

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

---

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

---

**Collection:** Speechwriting, White House Office of:  
Research Office, 1981-1989  
**Folder Title:** 11/24/1987 Denver - SDI (2)  
**Box:** 355

---

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/>

(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 20, 1987  
8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

(Master)  
= 11/21

*And thank you Mr. Young for the general A. B. Johnson*  
Thank you. It is an honor for me to be with all of you, men  
*h* *has at Martin-Marietta*  
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) 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 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. \* 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.

Before join you, I was given a classified ~~briefing~~ update on some of the key elements of the program you're working on. It's clear that the project is ~~going forward~~ bounding forward and I couldn't be more ~~pleased~~ pleased.

Until now, mankind's search for security <sup>often</sup> focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy. <sup>Our normally has almost always find a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense</sup> 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. ~~This has been a fact of life.~~ <sup>What you are doing here is changing the facts of life, and 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?</sup>

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, but on how many it is able to <sup>protect.</sup> ~~save.~~ It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it. Our goal is to strengthen defense by

I realize that being a government project, with all the <sup>moving as</sup> 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.

# That is why SDI is a legacy for peace that you and I together can make a reality

Our normally has almost always find a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense against ballistic missiles. the growing threat posed by ballistic missiles

Soon as we are ready to increasing reliance on defense to keep the peace



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 <sup>and try to cripple</sup> 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 <sup>-- twenty times more than we have in the last 10 years --</sup> 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 <sup>lulled</sup> ~~conned~~ 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 <sup>agreed to in</sup> ~~as set by~~ the A.B.M. treaty, and ~~even though there is evidence that the~~

~~soviets are in violation of this treaty -- we intend to continue our compliance. I believe that~~ The Strategic Defense Initiative, <sup>see,</sup> ~~not only offers unprecedented protection, a break from relying totally on bigger and more effective killing machines, but it also complements~~ <sup>underwrites</sup> our efforts to achieve <sup>offensive arms</sup> missile 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.

Let me add, ~~in fact,~~ the U.S. ~~has observed~~ <sup>the A.B.M. Treaty</sup> ~~provisions.~~ <sup>radar at Krasnoyarsk</sup>

~~the construction but~~ and with the construction of the huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk the Soviets have violated ~~one of the Treaty's key~~ <sup>provisions</sup> ~~provisions~~. That's why it's important not to rely on words alone. ~~what is where S.D.I. is a~~

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~~ 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 ~~Strategic~~ 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.

~~It will be a good starting point and this could well be just a beginning.~~  
~~As I say, this will be a history-making event, yet it is~~  
~~only a first step, a model for others that will follow.~~ We would  
hope to see progress on a number of <sup>other</sup> fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50-percent reduction in ~~the number of~~ U.S.-Soviet Offensive Strategic Forces. ~~We are also looking for~~  
~~an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction~~  
~~on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each~~  
~~other on the European continent.~~ But let there be no doubt,

Much progress has been made toward a START agreement ~~but~~ and more is possible.

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 ~~nuclear~~<sup>strategic</sup> 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 as 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.

~~Before I joked you knew I was given  
some ~~a~~ a classified update on some key  
elements of our SDI program and I'm  
persuaded more than ever of ~~that~~ that  
we are moving ahead.~~

*Dana,*  
*This is a copy of* (Rohrabacher/ARD)  
*the fixes I passed to* November 21, 1987  
*from around lunchtime* 5:00 p.m.  
*today. He seemed to like*  
*some but had others*  
*problems with others*  
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF *WHE* *Proposed*  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT *NSC Fixes*  
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) 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 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 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 <sup>the threat of</sup> retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success based not on how many lives it is capable of <sup>threatening</sup> ~~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.

Proper  
usage

→

→

No

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 <sup>have</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>to roughly</sup> ~~spending many~~ <sup>200</sup> billions of dollars ~~20 times more than we have~~ in the last

Accuracy

yes

N<sup>o</sup> Accuracy  
10 years -- and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 skilled <sup>Soviet</sup> scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy. <sup>In contrast, we have spent less than 10 billion dollars since the SDI program began in 1983.</sup>

N<sup>o</sup> Accuracy  
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, <sup>Which if done this would undermine the present basis of deterrence</sup> 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.

Yes Policy  
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~~ key provisions. This is but another example of why it's important not to rely on words alone. The Strategic Defense Initiative, (helped bring the Soviets back to the negotiating table and 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 <sup>U.S. and Soviet</sup> ~~the~~ nuclear arsenals, but let us not forget that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option, <sup>in INF</sup> 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

Type

Policy

~~No~~

YES

Policy  
(avoiding  
including  
UK & French)  
Accuracy

NO

NO

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

But the Soviets have to drop their tactic of holding strategic offensive reductions hostage to their efforts to cripple SDI.

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 <sup>SDI</sup> ~~it~~ will provide is too high a price for any agreement. <sup>We therefore have made clear to the Soviets that we won't accept restrictions on defenses that go beyond those actually agreed in the ABM Treaty.</sup> Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to sign during the

upcoming summit, nor any other agreement that follows, will be NO built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based on reciprocity, <sup>effective</sup> verification, and realism. And while we want to bolster the peace and <sup>do our part to</sup> 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 <sup>constructive Soviet policy from the other side</sup> 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

NO  
Accuracy/  
Policy  
Policy YES

Policy YES

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 <sup>establish</sup> ~~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 <sup>gives us reason for confidence</sup> ~~has been~~ ~~even faster than we expected.~~ ~~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.

Accuracy <sup>yes</sup>  
("Develop" is  
a buzzword)

Policy <sup>yes</sup>  
(Tone down)

(Rohrabacher/ARL)  
November 20, 1987  
8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

(Master)  
11/21  
Saturday

Thank you. It is an honor for me to be 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) 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 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. 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 <sup>often</sup> 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. ~~This has been a fact of life. What you are doing here is changing the facts of life, and 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?~~ <sup>has almost always find a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we are seeking: a defense against ballistic missiles. the growing threat posed by ballistic missiles</sup>

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, <sup>- which is none -</sup> but on how many it is able to <sup>protect</sup> save. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it. Our goal is to strengthen defense by

I realize that being a government project, with all the <sup>moving as</sup> politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating. Wernher von Braun once said, "We can lick gravity, <sup>soon as we are ready to</sup> 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, <sup>increasing reliance on defense to keep the peace</sup> 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.

my call

# That is why SDI is a legacy for peace that you and I together can make a reality

repeating X

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 <sup>and try to cripple</sup> 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 <sup>-- twenty times more than we have in the last 10 years --</sup> 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 <sup>tulled</sup> conned 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 <sup>agreed to in</sup> ~~as set by~~ the A.B.M. treaty, and ~~even though there is evidence that the~~

~~Soviets are in violation of this treaty -- we intend to continue~~

~~our compliance. I believe that The Strategic Defense Initiative~~

~~not only offers unprecedented protection, a break from relying~~

~~totally on bigger and more effective killing machines, but it~~

~~also complements~~ <sup>underwrites</sup> our efforts to achieve <sup>offensive arms</sup> missile 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.

~~the Treaty. And with the construction of the huge phased-array~~

~~radar at Krasnoyarsk the Soviets have violated one of the Treaty's key~~

~~provisions.~~

new word  
a little

In fact,  
the U.S.  
has observed  
this Treaty.  
radar  
provisions.

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 <sup>IN INF.</sup> 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 <sup>Strategic</sup> 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. repativ

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.

X ~~As I say, this will be a history-making event, yet it is only a first step, a model for others that will follow.~~ We would hope to see progress on a number of <sup>other</sup> fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50-percent reduction in the number of U.S.-Soviet Offensive Strategic Forces. ~~We are also looking for an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each other on the European continent.~~ But let there be no doubt,

Much progress has been made toward a START agreement ~~but~~ and more is possible.



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 <sup>strategic</sup> nuclear 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.

Before I joined you here I was given  
~~some~~ a classified update on some key  
elements of our SDI program and I'm  
persuaded more than ever ~~of~~ ~~that~~  
we are moving ahead

repen



## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/19/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 11/20SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF - MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
(11/19 6:30 p.m. draft)

ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI		
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GRAHAM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, November 20th, with an info to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: TONY DOLAN:

November 20, 1987

The NSC Staff clears this text only on the basis of the changes indicated here, which reflect basic policy points. OSTF fixes also included.

*Bill Clinton*  
Grant S. Green, Jr.

cc: Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

# URGENT

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 8575☐ (FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)ACTION OFFICER: StelkenDUE: Noon Fri, 20 Nov.☐ Prepare Memo Green to Dawson☒ Prepare Memo Green to Dolan☐ Prepare Memo Green to \_\_\_\_\_☐ Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\* PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

DUE: 11am, 20 Nov.\*PHONE to action officer at ext. x 5697

FYI

☐ ☒ Batjer☐ Bemis☐ Brooks☐ Burns☐ Childress☐ Cobb☐ Cockell☐ Cohen☐ Collins☐ Danzansky☐ Dean☐ Donley☐ Douglass☐ ☒ Ermarth☐ Farrar☐ Flower☐ Fortier☐ Frazier☐ Grime☐ Heiser

FYI

☐ ☐ Henhoeffer☐ Herbst☐ ☒ Howard☐ Howland☐ Jameson☒ ☐ Kelly, B.☐ Kelly, J.☐ Kimberling☐ Kissell☐ Ledsky☐ Lewis☐ ☒ Linhard☐ Mahley☐ Matthews☐ McNamara☐ Melby☐ Michael☐ Miskel☐ Oakley☐ Paal

FYI

☐ ☐ Perina☐ Porter☐ Reger☒ ☐ Rodman☐ Rosenberg☐ Ross☐ Rostow☐ Saunders☐ Scharfen☐ Snider☐ Sorzano☐ Steiner☐ Stevens☐ Tahir-Kheli☐ Tarbell☐ Tice☐ Tillman☐ Tobey☒ ☐ Jenkins☐ \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION

☒ Green☒ Carlucci (advance)☒ Courtney☒ Powell (advance)☒ Exec. Sec. Desk☒ SecretariatLogged By M.C.

# URGENT

Return to Secretariat

(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 19, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
... MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. It is an honor for me to be 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's reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) I thought at the time I heard him say that he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born into 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 life, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horsepower -- 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 4 or 5 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 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. <sup>Our precious freedom</sup> ~~It has~~ and technological miracles born of that freedom, from the steam engine of yesterday to ~~the superconducting supercollider of tomorrow,~~ <sup>the superconducting supercollider of tomorrow,</sup> ~~been technology and freedom, together, that~~ have pushed America ever forward and made her the land of abundance and progress we love so dearly.

*OSTP recommends deletion* [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. 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 <sup>often</sup> 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. <sup>\* Insert (See below)</sup> ~~This has~~

~~been a fact of life. What you are doing here, is changing the facts of life and~~ 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 a stable strategic balance will be ensured for the long term. <sup>That is why SDI has been one of my highest and most vital goals. It is</sup>

Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers mankind security through protection rather than <sup>the threat of</sup> retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success not on how many lives it is capable of taking, but on how many it is able to <sup>protect.</sup> ~~save~~. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour

you are dedicating to it. <sup>Our goal is to strengthen deterrence by moving as soon as we are ready to increasing reliance on defenses, which threaten no one, to keep the peace.</sup>

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 putting into this project. 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. <sup>You are not working to build</sup> ~~It is not~~ a bargaining chip. It will not be traded away.

\* Insert: But humanity also has almost always found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what you are seeking: a defense against the growing threat posed to the world by dangerous, fast-flying ballistic missiles, armed with nuclear, chemical or conventional warheads.

(This language could invite ridicule. We are not going against the facts of life to the contrary.)

(Key policy points: strengthening deterrence.)

any potential aggressor knows that an attack against the West can never succeed.

a legacy for future that you and I together can make a reality.

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 will be, 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 in operation. \* Insert (see below)

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize our S.D.I. research effort, have been rushing full steam ahead on their own anti-ballistic missile defense<sup>S</sup>. They ~~are spending billions of dollars, perhaps tens of billions, and~~ have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than <sup>skilled Soviet and engineers</sup> 10,000 scientists <sup>are working on military lasers alone</sup> -- with <sup>at a cost of about \$1 Billion every year for just this one part of the Soviet program</sup> thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet government's propaganda campaign against our S.D.I. research, even while they work overtime to develop their own S.D.I.-like system, is one of the greatest con games in history. We must not be conned into reducing our commitment. Their ~~cosmos~~ <sup>military</sup> weapons program<sup>S</sup> which includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized anti-missile system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our S.D.I. program already. Those who

(Note: We don't consider ASAT, part of our SDI, so have to watch how we label theirs.)

\* Insert: Just look at the Soviets. We estimate that they have spent \$200 B ~~on~~ on strategic defense programs over the last 16 years, roughly what they've spent on offense. By contrast, we have spent less than \$10 B on SDI so far.



that strategic defenses will be a 2-5 reality in the 1990's. So, we must ask: what is our vision of the future? Will ~~the~~ America be defended? You are providing us with the means. And I believe Americans have the will. would cut or eliminate funds to our effort, in doing so would

\* Insert <sup>place (see above)</sup> → ~~be more dangerous for the West, as this would undermine the very basis of~~ Furthermore, the Strategic Defense Initiative is not aimed at protecting us and our allies against the Soviet Union alone. deterrence

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 <sup>ballistic technology?</sup> ~~long range~~ missiles. Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be? <sup>HP</sup> I spoke before a meeting of the America Council of Life Insurance last week and I called S.D.I. an insurance policy. And that's what it is.

OSTP suggests deleting this para → S.D.I. is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector, of the peace. It is totally within the limits <sup>agreed in</sup> ~~as set by~~ the A.B.M. treaty. <sup>In fact, the Soviet propaganda campaign against SDI notwithstanding,</sup> ~~and we intend to continue our compliance with that~~ it is the U.S. <sup>alone</sup> that has observed this treaty. As all of you know, by constructing ~~agreement. In fact, the huff and puff of the Kremlin~~ their huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk, the Soviet Union has violated one of the <sup>treaty's key provisions</sup> ~~notwithstanding, I believe that the Strategic Defense Initiative~~

\* Insert <sup>(see below)</sup> → ~~HP SDI looks to the future. It underwrites~~ <sup>complements</sup> our efforts to achieve ~~missile~~ <sup>nuclear arms</sup> reduction agreements. Furthermore, by reducing incentives to cheat, SDI also can help to insure the integrity of <sup>future arms reduction</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>with a</sup> defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated, and has a few missiles in hiding, is far less threatening. ~~Frightening~~ <sup>even</sup> S.D.I., then, makes deeper reductions <sup>possible.</sup> ~~more likely~~ After all, a system that makes ~~nuclear-armed~~ <sup>ballistic</sup> missiles ~~more vulnerable~~ <sup>less valuable</sup> makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about chances of deep reductions in <sup>offensive</sup> ~~the nuclear~~ arsenals, but let us not forget that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option <sup>in INF,</sup> it too was all but written off by <sup>many</sup> ~~the~~ commentators. ~~not all of them, but many of them. In the time that has followed~~ <sup>But</sup> we persevered and

\* Insert: Along with NATO firmness on INF, it was SDI that brought the Soviets back to the nuclear arms negotiating table in early 1985, after their 1983 walkout, and it is SDI that has them now-- finally -- talking seriously about real reductions in strategic offenses.

stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze, followed through on our <sup>strategic</sup> modernization program, and the installation of Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last <sup>the Soviets</sup> ~~it was~~ realized ~~[that we would not accept the nuclear domination of Europe by the Soviet Union]~~ <sup>in the Alliance</sup> that we ~~had~~ the courage to protect our own long-run interests, ~~and those of the alliance~~, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev, will be visiting Washington beginning December 3rd. If the last minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty which will eliminate a whole class of <sup>US-Soviet</sup> nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

~~As I say, this will be a history making event, yet it is only a first step, a model for others that will follow.~~ We would <sup>as well.</sup>

hope to see progress on a number of fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50 percent reduction in <sup>US + Soviet strategic</sup> ~~the number~~ offensive forces. Much progress has been made toward a START agreement, and ~~of longer range nuclear armed missiles. We are also looking for~~ more is possible. However, ~~the Soviets will have to drop their tactic of an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction holding strategic offensive reductions hostage to their continuing on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each other on the European continent]~~ that we will not accept any restriction on defenses that go beyond those actually agreed in the ABM Treaty. \*

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to be signed during the upcoming summit, nor any other agreement <sup>with the Soviet Union</sup> ~~that follows~~ will be built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based on reciprocity, <sup>effective</sup> verification, and realism. And while we want to build a safer <sup>do our part to</sup> ~~bolster the~~ peace and improve relations, no agreement should ever be signed simply for the sake of signing an agreement, for the

Given the importance of SDI to the future security of the West, and to our efforts to secure a safe + stable strategic balance over the long term, history would never forgive us if we give it up. And, let me assure you right here + now, we won't!

(Don't overstate arms control. This is an SDI event.)

(Stay on strategic offense/defense. These other issues are extraneous here.)

(over staff and policy)

sake of atmospherics. Improving the general tone of relations between our countries, as I've outlined on several occasions, will require <sup>a</sup> much more <sup>constructive Soviet attitude toward</sup> ~~movement toward solutions in~~ regional conflicts, <sup>far</sup> 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 ~~nuclear armed~~ 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 <sup>to establish effective strategic</sup> ~~for a nuclear~~ defense system.

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The scientific research and engineering work you are

(Remember: all ballistic, including CW + ConV. warheads)

Before I joined you here, I was given a classified update of some key technical aspects of the SDI program, and I am persuaded more than ever that we are moving forward technologically.

doing, along with that of others like you in hundred 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.]~~ and some of the best minds in Allied countries as well.

*new*  
This search for effective defenses, which protect our populations while threatening no one, represents the best instincts and highest moral values of our democracies which are joining together for just that -- the common defense. It is an effort which we *believe* ~~already~~ already is going to succeed, thanks to you and your colleagues across the U.S., and abroad. \* *And* let me assure you: *So,* no President could be prouder or more grateful than I am for all you, and your colleagues, are doing. God bless you.

\* Insert: We have before us the possibility of rendering weapons of mass destruction obsolete. And that is a goal that will give our children the greatest arms control accomplishment of all time.

5611W

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: JIM HOOLEY *JH*

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON SDI/INF SPEECH  
DENVER, COLORADO

On page 5, there is reference to SDI being "totally within the limits as set by the A.B.M. treaty and we intend to continue our compliance with that agreement." In fact, the specific program being worked on at Martin-Marietta, the Zenith Star Program, is compliant in its testing stage within even the narrow interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty.

cc: R. Dawson  
T. Griscom  
D. Rohrabacher  
J. Dannerbeck

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES HOOLEY

FROM:

BOB SCHMIDT *W. J. [unclear]*  
SHELBY SCARBROUGH *[unclear]*

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS ON MARTIN MARIETTA SPEECH

Below please find some general comments on the speech for Tuesday, November 25, 1987.

Page 1, Paragraph 1: Should there be some "personalization" to the introductory paragraph. Suggest including the fact that the President is speaking from Martin Marietta in Waterton, Colorado. Also suggest thanking the host, Mr. Pownall, CEO of Martin Marietta, and perhaps, General Abrahamson etc.

Page 1, Paragraph 3: While the joke in this paragraph is not offensive, due to the fact that the local news coverage overwhelmingly focuses on the recent plane crash in Denver, it may not be very sensitive in this particular instance.

Page 6, Paragraph 2: Unless something has recently changed, the Soviets arrive December 7th.

*cc: J. Dolan*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: JIM HOOLEY *JH*  
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON SDI/INF SPEECH  
DENVER, COLORADO

On page 5, there is reference to SDI being "totally within the limits as set by the A.B.M. treaty and we intend to continue our compliance with that agreement." In fact, the specific program being worked on at Martin-Marietta, the Zenith Star Program, is compliant in its testing stage within even the narrow interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty.

cc: R. Dawson  
T. Griscom  
D. Rohrabacher  
J. Dannerbeck

John

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/19/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 11/20

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF - MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
(11/19 6:30 p.m. draft)

ACTION FYI		ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	GRAHAM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, November 20th, with an info to my office. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

Dana: ① see revision  
② tone is right on mark and covers the range of issues  
③ lays out rationale for treaty/arm control etc

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 19, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. It is an honor for me to be 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's reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) I thought at the time I heard him say that he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born into 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 life, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horsepower -- 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 takeoff from runways as planes do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at 4 or 5 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 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. 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 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. This has been a fact of life. What you are doing here, is changing the facts of life and once you've completed your work the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and 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 not on how many lives it is capable of taking, but on how many it is able to save. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it.

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 putting into this project. 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. It is not 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 will be, 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 in operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize our S.D.I. research effort, have been ~~rushing full steam~~ <sup>moving</sup> ahead on their own anti-ballistic missile defense. They are spending billions of dollars, ~~perhaps tens of billions~~, and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet government <sup>wages its</sup> ~~propaganda~~ campaign against our S.D.I. research, even while they work overtime to develop their own S.D.I.-like system, ~~is one of the greatest con games in history~~. We must not be conned into reducing our commitment. Their "Cosmos" weapons 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 to our effort, in doing so would grant a <sup>clear</sup> monopoly in this vital area to the Soviet Union.

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 long-range missiles? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be? I spoke before a meeting of the America 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 as set by the A.B.M. treaty and we intend to continue our compliance with that agreement. In fact, ~~the null and puff of the Kremlin~~ notwithstanding, I believe that the Strategic Defense Initiative compliments our efforts to achieve missile 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~~ <sup>further</sup> ~~frightening~~. S.D.I., then, makes ~~deeper~~ reductions more likely. A system that makes nuclear-armed missiles more vulnerable, makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about 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 the commentators -- not all of them, but many of them. 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 the installation of Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we would not accept the nuclear domination of Europe by the Soviet Union, that we had the courage to protect our own long-run interests and those of the alliance, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev, will be visiting Washington beginning December ~~1st~~<sup>7th</sup>. If the last minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty which will eliminate a whole class of nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

As I say, this will be a history making event, yet it is only a first step, a model for others that will follow. We would hope to see progress on a number of fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50 percent reduction in the number of longer-range nuclear-armed missiles. We are also looking for an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each other on the European continent.

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to be signed 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 solutions in regional conflicts, a 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 nuclear-armed 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 for a nuclear defense system.

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The scientific research and engineering work you are

doing, along with that of others like you in hundred 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.

20/11

Public

4121304

November 20, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: MAX GREEN

SUBJECT: Martin Marrietta Speech

Suggestions for revisions:

1. Talk about other things people said couldn't be done, e.g. flying, the A-bomb, etc.
2. Talk about the enormous progress that has already been made.
3. Talk about the Soviet's fear of SDI, how it brought them to the bargaining table.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1987

Advance copy  
John

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR.  
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: SDI/INF -  
Martin Marietta Plant, Denver, Colorado

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential Address and has no legal objection to its delivery by the President. We suggest, however, the following changes:

- (1) Page 4, Paragraph 2, Sentence 1. Substitute "has" for "have" and "its" for "their".
- (2) Page 5, Continuation Paragraph. Delete "in doing so".
- (3) Page 5, Paragraph 2. Delete the second sentence. We do not believe the President should bind himself to adherence to the A.B.M. treaty, and there may be certain aspects of an S.D.I. program that are prohibited even under the "broad interpretation" of the A.B.M. treaty.
- (4) Page 6, Continuation Paragraph, Line 3. We believe it would be appropriate to emphasize the allied nature of the cruise and Pershing missiles deployment. Along these lines, we suggest that the phrase "with the close cooperation of our allies, installed" be substituted for "the installation of".
- (5) Page 6, Paragraph 1, Sentence 1. It is our understanding that General Secretary Gorbachev will arrive on December 7, 1987, not December 3.

Attachment

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 19, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. It is an honor for me to be 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's reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) I thought at the time I heard him say that he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born into 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 life, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horsepower -- 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 takeoff from runways as planes do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at 4 or 5 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 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. 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 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. This has been a fact of life. What you are doing here, is changing the facts of life and once you've completed your work the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and 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 not on how many lives it is capable of taking, but on how many it is able to save. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it.

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 putting into this project. 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. It is not 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 will be, 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 in operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize ~~our~~ S.D.I. research effort, <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ been rushing full steam ahead on <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ own anti-ballistic missile defense. They are spending billions of dollars, perhaps tens of billions, and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet government's propaganda campaign against our S.D.I. research, even while they work overtime to develop their own S.D.I.-like system, is one of the greatest con games in history. We must not be conned into reducing our commitment. Their "Cosmos" weapons 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 to our effort, ~~in doing so~~ would grant a monopoly in this vital area to the Soviet Union.

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 long-range missiles? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be? I spoke before a meeting of the America 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 as set by the A.B.M. treaty and we intend to continue our compliance with that agreement.~~ In fact, the huff and puff of the Kremlin notwithstanding, I believe that the Strategic Defense Initiative compliments our efforts to achieve missile 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 frightening. S.D.I., then, makes deeper reductions more likely. A system that makes nuclear-armed missiles more vulnerable, makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about 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 the commentators -- not all of them, but many of them. 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 <sup>with the close cooperation of our allies installed,</sup> ~~the installation of~~ Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we would not accept the nuclear domination of Europe by the Soviet Union, that we had the courage to protect our own long-run interests and those of the alliance, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev, will be visiting Washington beginning December 3rd. If the last minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty which will eliminate a whole class of nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

As I say, this will be a history-making event, yet it is only a first step, a model for others that will follow. We would hope to see progress on a number of fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50 percent reduction in the number of longer-range nuclear-armed missiles. We are also looking for an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each other on the European continent.

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to ~~be signed~~ 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 solutions in regional conflicts, a 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 nuclear-armed 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 for a nuclear defense system.

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The scientific research and engineering work you are


doing, along with that of others like you in hundred 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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: JONATHAN F. THOMPSON   
SUBJECT: OSTP Comments on SDI Address

Our specific suggestions are incorporated into the draft, attached.

We would offer the following general comments:

1. Comment: This forum is a showcase opportunity for the President to celebrate the tremendous strides we have made in the most historic initiative of his Presidency--SDI. It needs a sense of "look how far we have come, look what we have shown can be done," which is lacking in this draft. *What, this?*

Recommendation: Add discussion of milestone accomplishments of SDI.

2. Comment: The fundamental theme we need to get across is that SDI is President Reagan's greatest contribution to peace and security. The language employed in the present draft would leave the listener with the impression that the President believed arms control agreements and the INF agreement constituted more historic accomplishments. *It is!*

Recommendation: Adjust tone to include appropriate references; e.g., "my highest priority as President is to ensure the success of SDI for future generations of Americans."

3. Comment: Finally, while there will be many opportunities between now and December 7 to talk about arms control, it would be unfortunate to consume too much of this address with arms control issues. We want to emphasize that SDI will not be compromised by any agreement so long as RR is President; extolling the virtues of arms control here raises exactly the opposite inference.

Recommendation: Reduce discussion of INF and arms control as much as possible.



## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/19/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 11/20SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF - MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
(11/19 6:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>GRAHAM</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, November 20th, with an info to my office. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

*OSTP changes are incorporated in the attached draft.  
(Our changes are underlined in pencil.)*

*If you have queries, please call Michelle Van Eleave (7326)  
or Joe De Sutter (3840).*

*Mary Catherine English 3840*  
Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

OSIP - DRAFT

(Ronradacner/ARD)  
November 19, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SDI/INF  
MARTIN-MARIETTA PLANT  
DENVER, COLORADO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1987

Thank you. It is an honor for me to be 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's reaction: "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use them?" (PAUSE) I thought at the time I heard him say that he might be mistaken.

Seriously though, I was born into 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 life, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horsepower -- 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 takeoff from runways as planes do today, but once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at 4 or 5 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 worldwide 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 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. Our precious freedom and technological miracles born of that freedom from the steam engine of yesteryear to the superconducting supercollider of tomorrow have pushed America ever forward and made her the land of abundance and progress we so dearly love.

[  $\pi$  deleted ]

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. 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 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. This has been a fact of life. Well, that's not good enough. It's not good enough for you, or for me. And it surely isn't good enough for our children. What you are doing here, is changing the facts of life and once you've completed your work the world will never be the same. It will be a better and a safer world. ¶ That is why SDI has been one of my highest and most vital goals. It is a legacy for peace that you and I together can make a reality.

Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers mankind security through protection rather than retaliation. It is a scientific advance that will be judged a success not on how many lives it is capable of taking, but on how many it is able to save. It is a moral as well as scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it.

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."

But despite all the paperwork and the politics, today we are closer than ever before to realizing an effective SDI system. Soon we will begin operational tests of aspects of that system, moving toward a phased deployment of real defenses for America and our allies. Peace and freedom will be more secure when a potential aggressor knows he can never succeed in any attack against the West.

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

Let me be clear. I will never trade SDI for an arms control deal. I will not accept limits on SDI, nor in any way constrain our research and development program in return for Soviet promises. I believe that we can and must negotiate limits on strategic offensive forces on their own merit, while moving the world as soon as possible to a deterrent based on real defenses against ballistic missile attack. We have before us the possibility of rendering weapons of mass destruction obsolete. And when we do, we will have given our children the greatest arms control measure of all time.

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 will be, 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 SDI, America cannot afford not to do everything necessary to develop this missile defense system and put it in operation as soon as possible.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize our SDI research effort, have been rushing full steam ahead on their own strategic defense system. They have spent some \$150 billion over the past ten years--15 times what we have--and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone--with thousands more developing high-tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet government's propaganda campaign against our SDI research, even while they work overtime to develop their own ~~SDI-like~~ <sup>strategic defense</sup> system, is one of the greatest con games in history. We must not be conned into reducing our commitment. They have a nationwide ABM radar network, an arsenal of killer-satellites and a modernized anti-missile system ~~around~~ <sup>already</sup> ~~cholesterol~~ Moscow, up and operating. As I have told Congress, ~~the~~ <sup>own</sup> the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its <sup>own</sup> national territory--in violation of the ABM Treaty. Those who would cut or eliminate funds to our effort ~~in doing so~~ would grant a dangerous monopoly to the Soviet Union. 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.

{ ~~π deleted~~ }

SDI is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector, of the peace. In fact, the huff and puff of the Kremlin notwithstanding, I believe that the Strategic Defense Initiative comple<sup>e</sup>ments our efforts to achieve missile 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 frightening. SDI, then, makes deeper reductions more likely. A system that makes nuclear-armed missiles less valuable, makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about chances of deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals, bu<sup>t</sup>t let us not forget that in 1981, when I first proposed our zero option, it too was all but written off by the commentators--not all of them, bu<sup>t</sup>t many of them. In the time that has followed, we persevered and



-10X

stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze, followed through on our modernization program, and the installation of Cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we would not accept the nuclear domination of Europe by the Soviet Union, that we had the courage to protect our own long-run interests and those of the alliance, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

~~As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev, will be~~  
visiting Washington beginning December 3rd. If the last minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty which will eliminate a whole class of nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever.

As I say, this will be a history making event, yet it is only a first step, ~~a model for others that will follow.~~ We would hope to see progress on a number of fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50 percent reduction in the number of longer-range nuclear-armed missiles. We are also looking for an agreement on chemical and biological weapons, and a reduction on both sides of the conventional military forces facing each other on the European continent.

Neither the I.N.F. treaty we hope to be signed during the upcoming summit, nor any other agreement ~~that follows~~ <sup>can</sup> 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 solutions in regional conflicts, a 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 nuclear-armed 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 for a nuclear defense system.

Today, I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The scientific research and engineering work you are

*Before I joined you here, I was given a classified update of the technical aspects of the entire SDI program, and I am persuaded more than ever that we are moving forward technologically.*

doing, along with that of others like you in hundred<sup>s</sup> 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.