A DEFENSE
AGAINST MANKIND'S MOST DEADLY WEAPONS:
BALLISTIC MISSILES.

YOU ARE LABORING TO DEVELOP A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM THAT WILL CHANGE HISTORY. ONCE YOU'VE COMPLETED YOUR WORK, THE WORLD WILL NEVER BE THE SAME. I SUGGEST IT WILL BE A BETTER AND A SAFER WORLD. AND WHAT BETTER LEGACY CAN THIS GENERATION LEAVE THAN A SAFER WORLD?

OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE OFFERS
MANKIND SECURITY THROUGH PROTECTION RATHER
THAN RETALIATION. IT IS A SCIENTIFIC
ADVANCE THAT WILL BE JUDGED A SUCCESS BASED
NOT ON HOW MANY LIVES IT IS CAPABLE OF
TAKING -- WHICH IS NONE -- BUT ON HOW MANY
IT IS ABLE TO PROTECT. IT IS A MORAL AS
WELL AS SCIENTIFIC ENDEAVOR WORTH EVERY
MINUTE AND HOUR YOU ARE DEDICATING TO IT.
OUR GOAL IS TO STRENGTHEN DETERRENCE BY
MOVING AS SOON AS WE ARE READY TO INCREASING
RELIANCE ON DEFENSES TO KEEP THE PEACE.

I REALIZE THAT BEING A GOVERNMENT
PROJECT, WITH ALL THE POLITICS THAT GOES
WITH THAT REALITY, YOUR WORK CAN BE
FRUSTRATING. WERNHER VON BRAUN ONCE SAID,
"WE CAN LICK GRAVITY, BUT SOMETIMES THE
PAPERWORK IS OVERWHELMING."

I APPRECIATE THE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT
EACH OF YOU IS MAKING. YOUR MENTAL PROWESS
AND CREATIVITY, AND, YES, YOUR HARD WORK,
WILL MAKE OR BREAK THE PROGRAM. AND I WANT
YOU TO KNOW, WHAT YOU ACCOMPLISH WILL BE PUT
TO GOOD USE IN PROTECTING YOUR COUNTRY,
THE FREE WORLD, AND PERHAPS ALL MANKIND
AGAINST THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.
YOU ARE NOT WORKING TO BUILD A BARGAINING
CHIP. IT WILL NOT BE TRADED AWAY.

YES, THERE ARE THOSE WHO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE COST. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, HIMSELF A MAN OF SCIENCE AND POLITICS, ONCE OBSERVED, "THE EXPENSES REQUIRED TO PREVENT A WAR ARE MUCH LIGHTER THAN THOSE THAT WILL, IF NOT PREVENTED, BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN IT."

WELL, MIRRORING THAT THOUGHT, I'D SAY
THAT WHAT WE SPEND TO PROTECT OURSELVES FROM
NUCLEAR MISSILES IS MUCH LIGHTER THAN THE
COST, HUMAN AND OTHERWISE, IF EVEN ONE
NUCLEAR MISSILE IS FIRED, EVEN IF BY
MISTAKE, AND WE HAVE TO SUFFER THE
CONSEQUENCES BECAUSE THERE IS NO WAY TO STOP
IT. IN THE CASE OF S.D.I., AMERICA CANNOT
AFFORD NOT TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO
DEVELOP THIS MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AND PUT
IT INTO OPERATION.

THE SOVIET UNION, EVEN AS THEY
CRITICIZE AND TRY TO CRIPPLE OUR
S.D.I. RESEARCH EFFORT, HAS BEEN
AGGRESSIVELY MOVING AHEAD ON ITS OWN
ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE. THEY HAVE
SPENT ROUGHLY \$200 BILLION IN THE LAST
10 YEARS -- AND HAVE CONCENTRATED THE ENERGY
AND TALENT OF THEIR BRIGHTEST SCIENTIFIC
MINDS.

MORE THAN 10,000 SKILLED SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS ARE WORKING ON MILITARY LASERS ALONE -- WITH THOUSANDS MORE DEVELOPING HIGH-TECH WEAPONS THAT USE PARTICLE BEAMS AND KINETIC ENERGY.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAGES ITS
PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR
S.D.I. RESEARCH, EVEN WHILE THEY WORK
OVERTIME TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN S.D.I.-LIKE
SYSTEM. WE MUST NOT BE LULLED INTO REDUCING
OUR COMMITMENT. THEIR MILITARY PROGRAM,
WHICH INCLUDES EVERYTHING FROM KILLERSATELLITES TO THE MODERNIZED ANTI-MISSILE
SYSTEM THAT PROTECTS MOSCOW, DWARFS OUR
S.D.I. PROGRAM ALREADY. THOSE WHO WOULD CUT
OR ELIMINATE FUNDS FOR OUR EFFORT WOULD
GRANT A CLEAR MONOPOLY IN THIS VITAL AREA TO
OUR ADVERSARY, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE
PRESENT BASIS OF DETERRENCE.

BECAUSE THE QUESTION IS NOT, WILL STRATEGIC DEFENSES BE DEVELOPED? THE QUESTION IS RATHER, WILL THE SOVIET UNION BE THE ONLY COUNTRY TO POSSESS THEM? THE CHOICE IS OURS.

FURTHERMORE, THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE
INITIATIVE IS NOT AIMED AT PROTECTING US
AND OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION
ALONE. FRANCIS BACON ONCE WROTE, "HE THAT
WILL NOT APPLY NEW REMEDIES MUST EXPECT NEW
EVILS; FOR TIME IS THE GREATEST INNOVATOR."
WELL, IN THE DECADES AHEAD, WHO KNOWS WHAT
GOVERNMENTS WILL OBTAIN BALLISTIC MISSILE
TECHNOLOGY? WHO KNOWS HOW RATIONAL OR
COMPETENT THOSE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE.
I SPOKE BEFORE A MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE LAST WEEK AND
I CALLED S.D.I. AN INSURANCE POLICY.
AND THAT'S WHAT IT IS.

S.D.I. IS NOT A WEAPON OF WAR, BUT AN INSURER, A PROTECTOR, OF THE PEACE. IT IS TOTALLY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE A.B.M. TREATY. LET ME ADD, THE UNITED STATES HAS OBSERVED THE A.B.M. TREATY, BUT WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HUGE PHASED-ARRAY RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK THE SOVIETS HAVE VIOLATED ONE OF THE TREATY'S KEY PROVISIONS. THIS IS BUT ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHY IT'S IMPORTANT NOT TO RELY ON WORDS ALONE. THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, YOU SEE, UNDERWRITES OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE OFFENSIVE ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENTS. WITH A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM IN PLACE, THE POSSIBILITY THAT ONE SIDE HAS CHEATED, AND HAS A FEW MISSILES IN HIDING, IS FAR LESS THREATENING.

S.D.I., THEN, MAKES FURTHER REDUCTIONS
MORE LIKELY. A SYSTEM THAT MAKES
BALLISTIC MISSILES LESS EFFECTIVE,
MAKES THOSE MISSILES MORE NEGOTIABLE.

NOW THERE ARE THOSE WHO MAY BE
PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF DEEP
REDUCTIONS IN U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR
ARSENALS, BUT LET US NOT FORGET THAT IN
1981, WHEN I FIRST PROPOSED OUR ZERO OPTION,
IT TOO WAS ALL BUT WRITTEN OFF BY MANY
COMMENTATORS. IN THE TIME THAT HAS
FOLLOWED, WE PERSEVERED AND STUCK TO OUR
PRINCIPLES. WE HELD FIRM AGAINST THE
ADVOCATES OF A SO-CALLED NUCLEAR FREEZE.
WE FOLLOWED THROUGH ON OUR MODERNIZATION
PROGRAM AND IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH OUR
ALLIES, INSTALLED THE CRUISE AND PERSHINGS
IN EUROPE.

WHEN AT LONG LAST IT WAS REALIZED THAT WE IN THE ALLIANCE HAD THE COURAGE TO PROTECT OUR OWN LONG-RUN INTERESTS, PROGRESS TOWARD A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TREATY ENSUED.

AS YOU ARE ALL AWARE, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON BEGINNING DECEMBER 7th. IF THE LAST-MINUTE DETAILS CAN BE WORKED OUT, WE HOPE TO SIGN AN HISTORIC TREATY THAT WILL ELIMINATE A WHOLE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR-ARMED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, THE FIRST MUTUALLY AGREED UPON REDUCTION IN OUR NUCLEAR ARSENALS EVER.

AND THIS COULD WELL BE JUST A
BEGINNING. WE HOPE WE CAN SEE FORWARD
MOVEMENT ON A NUMBER OF OTHER FRONTS.
THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS PROPOSED
A 50-PERCENT REDUCTION IN U.S.-SOVIET
OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC FORCES.

MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD A START AGREEMENT AND MORE IS POSSIBLE. BUT LET THERE BE NO DOUBT, GIVING UP THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE AND THE PROTECTION IT WILL PROVIDE IS TOO HIGH A PRICE FOR ANY AGREEMENT.

NEITHER THE I.N.F. TREATY WE HOPE TO SIGN DURING THE UPCOMING SUMMIT, NOR ANY OTHER AGREEMENT THAT FOLLOWS, WILL BE BUILT ON TRUST. AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE BASED ON RECIPROCITY, VERIFICATION, AND REALISM. AND WHILE WE WANT TO BOLSTER THE PEACE AND DO OUR PART TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, NO AGREEMENT SHOULD EVER BE SIGNED SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF SIGNING AN AGREEMENT, FOR THE SAKE OF ATMOSPHERICS.

IMPROVING THE GENERAL TONE OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AS I'VE OUTLINED ON
SEVERAL OCCASIONS, WILL REQUIRE MUCH MORE
MOVEMENT FROM THE OTHER SIDE TOWARD THE
SOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, A FAR
GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. AS I'VE EXPLAINED TO
GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, OUR COUNTRIES
DO NOT HAVE DIFFERENCES BECAUSE WE ARE
WELL-ARMED, WE ARE WELL-ARMED BECAUSE WE
HAVE DIFFERENCES.

EVEN WITH ALL THE TALK OF OPENNESS

AND GLASNOST, MUCH CHANGE NEEDS TO TAKE

PLACE BEFORE TRUST, LIKE THAT WE HAVE WITH

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, CAN COME INTO PLAY.

THE SOVIET PEOPLES THEMSELVES -- EVEN THOUGH

THERE HAS BEEN SOME CHANGE -- STILL TELL

STORIES AND JOKE ABOUT THEIR PLIGHT.

I HEARD ONE ABOUT A FELLOW WHO WENT TO THE K.G.B. TO REPORT THAT HE LOST HIS PARROT.

THE K.G.B. ASKED HIM WHY HE WAS BOTHERING THEM. WHY DIDN'T HE JUST REPORT IT TO THE LOCAL POLICE. HE ANSWERED, "I JUST WANT YOU TO KNOW, I DON'T AGREE WITH A THING THAT PARROT HAS TO SAY."

IN 4 MONTHS, WE WILL MARK THE
5TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH 23, 1983,
SPEECH IN WHICH I CHALLENGED THE SCIENTIFIC
COMMUNITY TO DEVELOP A SYSTEM THAT WOULD
MAKE BALLISTIC MISSILES OBSOLETE. GENERAL
GEORGE PATTON ONCE SAID, "NEVER TELL PEOPLE
HOW TO DO THINGS. TELL THEM WHAT TO DO
AND THEY WILL SURPRISE YOU WITH THEIR
INGENUITY." THAT STATEMENT SHOWED A DEEP
INSIGHT INTO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, AND
IT HAS BEEN PROVEN AGAIN IN OUR DRIVE TO
ESTABLISH A STRATEGIC DEFENSE SYSTEM.

TODAY, I HAVE BEEN DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH WHAT I'VE SEEN AND HEARD. THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARD ACHIEVING OUR GOALS GIVES US REASON FOR CONFIDENCE. THE CRITICS WHO CLAIMED IT COULDN'T BE DONE HAVE BEEN PROVEN WRONG AGAIN -- JUST HAS BEEN THE CASE WITH ALMOST EVERY TECHNOLOGICAL TRIUMPH IN THE PAST. THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING WORK YOU ARE DOING, ALONG WITH THAT OF OTHERS LIKE YOU IN HUNDREDS OF LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT THIS GREAT LAND, IS A TRIBUTE TO THE GENIUS OF AMERICA. THIS IS TRULY A NATIONAL EFFORT --BOTH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR --INVOLVING PRE-EMINENT INDIVIDUALS IN INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, AND THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.

NO PRESIDENT COULD BE PROUDER OR MORE GRATEFUL THAN I AM FOR ALL YOU, AND YOUR FELLOW COLLEAGUES AROUND THE COUNTRY, ARE DOING. GOD BLESS YOU.

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(Rohrabacher/ARD) November 21, 1987 5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:

SDI/INF MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT

DENVER, COLORADO

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. And thank you Mr. Pownall and General Abrahamson. It is an honor for me to be at Martin-Marietta with all of you, men and women of science and engineering, who play such a vital role in this age of technology. I will have to admit I'm a bit awed by what I've seen and heard today.

Of course, not all my predecessors shared my sense of wonder about such things. One, President Rutherford B. Hayes played host to a notable science and technology event back in 1876 -- a demonstration in the White House of the newly invented telephone. President Hayes' reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) heard him say that, I thought he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born in a small town in the farm country of Illinois. Progress in those days meant indoor plumbing, electric lights, a telephone, and perhaps a radio crystal set. Just in my lifetime, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horse power -- and I mean the kind that eats hay -- to an era of supersonic passenger service. And just possibly before I leave the scene, we will have developed a craft that will take off from runways as planes do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at four or five

times the speed of sound -- from New York to Tokyo in 90 minutes.

(PAUSE) This could bring a whole new meaning for "sushi to go."

The America I was born into was acclaimed for its liberty and opportunity, yet that opportunity for which we were so proud has been expanded today beyond anything the Americans of my youth could possibly have imagined. Affordable world-wide communications and transportation have not just extended, but eliminated horizons. Computer capability, which a short time ago was available only to large corporations, is now being put to use by small business and individual entrepreneurs.

We are in an age when the common man can do and experience ARISTOCRACY what in past times was enjoyed only by kings, royalty, and the elite. Jefferson, Washington, and Madison laid the foundation for liberty and equality; Edison, Einstein, Goddard, and others like them, like many of you, built on that foundation. It has been technology and freedom, together, that have pushed America ever forward and made her the land of abundance and progress we love so dearly.

British statesman Arthur Balfour once noted, "Science is the greatest instrument of social change... the most vital of all revolutions which marked the development of modern civilizations."

Science and technological-based revolutions in health care, food production, communications, transportation, manufacturing, and other endeavors have changed how we live and the quality of our lives. Before joining you, I was given a classified update on some of the key elements of the program you're working on.

It's clear that the project is bounding forward and I couldn't be more pleased. After what I have seen today, I believe that mankind is again on the edge of a revolution that will change the basic assumptions upon which we base our decisions and reshape the world in which we live.

Until now, mankind's search for security often focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy.

Technological advances throughout the ages increased man's destructive power, and those nations that did not keep pace soon felt the sting of defeat and the pain of subjugation. But humanity, in almost every case found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense against mankind's most déadly weapons: ballistic missiles.

You are laboring to develop a defensive system that will change history. Once you've completed your work, the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and a safer world. And what better legacy can this generation leave than a safer world?

Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers mankind security through protection rather than retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success based not on how many lives it is capable of taking -- which is none -- but on how many it is able to protect. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it. Our goal is to strengthen deterrence by moving as soon as we are ready to increasing reliance on defenses to keep the peace.

I realize that being a government project, with all the politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating. Wernher von Braun once said, "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming."

I appreciate the extraordinary effort each of you is making. Your mental prowess and creativity, and, yes, your hard work, will make or break the program. And I want you to know, what you accomplish will be put to good use in protecting your country, the free world, and perhaps all mankind against the threat of nuclear holocaust. You are not working to build a bargaining chip. It will not be traded away.

Yes, there are those who complain about the cost. Benjamin Franklin, himself a man of science and politics, once observed, "The expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it."

Well, mirroring that thought, I'd say that what we spend to protect ourselves from nuclear missiles is much lighter than the cost, human and otherwise, if even one nuclear missile is fired, even if by mistake, and we have to suffer the consequences because there is no way to stop it. In the case of S.D.I., America cannot afford not to do everything necessary to develop this missile defense system and put it into operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize and try to cripple our S.D.I. research effort, has been aggressively moving ahead on its own anti-ballistic missile defense. They are spending many billions of dollars -- 20 times more than we have in the last

10 years -- and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 skilled scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet government wages its propaganda campaign against our S.D.I. research, even while they work overtime to develop their own S.D.I.-like system. We must not be lulled into reducing our commitment. Their military program, which includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized anti-missile system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our S.D.I. program already. Those who would cut or eliminate funds for our effort would grant a clear monopoly in this vital area to our adversary. Because the question is not, will strategic defenses be developed? The question is rather, will the Soviet Union be the only country to possess them? The choice is ours.

Furthermore, the Strategic Defense Initiative is not aimed at protecting us and our allies against the Soviet Union alone. Francis Bacon once wrote, "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator." Well, in the decades ahead, who knows what governments will obtain ballistic missile technology? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be. I spoke before a meeting of the American Council of Life Insurance last week and I called S.D.I. an insurance policy. And that's what it is.

S.D.I. is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector, of the peace. It is totally within the limits of the A.B.M.

treaty. Let me add, the United States has observed the A.B.M. treaty, but with the construction of the huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk the Soviets have violated one of the treaty's lay provisions. This is but another example of why it's important not to rely on words alone. The Strategic Defense Initiative, you see, underwrites our efforts to achieve offensive arms reduction agreements. With a defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated, and has a few missiles in hiding, is far less threatening. S.D.I., then, makes further reductions more likely. A system that makes ballistic missiles less effective, makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about the chances of deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals, but let us not forget that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option, it too was all but written off by many commentators. In the time that has followed, we persevered and stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze. We followed through on our modernization program and in close cooperation with our allies, installed the Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we in the alliance had the courage to protect our own long-run interests, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev will be visiting Washington beginning December 7th. If the last-minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty that will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the

Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

And this could well be just a beginning. We hope we can see forward movement on a number of other fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50-percent reduction in U.S.-Soviet Offensive Strategic Forces. Much progress has been made toward a START agreement and more is possible. But let there be no doubt, giving up the Strategic Defense Initiative and the protection it will provide is too high a price for any agreement.

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to sign during the upcoming summit, nor any other agreement that follows, will be built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based on reciprocity, verification, and realism. And while we want to bolster the peace and improve relations, no agreement should ever be signed simply for the sake of signing an agreement, for the sake of atmospherics. Improving the general tone of relations between our countries, as I've outlined on several occasions, will require much more movement toward the solution of regional conflicts, a far greater respect for human rights within the Soviet Union, and progress on a number of bilateral issues between our countries. As I've explained to General Secretary Gorbachev, our countries do not have differences because we are well-armed, we are well-armed because we have differences.

Even with all the talk of openness and Glasnost, much change needs to take place before trust, like that we have with democratic governments, can come into play. The Soviet peoples themselves -- even though there has been some change -- still

tell stories and joke about their plight. I heard one about a fellow who went to the K.G.B. to report that he lost his parrot. The K.G.B. asked him why he was bothering them. Why didn't he just report it to the local police. He answered, "I just want you to know, I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

In 4 months, we will mark the 5th anniversary of the March 23, 1983, speech in which I challenged the scientific community to develop a system that would make ballistic missiles obsolete. General George Patton once said, "Never tell people how to do things; tell them what to do, and they will surprise you with their ingenuity." That statement showed a deep insight into the American character, and it has been proven again in our drive to develop a strategic defense system.

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The progress made toward achieving our goals has been nothing less than astounding. The critics who claimed it couldn't be done have been proven wrong again -- just has been the case with almost every technological triumph in the past. The scientific research and engineering work you are doing, along with that of others like you in hundreds of locations throughout this great land, is a tribute to the genius of America. This is truly a national effort -- both government and private sector -- involving pre-eminent individuals in industry, education, and the scientific community. No President could be prouder or more grateful than I am for all you, and your fellow colleagues around the country, are doing. God bless you.