(Rohrabacher)
November 18, 1987
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DENVER, COLORADO

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 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 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 enterprenuers.

We are in an age when the comman man can do and experience what in past times was only enjoyed by kings, royality and the elete. Jefferson, Washington, and Madison laid the philosophical 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 endeavers 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 the expanding 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 Intiative 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 moral as well as scientific endeaver worth every minute and hour you are dedicating to it~~s development~~.

I realize that ~~it is not easy and,~~ being a government project, with all the politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating ~~at times~~. 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 ~~ingenuity and~~ mental prowess, your 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 bargining 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 missles is much lighter than the cost will be, human and otherwise, if even one nuclear missle 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 can not afford not to do everything necessary to develope this missle defense system and put it in operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticze our SDI research effort, ~~has~~ have been rushing full steam ahead on their own anti-ballistic missle 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 SDI research, even while they work overtime to develop their own SDI-like system, is one of the greatest con games in history. We ~~can not afford to~~ must not be conned into reducing our commitment. Their "Cosmos" weapons program, which includes eveything from killer-satellites to the modernized anti-missle system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our SDI program already. Those who would

cut or elimate 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 missles? Who knows how rational or competent those ~~in charge of these~~ governments will be? I spoke before a meeting of the America Council of Life Insurrance last week and I called SDI an insurrance policy.

SDI is not a weapon of war, but an insurer, a protector of the peace. It is totally within the limits as set by the ABM 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 Initative compliments our efforts to achieve missles reduction agreements. With a defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated, and has a few missles in hidding, is far less frightening. SDI, then, makes deeper reductions more likely. A system that makes nuclear armed missles more vulnerable, makes those missles more negotiable.

Now there are those who may be pessimistic about chances ~~of~~ for 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 perservered 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 Pershing ~~missiles~~ in Europe. When ~~it was~~ 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 benefical treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev, will be visiting Washington begining December third. 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 missles 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 ~~our~~ the longer range nuclear armed missles. 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 ~~in~~ on the European Continent.

Neither the INF 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 poor differences.

Even with all the talk of openness and Glasnost, much change needs to take place before trust, like that we have for with democratic governemnts, 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 KGB to report that he lost his parrot. The KGB 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 four months, we will mark the fifth anniversary of the March 23, 1983 speech in which I challenged the scientific community to develope a system that would make nuclear armed missles obselete. 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 ~~we began almost five years ago.~~

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 genious of America. ~~This has~~ If is truely a national effort, involving premenent individuals in industry, edcuation and the scientific community. ~~The leadership is comming from governemnt and the private sector.~~ This is No President could be prouder or more grateful than I am for all you, and your fellow collegues around the country, are doing. God Bless you.

(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.

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The Soviet Union, even as they criticize our S.D.I. research effort, ~~have~~ has been rushing full steam 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.

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would cut or eliminate funds for our effort, ~~in doing so~~ would grant a monopoly in this vital area to the Soviet Union.

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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.

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stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze, we 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 7th. If the last-minute details can be worked out, we hope to sign an historic treaty that 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

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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

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 23, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO ACTIVISTS ON INF TREATY

Room 450
Old Executive Office Building

1:35 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Well, thank you very much and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. (Laughter.) And I think it'll keep right on getting older, too. They tell me that the granite walls are four feet thick. (Laughter.) They don't make them like that anymore.

Well, it's wonderful to see so many familiar faces -- so many old friends and supporters. Together we've won some remarkable victories in the last seven years. But as I told Cap Weinberger the other day at the Pentagon, the job isn't finished, and anyone who thinks we're going to be just sitting around on our laurels these last 14 months, better guess again.

It's like the story of Winston Churchill toward the close of World War II. He was visited by a delegation from the Temperance League and was chastised by one woman who said, "Mr. Prime Minister, I've heard that if all the brandy you had drunk since the war began were poured into this room, it would come all the way up to your waist." And Winston looked dolefully down at the floor, and then at his waist, then up to the ceiling, and said, "Ah, yes, madam, so much accomplished, and so much more left to do." (Laughter and applause.)

Well, one thing left to do -- one of the great challenges of these next months -- will be seeing if we can work out with the Soviet Union a better answer to nuclear weapons. As you know, I'll be meeting here in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev, unless some hitch develops that we can't foresee. But if all goes well, we'll sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. It's a good bargain. For every nuclear warhead of our own we remove, they'll have to give up four.

It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we're ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty. For one thing, in at least one important area -- verification -- the treaty is not yet complete.

Any treaty that I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterward. The verification regime we've put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations.

I actually learned a couple of words in Russian in order to talk about this with the General Secretary: Doveryai no proveryai. That is a proverb in that -- in Russia that says "Trust but verify." (Laughter and applause.)

We have come this far only because we've been patient and unwavering in our commitment to a strong and vital national defense. Contrary to what some have said, we've been at this for some time. As I said at West Point, we made that proposal -- this treaty that

we're talking about -- we made this proposal nearly six years ago. Our opponents dismissed it as unrealistic because it was too one-sided in our favor. And then the Soviets tried to get us to eliminate the SDI program. I refused. The moral is that patience, consistency, firm negotiating, and clear objectives count much more with the Soviets than good intentions. And I am for this agreement, not because I have any illusions about the Soviet system, but because of the good deal for the United States and its allies. That's why I'm asking for your support and help in convincing the Senate -- if we once sign and when we once sign this -- to ratify this treaty.

We're also moving ahead when negotiation -- or with negotiations on our proposal to reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. And the Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of SDI.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent billions upon billions of dollars developing and deploying their own anti-ballistic missile defenses. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defense program -- we call it the "Red Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. Today, Soviet capabilities include everything from killer-satellites to the modernized ABM defenses that ring Moscow. More than 10,000 Soviet scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons.

The Soviet Red Shield Program actually dwarfs our SDI. Yet, there's been a strange tendency by some in Congress to discuss SDI as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are doing. SDI is too important to be subject to congressional log-rolling. Its a vital insurance policy -- a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. SDI leads us away from the days of mutual assured destruction to a future of mutual assured safety. And it goes hand-in-hand with arms reductions. We cannot -- we will not -- bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

SDI will also protect us against accidental missile launches and ballistic missile threats -- whether with nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads -- from outlaw regimes. In the decades ahead, we can't be sure just who will get access to ballistic missile technology -- how competent they will be or how rational. We've had mad men come to power before in countries in the world. We must have an insurance policy against that day, as well.

So, no, SDI is not a bargaining chip. It is a -- (applause) -- thank you. It's a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990s and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it's ready, we'll deploy it. Remember this: (Applause.) Just remember this: If both sides have defenses, it can be a safer world.

You know, the present deterrent that we have -- the MAD policy -- mutual assured destruction -- I've never been able to feel very safe with the knowledge that if they blow us up, we'll be blowing them up at the same time. (Laughter.) I'd just -- I'd like to leave them around, if they'll leave us around. (Laughter.) If we leave the scientists -- or -- the Soviets with a monopoly in this vital area, our security will be gravely jeopardized. And we mustn't let that happen.

Now, if I may, I'd like to turn to another issue of vital importance -- freedom and democracy in Central America. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in

the field and brought the communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

I hope the members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. And the Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a new Cuba on the American mainland.

Within the next few weeks, Congress will have to vote on further aid to the freedom fighters. Without that aid, the Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play a waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to fulfill the peace agreement.

If Congress pulls the plug on the freedom fighters, they will have accomplished what billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- extinguishing all hope of freedom in Nicaragua and leaving the neighboring Central American democracies naked to communist aggression.

It's the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table. It is the freedom fighters -- and only the freedom fighters -- who can keep them there. If we're serious about the peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan society. They are brave men and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom, and they deserve no less. There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one and, as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one.

Now, as you know, on Friday we announced a bipartisan agreement on the budget that will cover not just one year, but two.

Now, this may not be the best deal that could be made -- but it is a good, solid beginning. It provides the necessary services for our people, maintains our national security, and does so at a level that does not overburden the average American taxpayer.

We have committed ourselves to a fiscal path that will lead to continued economic growth and opportunity and provide a solid base for economic stability in the future.

And finally, I'd like to say a few words about another subject of great importance to all of us -- the confirmation of Judge Kennedy as an associate justice on the Supreme Court.

In choosing to nominate Judge Kennedy to the Supreme Court, I kept in mind the fact that criminal cases make up the largest category of cases the Supreme Court must decide. These cases are especially important to the poor, the inner city residents and minority groups, since these Americans are victimized by crime to a disproportionate extent.

Judge Kennedy's record on criminal law is clear -- indeed, he has participated in hundreds of criminal law decisions. He has earned a reputation as a jurist who is tough, but fair. His decisions have helped, rather than hindered, the search for truth in the courtroom. And he's been sensitive to the needs of law enforcement professionals, who each day risk their lives in the real world of street crime and violence.

Every day that passes with the Supreme Court below full strength impairs the people's business in that crucially important body. Judge Kennedy has already won bipartisan praise from the Senate -- and I know you join me in looking foward to prompt Senate hearings, conducted in a spirit of cooperation.

MORE

Well, obviously we've got our work cut out for us, and, as I said, there will be no resting on our laurels. In politics, as in life, if you're not moving forward, you're slipping back.

So we're turning on the gas, we're putting the pedal to the metal, as they say -- and we're making tracks. And when I say "we," believe me -- I'm talking about all of us here together. Because you've been so much a part of everything that we've accomplished so far. And now, in these 14 months remaining, let's just pin some of those things down so they won't disappear once we're not working together.

And I want to thank you all very much and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END 1:50 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 16, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT ANNUAL MEETING OF AMERICAN COUNCIL
OF LIFE INSURANCE

Washington-Sheraton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

11:06 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much, and thank you, John Creedon. As many of you know, John is giving the nation outstanding service on the AIDS Commission. Thank you, also, Carey Hanlin. And a special thank you to someone I miss seeing at the Cabinet table, a man of courage and principle, one of the best Secretaries of Health and Human Services our nation has ever had -- Dick Schweiker. (Applause.)

I've come here today in what I'm sure we would all agree is a time of unusual worry -- and unusual promise. Today, we Americans have it within our power to lead the entire world into a new age of prosperity and peace -- or to return it to the stagnation, drift, and uncertainties of the late '70s. History records few moments when an entire people arrive at a place of turning -- and either choose the right or the wrong path. We Americans have come to such a place. But as we've seen in the markets these last few weeks, many wonder if we'll pick the right course.

I believe we will, if we recognize our opportunities. The problem of recognizing opportunities -- it reminds me of a story about Moses. He had led the children of Israel out of Egypt. He got to the Red Sea. God parted the waters. Moses looked around and said, "Oh, Lord, just as I was going in for a swim." (Laughter.)

Now, I know you've heard a lot of whys and wherefores about the volatility in the market these last few weeks -- some of it not all that helpful. After four years of amnesia, our critics -- God bless them -- have all of a sudden remembered the word "Reaganomics." When I hear them talk about stock prices, I can't help thinking of the judge who was questioning a prospective juror. And the judge asked the juror if he had any opinion about the guilt or innocence of the defendant. And the juror said, "No, your honor." The judge asked, "Do you have any reservations in your conscience about the death penalty." The juror said, "No, sir, not in this case." (Laughter.)

You in the life insurance industry make a profession of keeping a cool head when others panic and of fixing your eye on the promises, as well as the dangers of the future. Well, that's how you make the right decisions. In the last seven years, I've found that's how to make the right decisions on national economic policy, too. Look at opportunities. Look at dangers, too. Look at reality.

Yes, financial market gyrations are a reality. But this is reality, too -- our underlying economy is strong and getting stronger. Two weeks ago it became official: America had achieved 59 months of uninterrupted economic growth -- that is the longest peacetime expansion on record in our entire history. (Applause.)

Within two weeks of the stock market plunge, we learned that Gross National Product was rising at a healthy 3.8 percent annual rate. Much of this growth was because of new business

MORE

investment, which is soaring at an almost unbelievable annual pace of 24 percent. And after a brief spurt earlier this year, inflation has fallen back to less than three percent.

We also learned that manufacturing productivity was rising at a nearly five percent annual rate. Manufacturing exports are an important reason why our total real exports have been growing at a nearly 17 percent annual rate. Why, just the other day, I learned that Americans are even about to export chopsticks -- to Japan.

Yes, in the last two years, our manufacturing output has been rising sharply. Take just one industry, steel, which had been said to be dying. Now the talk is about its rebirth. As a recent Business Week headline said, "Cancel The Funeral -- Steel Is On The Mend."

In our expansion, the biggest stories have been new businesses, rising family income, and jobs. They're stories that each of you knows about. After all, the life insurance industry's venture capital investments have helped finance America's entrepreneurial boom. And in working with your policy-holders, you've seen firsthand how, after a decade on a falling roller coaster, the average American family's income has once again risen strongly since 1982.

You've also seen your markets expand as America created more jobs in the last five years than Europe and Japan combined. And as for the critics who talk about how bad are the millions of jobs America has created in service industries -- "hamburger flipping" is how critics characterize them -- well, those critics ought to talk to you, because many new service jobs are in life insurance.

Just the other week, figures came out showing that we continue to create jobs at a record pace -- more than half-a-million jobs -- new jobs -- in October. They came from both manufacturing and service, and as one private economist said, "The strength was across the board." Another summed up, "The economy was gathering momentum."

The potential employment pool in America, as you perhaps -- maybe some of you don't know -- I didn't know for a time -- is everyone, male and female, from age 16 up. It includes all retired people. It includes kids in school and so forth. That is the potential pool against which we match our employment record. Well, this year more than 60 percent of that group has been employed. That is more than ever before in our history.

This is the strength and promise in our economy today. There are dangers, too, of course. But as Fortune Magazine warned last week, "The most immediate danger is that in a rush to do something to calm the frenzied international markets, Washington will do the wrong thing."

Well, trade is one area where we're in danger of doing the wrong thing. Forgive me for saying, but some in Congress have been playing with economic dynamite this year. More than 10 million American jobs are tied to imports, exports, or both. From the day George Washington took office to the present, when international trade has grown, the number of jobs has grown. When trade has dwindled, so have the number of jobs. Yet a bill with some of the most protectionist provisions we've seen since Smoot-Hawley is working its way through Congress. Now that's just what we don't need right now -- to declare a trade war -- to become a casualty ourselves.

I spoke at the beginning of places of turning, and here's one. Congress can either turn towards a protectionist trade bill, or it can enact responsible legislation and ratify the free trade agreement we recently concluded with Canada -- and make that

agreement a model for our policy toward all nations. (Applause.) Under this agreement, trade barriers between the world's two largest trading partners will, for the most part, vanish by the year 2000.

In the last seven years, we have used our trade laws as never before to open world markets to American exports. For the first time, an administration has started unfair trade practice cases on its own -- not waited for industry. Korea recently responded to one of these cases and agreed to end its ban against foreign firms underwriting insurance, including life insurance. This will guarantee American firms access to Korea's insurance market -- and that's good for everyone, Koreans and Americans.

Not long ago, I ran across a startling example of what ending trade restrictions can mean. In January, New York State put an end to a domestic trade barrier. They let in milk from New Jersey. You couldn't buy New Jersey milk in New York before that. The result -- the average price of a gallon of milk on the lower east side of New York City dropped by 40 cents. That was just one product traded, not between two nations, but between two states. Put that on a world scale and you see how much protectionism costs America's families. It's just this simple. America needs more trade, not less.

Last week I emphasized that it was not our policy to drive down the dollar. Exchange rates that whip around with every shift in the wind make business reluctant to sail the seas of international commerce. That hurts all trading nations. But enduring calmness on the currency markets must come from better coordination of economic policies among the major industrial countries. And that's why I was pleased by the recent action taken by Germany and other countries to lower interest rates. Coordination of policies that produce growth -- that's good for everyone and something the United States continues to support.

Here in Washington, I'm working with Congress to take another American step toward less deficit spending. But, as in trade, there are right steps and wrong steps and hiking tax rates is the wrong step. (Applause.) As a front-page story in The New York Times two weeks ago warned, higher tax rates could, as the article said, "chill the economy, reduce personal and business incomes, and thus lower tax receipts."

Last year we cut the deficit by $73 billion -- nearly one-third of what it was in 1986. We're determined to achieve at least a $23 billion reduction this fiscal year -- and stay on the path to a balanced budget.

I'm confident we'll get there, one way or another. But let me repeat something here I've been saying for some time now. Deficit spending is in large part an institutional problem -- and a comparatively recent one to boot. In the mid-seventies, Congress, in effect, shoved the President to the side in the budget process. It legislated a major shift in the checks and balances of budget-making power. And the results came immediately. Before that, federal debt with inflation taken out had been steady or falling for a quarter of a century. Since then, it's been in a steep climb.

In my years in the White House, I've seen one member of Congress after another call for lower deficits and less spending and then go out and vote for more spending. Some, of course, just want more spending, period, but many are sincere. They're prisoners of a dilemma. If nearby districts or states get so many federal dollars, they must bring at least as much home or look bad. So they swap increases for increases, and deficit spending goes up.

A perfect example is the housing bill being considered in the Senate. Now is not the time to add to the deficit -- and this bill could add as much as $7 billion more in spending than I requested for this year. What's more, it costs at least $3 billion

more than they say it costs, because they mandate things they don't pay for. That's budget gimmickry, pure and simple.

Federal housing programs should be designed to help those who cannot help themselves. But, under this bill, even though it's a budget-buster, aid to poor and needy Americans could actually be cut. You see, the bill diverts enormous amounts of money to subsidies for those who don't need subsidies at all. That is morally wrong. If this bill arrives at my desk, I will veto it. (Applause.)

What we do need right now is an extension of FHA authorities. That issue has been hanging fire for too long. I call on Congress, by the end of the month, to provide a permanent extension of those authorities.

But not with so much else attached. We can't have it both ways. We can't make speeches calling for cuts in the budget deficit and then vote for bills like this that bust the budget. If Congress is serious about joining with me to cut the budget, they should show it by starting with this housing bill.

The sad fact is, there's only one way, once and for all, to stop them before they spend again, to free these prisoners from their dilemma, and that's to restore the role in the budget process of the only elected official who speaks not for local interests but for the interest of the entire nation -- the President. (Applause.) And that's why I've said over and over that it's time for the President to have what 43 governors have -- what I had as Governor of California -- a line-item veto. (Applause.)

Saving Congress from itself, and America from Congress' compulsive spending, is also why I've said that we need for the United States something that 32 states have -- a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. (Applause.)

A favorite person of mine, Prime Minister Thatcher recently said, "Early and decisive action" on cutting U.S. deficit spending is "the most important single thing of all" to restore the world financial markets. Nothing could be more decisive and convincing than these reforms.

Now, I've spoken to you today about our economic future -- and the world's. But that's not the only area in which America will soon make choices for the future. Next month I will meet here in Washington with General Secrtary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. If all goes well, we'll sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. It's a good bargain. For every nuclear warhead of our own that we remove, they will be giving up four.

Recently, all seven living former secretaries of Defense were asked, if they were still in office, would they recommend this agreement to the President. All seven said, yes, it's a good agreement.

Some details remain to be worked out. The most important is verification. I cherish no illusions about the Soviets. It's said, for them, past arms control treaties were like diets. The second day was always the best, because that's when they broke them. (Laughter.)

Any treaty I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of facilities before and during reductions and short-notice inspections afterward. The verification regime that we've put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I will not settle for anything less.

We're also pressing now for an agreement on reducing our two nations' strategic arsenals by one-half. Our Geneva negotiators

have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our investigation of a strategic defense against ballistic missiles -- the SDI.

From the Krasnoyarsk radar facility, whose very construction violated the 1972 ABM treaty that the Soviets so vocally claim they want to preserve, to their modernized deployments around Moscow of the world's only ABM defenses, the Soviet Union's own SDI projects have become big news throughout the world in recent months. The Soviets have put billions into their program. They have more than 10,000 scientists working on military lasers alone. We know this and they know that we know. And we know that they know we know. (Laughter.) It's time for them to stop the charade and admit their own deep involvement in strategic defense work.

For us, SDI is a vital insurance policy -- a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. It will help protect our allies, too. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. It goes hand-in-hand with arms reductions. We cannot -- we will not -- bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

SDI will also protect us against accidental missile launches and ballistic missile threats -- whether with nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads -- from outlaw regimes. In the decades ahead, missile technology will proliferate, just as nuclear weapons technology already has. We can't be sure just who will get it -- how competent they will be or how rational. We must have an insurance policy against that day, as well.

So no, SDI is not a bargaining chip. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990s and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we'll deploy it. Remember this: if both sides have defenses, it can be a safer world. But if we leave the Soviets with a monopoly in this vital area, our security will be gravely jeopardized. We must not let that happen.

My talks with General Secretary Gorbachev will cover the full range of U.S.-Soviet relations -- including human rights, exchanges between our peoples, and Soviet involvement in regional conflicts, such as in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua. I believe that if America remains firm and strong, if we don't give up in squabbles among ourselves things that should be the subject of negotiations with the Soviets, we can usher in a new age of peace and freedom.

Yes, we live in a time of promise -- and a time of worry, of hazard. In the next few months we can take steps that will lead America and the world toward a new age of prosperity and peace -- or, if we take the wrong steps, in just the opposite direction.

So I have a very simple appeal to you today. I need your help. I need your hand. Let's work together to make certain that the steps America does take are the right ones.

You know, I have developed a hobby recently and I'm annoying audiences with it, I'm sure. I can't close without telling you what that hobby is. I have begun collecting jokes that I can prove are told by the Soviet citizens among themselves, which show their great sense of humor, but also a certain cynicism about their system. And I couldn't resist in the last meeting with the General Secretary to tell him one of those jokes. (Laughter.)

It had to do with an American and a Russian arguing about their two countries. And the American in the story said, "I can walk into the Oval Office, I can pound the President's desk, and I can say, 'Mr. President, I don't like the way you're running our

country.'" And the Soviet citizen said, "I can do that." The American said, "You can?" He says, "Yes. I can go into the Kremlin to the General Secretary's office, I can pound his desk and say, 'Mr. General Secretary, I don't like the way President Reagan's running his country.'" (Laughter and applause.)

Thank you all. God bless you. (Applause.)

END 11:28 A.M. EST

Space is a frontier of/for freedom. If freedom doesn't lead the way into the space frontier, it may not be allowed to follow.

Francis Bacon: "They are ill discoverers that think there is no land, when they can see nothing but sea."

The doom-and-gloomers would have us believe space is just high-tech circus, but it's a real frontier of real opportunity.

This Commission isn't going to be one of those inside-the-beltway, we know everything commissions. The members are several of the best and brightest from across our great nation, and bring the wisdom of the nation to the Commission.

I'm only asking the Chairman to do two things: reach out to the country to find out things (and trust the people), and be typically American... think big. The bigger and bolder, the better.

Remember that you in the space community are doing the technical and scientific and engineering miracles you are not because the people are buying (want) those miracles, but because it's a new frontier that helps on education and jobs and health and nice things like that.

The Space Shuttle is a marvelous railway, and the station a great terminal and laboratory, but now we need clipper ships. We need New Worlds. That's why space is great, that's why it has a great potential, and that's why the American people like it so much, and why -- after all -- they should invest their tax dollars in it.

Archibald MacLeish: "There are those, I know, who will say that the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream. They are right. It is the American dream."

Wernher von Braun: "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming."

Jim Muncie
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Ben Franklin: "To America one schoolmaster is worth a dozen poets, and the invention of a machine or the improvement of an implement is of more importance than a masterpiece of Raphael."

I approved the space station as a doorway to the future. It's a national laboratory for gaining new knowledge and a way station to the Moon and the planets. It's a window to the riches and wonders and challenges of the solar system.

SS is not hardware, not a project, not an endpoint. If it is, we can't afford [illegible] to break out of the limits to growth paradigm

We must invest in the future now. We'll either win or lose, there's nothing in between.

Jefferson: "The flames kindled on the fourth of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism; on the contrary, they will consume those engines and all who work them." I would only add that our efforts in space must spread those flames to the stars themselves.

Jefferson: "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past."

Rene Dubos: "We cannot escape from the past, but neither can we avoid inventing the future."

John Kennedy: "We set sail on this new sea because there is new knowledge to be gained and new rights to be won and they must be won and used for the progress of all people."

Science Digest: "Landing and moving around the moon offers so many serious problems for human beings that it may take science another 200 years to lick them."

Kennedy: "Our objective in making this effort, which we hope will place one of our citizens on the moon, is to develop in a new frontier of science, commerce and cooperation the position of the United States and the free world."

Kennedy: "We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, becasue that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too."

Kennedy: "We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share." I'd like to add that free men must lead.

We've achieved leadership by riding the first waves of each new age. Today new waves beckon to us, inviting us to ride them into the future.

JFK: "We shall not see space governed by a hostile flag of conquest, but by a banner of freedom and peace."

Franklin: "Of what use is a new invention? Of what use is a new baby?"

FDR: "The only limit on our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

Goddard: "It is difficult to say what is impossible, for the dream of yesterday is the hope of today and the reality of tomorrow"

Clarke: "Every great idea has three stages of reaction: 1) It won't work. 2) Even if it works, it's not useful. 3) I said it was a great idea all along."

We should do things in space that protect, ease, and challenge the human condition.

The Commission will lay out a broad and diverse set of goals and objectives for the civilian space program.

Have Government work with the private sector the build the strongest, leading-edge private space business (commercial/industrial/financial) possible.

Manage our national activity with vigor, imagination, and statesmanship.

Use our leadership in space science, technology, and commerce to reach out to our existing and potential allies alike.

Then we can move space into America's mainstream of public interest, reaping great public, social, and economic benefits, and very soon have our people and values strike out across the solar system.

KEY WORDS: Change, technology, challenge, leverage, frontier, youth, vision, opportunity.

Bring in SDI as example of major change: an avenue of hope thru ingenuity

Our path is technology.

I've always put my trust in the people. And when they're worried, I'm worried. People protest about the horrors of nuclear war. Well, nuclear war is horrible. And that's why MAD is horrible. If either side miscalculates and makes a mistake, everyone dies. So We're breaking out of the failed paradigm of MAD with SDI.

Likewise, people worry that we're running out of materials and resources and energy. We were just running out of ideas. And when you run out of ideas, you run out of resources very quickly. So now we're breaking out of the Limits to Growth paradigm w/ space.

And the people worried about losing jobs because of trade with other countries. Well the answer isn't staying on the drug of protectionism, it's the preventive medicine (the only cure) of competing via our strengths. So we're breaking out of the protectionist paradigm w/ competitiveness.

Webster's Biographical Dictionary

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Springfield, Massachusetts

Conn. American inventor of a calculating machine (1902), later redesigned (with J. R. Monroe) as Monroe calculating machine.

Baldwin, Henry. 1780–1844. American jurist, b. New Haven, Conn. Member (from Pennsylvania), U.S. House of Representatives (1817–22). Associate justice, U.S. Supreme Court (1830–44).

Baldwin, James. 1924– . Am. writer, b. New York. Author of *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961), *The Fire Next Time* (1963), etc.

Baldwin, James Mark. 1861–1934. American psychologist, b. Columbia, S.C. Grad. Princeton (1884). Studied at Leipzig, Berlin, and Tübingen (1884–85). Professor, U. of Toronto (1889–93), Princeton (1893–1903), Johns Hopkins (1903–09) and National U. of Mexico (1909–13). Specialist in child psychology and social psychology. Founder, with James McKeen Cattell (*q.v.*), and editor (1894–1909), *Psychological Review*. Editor of *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (1901–06).

Baldwin, Loammi. 1740–1807. American engineer and army officer, b. North Woburn, Mass. Served in American Revolution (1775–77, invalided home). First grower of Baldwin apples. His son **Loammi** (1780–1838) was also a civil engineer; constructor of dry docks at the Charlestown (Mass.) and Norfolk (Va.) navy yards.

Baldwin, Matthias William. 1795–1866. American industrialist, b. Elizabethtown, N.J. Manufactured stationary engines (from 1827) and locomotives (from 1831). Formed M. W. Baldwin Co., now the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Baldwin, Robert. 1804–1858. Canadian statesman. Solicitor general of Upper Canada (1840); after Act of Union, formed first Canadian administration to accept responsible government, acting as attorney general of Upper Canada (1842, 1848–51); revised judicial system; introduced municipal system in Ontario.

Baldwin, Simeon Eben. 1840–1927. American jurist, b. New Haven, Conn. Professor, Yale Law School (1869–1919). President, American Bar Association (1890). Chief justice, Connecticut supreme court (1907–10). Governor of Connecticut (1910–14). Works include *A Digest of All the Reported Cases . . . of Connecticut* (2 vols., 1871–82), *Modern Political Institutions* (1898), *American Railroad Law* (1904), *The American Judiciary* (1905), *The Relations of Education to Citizenship* (1912). His father, **Roger Sherman Baldwin** (1793–1863), also a lawyer, was governor of Connecticut (1844–46).

Baldwin, Stanley. 1st Earl **Baldwin of Bewd'ley** (bōōd'lĭ). 1867–1947. English statesman. Educ. Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1888); active head of iron and steel manufactories (c. 1892–c. 1916). Financial secretary to treasury (1917–21); president, board of trade (1921–22); as chancellor of exchequer (1922–23), arranged with aid of Montagu Norman funding of British debt to U.S. (1922); Conservative prime minister and first lord of the treasury (1923–24, 1924–29, 1935–37); lord president of the council (1931–35). Author of *Classics and the Plain Man* (1926), *This Torch of Freedom* (1935), *Service of Our Lives* (1937).

Baldwin, William. fl. 1547. English writer of verse and plays; superintended publication of, and contributed plays to, *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559).

Baldwin of Redvers. See REDVERS.

Bale (bāl), **John.** 1495–1563. English author and bishop of Ossory. Author of controversial works in Protestant cause, of a Latin history of English literature, and of *King John*, first English historical play.

Ba'len (bä'lĕn), **Hendrick van.** 1575–1632. Flemish historical painter, b. Anvers. Pupil of Adam van Noort; studied in Italy; first master of van Dyck. His works, represented in museums at Amsterdam, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, etc., include *Repose of the Holy Family* (Lille, France).

Bal'es·tier' (băl'ĕs·tēr'), **Charles Wolcott.** 1861–1891. American publisher and writer, b. Rochester, N.Y. Sent to London (1888) to obtain original English manuscripts for publication. Formed partnership with William Heinemann for publishing an English library to compete with Tauchnitz. Secured right to publish Kipling's work in U.S.; collaborated with Kipling in *The Naulahka* (1892). His sister **Caroline** married Kipling (1892).

Balfe (bălf), **Michael William.** 1808–1870. Irish operatic composer and singer. Appeared as Figaro in Rossini's *Barbiere di Siviglia* in Paris (1827); produced his first opera, *I Rivali di Se Stessi*, at Palermo (1830), his first in England being *Siege of Rochelle* (1835). Other operas include *Maid of Artois* (1836); *Falstaff* (1838); *The Bohemian Girl*, including the well-known song "I dreamt I dwelt in marble halls" (1843); *The Sicilian Bride* (1852); and *Rose of Castile* (1857).

Bal'four (băl'fōōr), **Alexander.** 1767–1829. Scottish novelist; author of *Campbell* (1819) and *The Foundling of Glenthorn* (1823), etc.

Balfour, Andrew. 1873–1931. Scottish surgeon, tropical health authority, and novelist. Grad. Edinburgh U. (1898). Served in Boer War. Served on health commissions in Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc. during World War; health commissioner for Mauritius (1921) and Bermuda (1923). Director in chief of Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research, London; director of London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (from 1923). Author of *By Stroke of Sword*, *The Golden Kingdom*, and other novels, and of *Public Health and Preventive Medicine* (with C. J. Lewis, 1902), *Health Problems of the Empire* (1924), etc.

Balfour, Arthur James. 1st Earl of **Balfour.** 1848–1930. English philosopher and statesman. Educ. Trinity Coll., Cambridge. Conservative M.P. (1874–85, 1886–1905, 1906–11); one of so-called "Fourth party" (1880). To Berlin Congress (1878) as secretary to uncle Lord Salisbury; chief secretary for Ireland (1887–91); first lord of the treasury (1892, 1895, 1900) and government leader in Commons (1895); prime minister (1902–05); unionist leader of opposition (1906); first lord of admiralty, succeeding Winston Churchill (1915), held other offices in coalition ministry; foreign secretary (1916–19); headed mission to U.S. for establishing Anglo-Saxon solidarity (Apr., 1917); made declaration (Balfour Declaration, Nov., 1917) that British government favored establishment in Palestine of national home for Jewish people, without prejudice to civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities; attended Paris Peace Conference as foreign secretary; representative to League of Nations; leading British delegate to Washington Disarmament Conference (1921–22). Author of *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt* (1879), *Essays and Addresses* (1893), *The Foundations of Belief* (1895), *Theism and Humanism* (1915), *Theism and Thought* (1923). His younger brother **Francis Maitland** (1851–1882), b. in Edinburgh, was a morphologist; author of a monograph on elasmobranch fishes and a textbook of comparative embryology (1880–81). See also Eleanor M. SIDGWICK.

Balfour, Sir **Graham,** *in full* **Thomas Graham.** 1858–1929. British educator and author, b. Chelsea. Lived with his cousin R. L. Stevenson at Vailima (1891–94); wrote authoritative *Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (1901). In educational administrative work (from 1902).

Balfour of Pit'ten·dreich' (pĭt''n·drēk'), Sir **James.** d. 1583. Scottish judge and political intriguer.

Balfour of Kin'loch (kĭn'lŏk) **John.** Scottish Cov-

enanter, whom Scott in *Old Mortality* confused with **John Balfour** (d. 1688), 3d Baron **Balfour of Bur'leigh** *or* **Bur'ley** [bûr'lĭ].

Balfour, John Hutton. 1808–1884. Scottish physician and professor of botany at Edinburgh U. (from 1845). His son Sir **Isaac Bayley** (1853–1922), b. Edinburgh, was also a botanist; professor, Edinburgh U. (from 1888); curator, Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.

Balfour, Robert. 1550?–?1625. Scottish professor of Greek and philosopher; author of a volume of commentaries on Aristotle (1618–20).

Balfour of Bur'leigh (bûr'lĭ), 6th Baron. Alexander **Hugh Bruce.** 1849–1921. Scottish administrator. In British cabinet as secretary for Scotland (1895–1903). Lord rector, Edinburgh U. (1896); chancellor, St. Andrews U. (1900). Author of *An Historical Account of the Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland* (1911).

Ba'liev (bä'lyĕf), **Nikita.** 1877–1936. Russian theatrical manager; served in Russo-Japanese War (1904–05). On staff of Moscow Art Theater. Assembled semiprivate amateur cabaret which he developed into professional company known as Chauve-Souris, appearing in Russia (1917–19), Constantinople (1919–20), Paris (1920–22), New York (1922–23), and on tour of U.S., and, later (until 1934), in Paris, London, and New York by turns.

Bal'liol *or* **Bal'liol** (băl'yŭl). Anglo-Norman family founded by **Guido** *or* **Guy,** holder of Ballieul and other fiefs in Normandy, and including: **John de Baliol** (d. 1269); great-great-grandson of Guido; founder of Balliol College, Oxford, by gift of lands (c. 1263) and by gifts in his will and from his widow Devorguila. His son **John de Baliol** (1249–1315); claimed Scottish throne on death (1290) of Margaret, Maid of Norway, by right of his maternal grandmother, daughter of David, grandson of David I; supported by William of Douglas at Berwick; claim allowed by Edward I of England, whose overlordship Baliol acknowledged; crowned at Scone (1292); made alliance with Philip IV of France; brought to submission by Edward I of England (1296); died in exile in Normandy. **Edward de Baliol** (d. 1363); eldest son of the preceding; invaded Scotland (1332) with aid of Edward III of England and barons disinherited by Robert Bruce; defeated Sir Archibald Douglas and supporters of David II at Halidon Hill (1333); crowned at Scone; unseated by Scottish patriots (1334); restored to throne by Edward III; surrendered kingdom to Edward III (1356).

Ball (bôl), **Albert.** 1896–1917. English pilot in Royal Flying Corps; destroyed 43 enemy planes during World War; V.C. (posthumous).

Ball, Sir **Alexander John.** 1759–1809. British naval officer; served in Mediterranean under Nelson; engaged at Abukir Bay (1798) and in reduction of Malta (1798–1800); governor of Malta; rear admiral (1805).

Ball, Ernest R. 1878–1927. American vaudeville actor; composer of popular songs, as *Love Me and the World is Mine* and *Mother Machree.*

Ball, Frances. *Known as* Mother **Frances Mary Theresa.** 1794–1861. English religious; founder (1822) of the Loretto, or Loreto, nuns, also called Ladies of Loretto, established near Dublin, Ireland, and now represented in Ireland, England, India, Canada, and the United States.

Ball, Francis Elrington. 1863–1928. Irish scholar, b. in County Dublin. Authority on Swift; editor of *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (1910–14).

Ball (bäl), **Hugo.** 1886–1927. German writer; one of founders of Dadaism. Author of *Byzantinisches Christentum* (1923), *Die Folgen der Reformation* (1924), etc.

Ball (bôl), **John.** d. 1381. English priest; expounder of doctrines of Wycliffe; influential in stirring up Wat Tyler's rebellion; executed.

Ball, John. 1818–1889. Irish Alpinist and politician, b. Dublin. First president, Alpine Club (founded 1857); author of *Alpine Guide* (1863–68). Undersecretary for colonies (1855–57).

Ball, John. 1861–1940. British golf champion; amateur champion eight times between 1888 and 1912; first amateur to win open championship (1890) and to win both amateur and open championships in one year (1890).

Ball, John Thomas. 1815–1898. Irish jurist, b. Dublin; lord chancellor of Ireland (1875–80).

Ball, Sir **Robert Staw'ell** (stō'ĕl). 1840–1913. Irish astronomer and mathematician, b. Dublin. Educ. Trinity College, Dublin. Royal astronomer of Ireland (1874–92). Professor, Cambridge (1893–1913). Author of *Elements of Astronomy* (1880, 1900), *The Story of the Heavens* (1885, 1905), and other popular texts.

Ball, Thomas. 1819–1911. American sculptor, b. Charlestown, Mass. Among his chief works are a life-size bust of Daniel Webster completed a few days before Webster's death; busts of Rufus Choate, William H. Prescott, and Henry Ward Beecher; equestrian statue of George Washington (now in Public Garden, Boston); statue of St. John the Evangelist (1875; now in Forest Hills Cemetery); *Emancipation,* a group with Lincoln and a kneeling slave (1875; now in Washington, D.C.); and statues of Daniel Webster (1876; now in Central Park, New York), Sumner (1878; now in Public Garden, Boston), Josiah Quincy (1879; now in front of City Hall, Boston).

Bal'la·gi (bŏl'lŏ·gē), **Mór.** *Orig.* **Mo'ritz Bloch** (mō'rĭts blŏĸ). 1818–1891. Hungarian theologian and grammarian, of Jewish descent; accepted Protestant faith (1843); professor of theology at Budapest (1855–78). Compiled Hungarian-German dictionary (2 vols., 1854–57).

Bal'lance (băl'ăns), **John.** 1839–1893. New Zealand journalist and statesman, b. in Ulster. Served in Maori war (1867). Member of three ministries; as prime minister (1891–93) imposed progressive land tax and progressive income tax and carried out other reform measures.

Bal'lanche' (bä'länsh'), **Pierre Simon.** 1776–1847. French philosopher and writer; member of salon of Mme. Récamier.

Bal'lan·tine (băl'ăn·tīn), **James.** 1808–1877. Scottish poet; reviver of art of glass painting, and maker of stained-glass windows.

Ballantine, William. 1812–1887. English lawyer. Prosecuted murderer Franz Müller (1864); led case for Tichborne Claimant (1871); defended gaekwar of Baroda (1875).

Bal'lan·tyne (băl'ăn·tīn), **James.** 1772–1833. Scottish printer. Proprietor and editor of *Kelso Mail;* published Walter Scott's works (1802 ff.); with brother **John** (1774–1821), associated with Walter Scott in printing and publishing (from 1808) until ruined by bankruptcy of Constable and Co. (1826); thereafter editor of *Weekly Journal.*

Ballantyne, Robert Michael. 1825–1894. Nephew of James Ballantyne. Scottish writer of "story books for young folks" beginning with *Hudson's Bay* (1848), based upon his six years' service with Hudson's Bay Co., and including *The Young Fur Traders* (1856), *Ungava* (1857), *The Gorilla Hunters* (1862), etc.

Ballantyne, Thomas. 1806–1871. British journalist, b. Paisley. One of four original proprietors of *Manchester Examiner.* Later, editor of *Liverpool Journal,*

"That's an amazing invention, but who would ever want to use one of them?"[12]

—*Rutherford B. Hayes*
(President of the United States),
after participating in a trial telephone conversation between Washington and Philadelphia,
1876

✍ Bell successfully patented his telephone in 1876, and, a year later, offered to sell it to the Western Union Telegraph Company for $100,000. Western Union was not interested.

Radio and Television

RADIO: A STATIC-FILLED FUTURE

"Radio has no future."[13]

—*Lord Kelvin*
(British mathematician and physicist, former President of the Royal Society),
c. 1897

"You could put in this room, DeForest, all the radiotelephone apparatus that the country will ever need."[14]

—*W. W. Dean*
(President of Dean Telephone Company),
to American radio pioneer Lee DeForest,
who had visited Dean's office to pitch his audion tube,
1907

"DeForest has said in many newspapers and over his signature that it would be possible to transmit the human voice across the Atlantic before many years. Based on these absurd and deliberately misleading statements, the misguided public . . . has been persuaded to purchase stock in his company."[15]

—*U.S. District Attorney,*
prosecuting inventor Lee DeForest for fraud,
1913

2. Erasmus Wilson, quoted from A. M. Low, *What's the World Coming To? Science Looks at the Future* (Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott, 1951).
3. Report of committee set up by the British Parliament, quoted from Arthur C. Clarke, *Profiles of the Future*, Rev. Ed. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1974).
4. Henry Morton, quoted in *New York Herald*, December 28, 1879.
5. Jean Bouillaud, quoted from Paul Tabori, *The Art of Folly* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961).
6. Thomas Alva Edison, quoted from Robert Conot, *A Streak of Luck: The Life and Legend of Thomas Alva Edison* (New York: Seaview Books, 1979), p. 245.
7. Oliver Hampton Smith, quoted in Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America*, Vol. 3 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1915), p. 1048; quoted from Nancy T. Gamarra, *Erroneous Predictions and Negative Comments Concerning Exploration, Territorial Expansion, Scientific and Technological Development: Selected Statements*, Rev. Ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, May 29, 1969). p. 46.
8. U.S. Postmaster General, quoted in James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America* (New York: Derby Brothers, 1879), p. 108; quoted from Gamarra, *Erroneous Predictions*, p. 46.
9. Sir John Wolfe-Barry, quoted in *Dunlap's Radio and Television Almanac* (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 44; quoted from Gamarra, *Erroneous Predictions*, p. 46.
10. Editorial, *The Post* (Boston), quoted from Francis Jehl, *Menlo Park Reminiscences*, Vol. 3 (Dearborn, Mich.: Edison Institute, 1941).
11. Gardiner Greene Hubbard, quoted from Mitchell Wilson, *American Science and Invention* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954), pp. 280–281.
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13. Lord Kelvin, quoted from Chris Morgan and David Langford, *Facts and Fallacies* (Exeter, England: Webb & Bower, 1981).
14. W. W. Dean, quoted from Lee DeForest, *Father of Radio: The Autobiography of Lee DeForest* (Chicago: Wilcox & Follett, 1950), p. 232.
15. U.S. District Attorney, quoted in L. Archer, *History of Radio* (New York: American Historical Society, 1938), p. 110; quoted from Gamarra, *Erroneous Predictions*, p. 41.
16. Thomas Alva Edison, quoted from Conot, *Streak of Luck*.
17. H. G. Wells, quoted from Morgan and Langford, *Facts and Fallacies*, p. 20.
18. *Daily Express* (London) Editor, quoted from Don Atyeo and Jonathon Green, *Don't Quote Me* (Feltham, England: Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1981), p. 154.
19. Lee DeForest, quoted from *The Literary Digest*, November 6, 1926. Submitted by Louise Gikow.
20. Rex Lambert, quoted from Morgan and Langford, *Facts and Fallacies*, p. 20.
21. Darryl F. Zanuck, quoted from Gabe Essoe, *The Book of Movie Lists* (Westport, Conn.: Arlington House, 1981, p. 222.
22. David Sarnoff, "The Future of Television," *Popular Mechanics*, 1939.
23. Sir George Bidell Airy, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., *The Autobiography of George Bidell Airy* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1896), p. 152.
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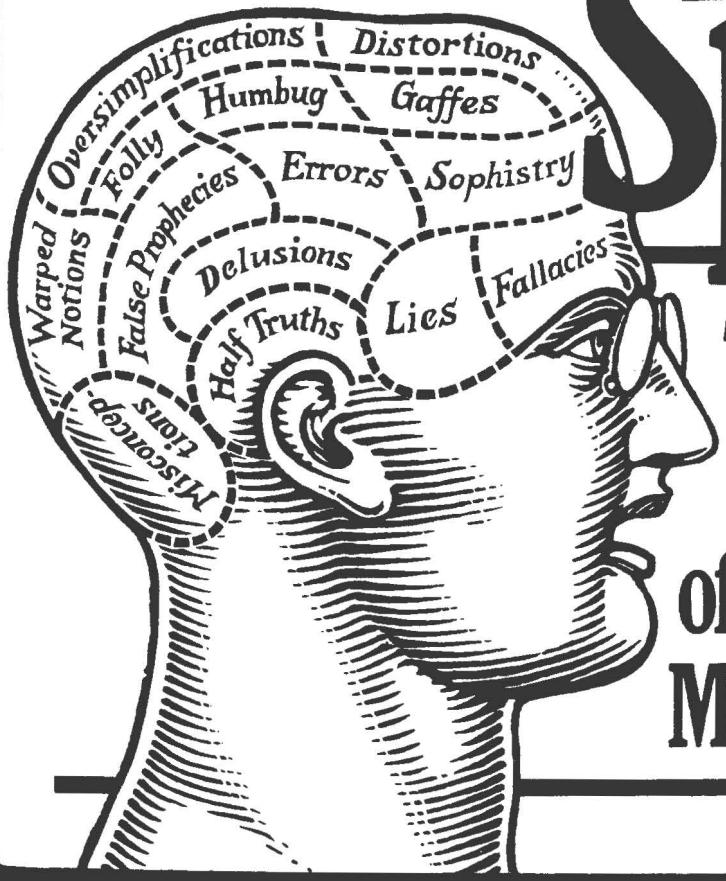
"Irreverent, unfair and subversive. What more could anyone ask for?"—*Time*

Christopher Cerf & Victor Navasky

The Experts Speak



The Definitive Compendium of Authoritative Misinformation

from the avalanche of problems unloaded by officials, generals, war contractors, cranks, wounded soldiers, and tearful wives and mothers.

Most annoying was the clamor of petitioners for public office, often raised by those without qualifications. Lincoln told of a man who asked for a post as a foreign minister and gradually reduced his demands until he was willing to settle for an old pair of pants.

Office seekers, however, had become pests long before Lincoln's Administration. They and their eager sponsors haunted the White House even in the time of John Adams. Jackson openly used the spoils system to reward his supporters. For a time fear stalked the ranks of his opponents in government service; in all, it is estimated, about one-fifth of the entire work force was replaced.

With each change of administration came fresh hordes of office seekers. During William Henry Harrison's tenure, a group of men once barred him from a Cabinet meeting until he accepted their applications.

President after President complained of the persecution and senseless waste of time. Yet it was not until after Garfield's murder by a thwarted job hunter that firm action was taken. In 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Act, the first major reform law to open the way to competitive examinations as the basis for most federal service.

The nation was coming of age. Such changes in public attitude toward the obligations and rights of the man in the White House reflected the increasing energy, wealth, and population of the country.

Twentieth-century Presidents, supervising the nerve center of action in the West Wing, have found that the pace of their work has grown ever faster with new technology.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the Social Security Act, August 14, 1935.

Theodore Roosevelt carried out his dynamic foreign and domestic programs in a period when messengers on horseback or bicycle rushed urgent letters and documents between the White House, Congress, and executive departments. Automobiles came in with Taft. Harding was the first President to broadcast a speech by radio, Truman the first to deliver an address from the White House by television. The first airplane assigned to the Chief Executive was a specially built C-54 used once by Franklin Roosevelt, and later by Truman. Jets have been supplied since Eisenhower's time.

BACK IN 1877 President Hayes installed a telephone at the mansion after seeing one demonstrated by inventor Alexander Graham Bell. Yet as late as Taft's term only one operator was needed to handle calls. When the operator went to lunch, young Charlie Taft considered it great sport to take over the switchboard. Today 17 telephone operators routinely take an average of 9,000 calls a day—and thousands more at times of national stress.

Gone are the days when Cleveland could write many of his letters

THE LIVING WHITE HOUSE

REVISED EDITION

United States. Hayes displayed the desk in the Green Room for a while, before ordering it taken upstairs to his office.[10]

Hayes converted the southwest corner room, a dressing room adjoining his bedroom, into his sanctum, or "den." To this very private office he retired with important work and was accessible only to his family. The oval room was sometimes used for meetings. The Cabinet Room was supplied with one or two pieces of new furniture but remained otherwise the same, with its frescoed ceiling and map-hung walls. Callers climbed the office stairway and were received in a small square reception hall. On their right were the frosted glass doors to the family quarters, and on their left were the steps that rose to the eastern hall, which was used as a lobby and dominated by the great half-moon window.

Hayes received no office-seekers at the White House; those who were admitted had to have appointments. This was another of his radical changes in procedure. Applications for positions were submitted first in writing, preferably to the President directly and not through a congressman. When a meeting with an applicant took place, Hayes's stenographer, George A. Gustin, was nearly always present, taking notes. More than one caller squirmed and sweated through this, and many left angry. The President heightened the discomfort by saying little himself.[11]

More requests for appointments to government jobs were declined than accepted. President Hayes's callers usually came on important business or in connection with their official responsibilities. The hectic confusion of the office calmed somewhat, and the staff of some 15 people had more privacy for work than ever before. Surface-mounted speaking tubes were added for communication from office to office and from the offices to the doormen in the entrance hall.

[redacted]White House. The National Telephone Company installed the telephone on a trial basis, hanging it on a wall of the telegraph room with the wires extending out an east window and stretching to the Treasury across the street. Hayes had spoken to Alexander Graham Bell by telephone in June 1877 while visiting in Providence, Rhode Island. John Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury, not the President, had been impressed and had one installed in his Washington home and another in the Treasury. The new communications machine was but little used at the White House, however, because there were so few other telephones in Washington.[12]

Another gadget purchased by Hayes for his staff's convenience suggests that he welcomed technological innovations. On February 12, 1880, a wooden crate arrived at the White House containing a new contrivance which would make a more immediate difference than the

The PRESIDENT'S HOUSE

A History

by

William Seale

White House Historical Association
with the cooperation of the National Geographic Society
Washington, D.C.
and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York

Carol

(Gilder)
July 23, 1987
4:00 p.m. SS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FEDERAL CONFERENCE ON COMMERCIAL APPLICATIONS OF SUPERCONDUCTIVITY
TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's a great pleasure to welcome you to Washington and an honor to address this assembly of some of the foremost members of our scientific and business community.

We are privileged here today to have with us many of those scientists whose pioneering work made this conference on superconductivity a possibility. Congratulations to you all. And it's a safe bet that this conference room also contains many of the minds and spirits who will carry this revolution forward, who will open up a whole new realm of heretofore unimagined possibilities and practical applications.

I have had a lot of experience in my own career of how technology can change things. I remember back in the ~~20's~~ twenties, when somebody first told Harry Warner about talking pictures, he said, "Who the heck wants to hear actors talk?" Actually, I don't think he said, "heck," but Presidents aren't allowed the same license as studio executives.

Of course, when it comes to high-tech, Presidents often have trouble, too, keeping up with the times. A favorite story of mine is about one of the first times the White House hosted a science and technology event. A demonstration of a recently invented device was put on for President Rutherford B. Hayes. "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use one of them?" He was talking about the telephone.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

United Nations

Address Before the 41st Session of the General Assembly.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1234

September 22, 1986

LENGTH: 4157 words

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, honored guests, and distinguished delegates, a short walk from this chamber is the delegates Meditation Room, a refuge from a world deafened by the noise of strife and violence. "We want to bring back the idea of worship," Dag Hammarskjold once said about this room, "devotion to something which is greater and higher than we are ourselves."

Well, it's just such devotion that gave birth to the United Nations -- devotion to the dream of world peace and freedom, of human rights and democratic self-determination, of a time when, in those ancient words, ". . . and they shall beat their swords into plowshares . . . nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The United States remains committed to the United Nations. For over 40 years this organization has provided an international forum for harmonizing conflicting national interests and has made a significant contribution in such fields as peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and eradicating disease. And yet no one knows better than those in this chamber how the noble ideals embodied in the charter have often remained unfulfilled.

This organization itself faces a critical hour -- that is usually stated as a fiscal crisis. But we can turn this crisis into an opportunity. The important reforms proposed by a group of experts can be a first step toward restoring the organization's status and effectiveness. The issue, ultimately, is not one of cash but of credibility. If all the members of this universal organization decide to seize the moment and turn the rhetoric of reform into reality, the future of the U.N. will be secure. And you have my word for it: My country, which has always given the U.N. generous support, will continue to play a leading role in the effort to achieve its noble purposes.

When I came before you last year, an important moment in the pursuit of those purposes had not yet occurred. The leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States were to meet in Geneva. These discussions have now been held. For over 15 hours Soviet and American delegations met; for about 5 hours General Secretary Gorbachev and I talked, alone.

Our talks were frank. The talks were also productive -- in a larger sense than even the documents that were agreed. Mr. Gorbachev was blunt, and so was I. We came to realize again the truth of the statement: Nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. And I did not hesitate to tell Mr. Gorbachev our view of the source of that mistrust: the Soviet Union's record of seeking to impose its ideology and rule on others. So, we acknowledged the deep and abiding differences between our systems of government, our views of history and the future of mankind.

But despite these differences, we resolved to work together for real reductions in nuclear arms, as well as progress in other areas.

Delegates to the 41st General Assembly of the United Nations: Today I want to report to you on what has transpired since the summit; notably the important letter I sent July 25th to Mr. Gorbachev. In that letter, I dealt with the important issues of reducing nuclear arms, agreeing on strategic defenses, and limiting nuclear testing. In addition to those issues, which concern the military aspects of Soviet-American relations, I would also like to address other essential steps toward peace: the resolution of political conflicts, the strengthening of the international economy, and the protection of human rights.

Before I do this, however, let me, in the tradition of candor established at Geneva, tell you that a pall has been cast over our relations with the Soviet Union. I refer here to a particularly disturbing example of Soviet transgressions against human rights.

Recently, after the arrest of a Soviet national and U.N. employee accused of espionage in the United States, an American correspondent in Moscow was made the subject of fabricated accusations and trumped-up charges. He was arrested and jailed in a callous disregard of due process and numerous human rights conventions. In effect, he was taken as a hostage -- even threatened with the death penalty.

Both individuals have now been remanded to their respective Ambassadors. But this is only an interim step agreed to by the United States for humanitarian reasons. It does not change the facts of the case: Gennadi Zakharov is an accused spy who should stand trial; Nicholas Daniloff is an innocent hostage who should be released. The Soviet Union bears the responsibility for the consequences of its action. Misusing the United Nations for purposes of espionage does a grave disservice to this organization. And the world expects better. It expects contributions to the cause of peace that only the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union can make.

It is for this reason that I wrote last summer to Mr. Gorbachev with new arms control proposals. Before discussing the proposals, let us be clear about which weapons are the most dangerous and threatening to peace. The threat does not come from defensive systems, which are a shield against attack, but from offensive weapons -- ballistic missiles that hurtle through space and can wreak mass destruction on the surface of the Earth, especially the Soviet Union's heavy, accurate ICBM's, with multiple warheads, which have no counterparts in size or number in any other country.

And that is why the United States has long urged radical, equitable, verifiable reductions in these offensive systems. Note that I said "reduction," for this is the real purpose of arms control -- not just to codify the levels of today's arsenals, not just to channel their further expansion, but to reduce them in ways that will reduce the danger of war. Indeed, the United States believes the prospect of a future without such weapons of mass destruction must be the ultimate goal of arms control.

I am pleased to say that the Soviet Union haw now embraced our idea of radical reductions in offensive systems. At the Geneva summit last November, we agreed to intensify work in this area. Since then the Soviets have made detailed proposals which, while not acceptable to us, appear to represent a

serious effort. So, we continue to seek a 50-percent reduction of American and Soviet arsenals, with the central focus on the reduction of ballistic missile warheads. If the Soviet Union wants only a lesser reduction, however, we are prepared to consider it -- but as an interim measure. In other provisions as well, we have sought to take account of Soviet concerns. So, there has been movement.

Similarly, in the area of intermediaterange nuclear forces, the United States seeks the total elimination of such missiles on a global basis. Again, if the Soviet Union insists on pursuing such a goal in stages, we are prepared to conclude an interim agreement without delay.

All this gives me hope. I can tell you the exchanges between our two sides this summer could well have marked the beginning of a serious, productive negotiation on arms reduction. The ice of the negotiating stalemate could break if both sides intensify their effort in the new round of Geneva talks and if we keep the promises we made to each other last November.

For too long a time, however, the Soviet response has been to downplay the need for offensive reductions. When the United States began work on technology to make offensive nuclear weapons someday obsolete, the Soviets tried to make that the main issue -- as if the main danger to strategic stability was a defense against missiles that is still on the drawing boards, rather than the menacing ballistic missiles themselves that already exist in excessive numbers.

Still, the United States recognizes that both the offensive and defensive sides of the strategic equation must be addressed. And we have gone far to meet Soviet concerns expressed about the potential offensive use of strategic defensive systems. I have offered firm and concrete assurances that our SDI could never be used to deploy weapons in space that can cause mass destruction on Earth. I have pointed out that the radical reduction we seek now in offensive arsenals would be additional insurance that SDI cannot be used to support a first-strike strategy. And our preference from the beginning has been to move forward cooperatively with the Soviets on strategic defenses so that neither side will feel threatened and both can benefit from the strategic revolution that SDI represents.

The United States continues to respect the antiballistic missile treaty -- in spite of clear evidence the Soviets are violating it. We have told the Soviets that if we can both agree on radical reductions in strategic offensive weapons, we are prepared right now to sign an agreement with them on research, development, testing, and deployment of strategic defenses based on the following:

First, both sides would agree to confine themselves through 1991 to research, development, and testing -- which is permitted by ther ABM treaty -- to determine whether advanced systems of strategic defense are technically feasible.

Second, a new treaty signed now would provide that if, after 1991, either side should decide to deploy such a system, that side would be obliged to offer a plan for sharing the benefits of strategic defense and for eliminating offensive ballistic missiles. And this plan would be negotiated over a 2-year period.

Third, if the two sides can't agree after 2 years of negotiation, either side would be free to deploy an advanced strategic defensive system after giving 6 months notice to the other.

As the United States has repeatedly made clear, we are moving toward a future of greater reliance upon strategic defense. The United States remains prepared to talk about how -- under what ground rules and process -- we and the Soviet Union can do this cooperatively. Such strategic defenses, coupled with radical reductions in offensive forces, would represent a safer balance and would give future statesmen the opportunity to move beyond it -- to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

In addition to our proposals on offensive reductions and strategic defense, we have suggested new steps in another area: nuclear testing. Just as eliminating all nuclear weapons is our long-term goal, so, too, is a total ban on nuclear testing. But both must be approached with practical steps, for the reality is that for now we still must rely on these weapons for the deterrence of war. Thus, the safety and reliability of our deterrent are themselves critical to peace.

The United States is proud of its record of nuclear safety and intends to maintain it. Nevertheless, we are, as I said, ready now to take two important steps toward limiting nuclear testing. First, we are ready to move forward on ratification of the threshold test ban treaty and the treaty on peaceful nuclear explosions, once agreement is reached on improved verification procedures. We have proposed new ideas to make this possible. Second, upon ratification of those treaties, and in association with a program to reduce and ultimately eliminate all nuclear weapons, we're prepared to discuss ways to implement a step-by-step, parallel program of limiting and ultimately ending nuclear testing.

These are steps we could take in the near future to show the world that we are moving forward. And I, therefore, call upon the Soviet Union to join us in practical, attainable progress in limiting nuclear testing.

Just a few days ago, I received a reply from General Secretary Gorbachev to my letter of July 25th. And for the moment, let me say simply that we are giving it serious and careful consideration.

As we move toward our goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, it is vital that we also address important imbalances of other kinds of weapons. And this is why the United States has proposed a comprehensive global ban on all chemical weapons and why we and our allies have tried hard to break the stalemate in the conventional force negotiations in Vienna. And in the Stockholm Conference a major advance has been achieved -- a concrete, new set of military confidence-building measures which includes inspections.

But we must remember from the experience of the 1970's that progress in arms control cannot be divorced from regional political developments. As I said at the beginning, political tensions cause the military competition, not the other way around. But while the United States and the Soviet Union disagree over the root causes of political tension, we do agree that regional conflicts could escalate into global confrontation.

Last year from this rostrum, I presented a formula for peace which would apply to five critical regional conflicts that are potential flashpoints for wider conflict. I pointed out how difficult it is for the United States to accept Soviet assurances of peaceful intent when 126,000 Soviet troops prosecute a vicious war against the Afghan people; when 140,000 Soviet-backed Viet-namese soldiers wage war on the people of Cambodia; when 1,700 Soviet advisers and 2,500 Cuban combat troops are involved in military planning and operations in Ethiopia; when 1,300 Soviet military advisers and 36,000 Cuban troops direct and participate in combat operations to prop up an unpopular, repressive regime in Angola; when hundreds of millions of dollars in Soviet arms and Soviet-bloc advisers help a dictatorial regime in Nicaragua try to subvert and betray a popular revolution.

The danger inherent in these conflicts must be recognized. Marxist-Leninist regimes tend to wage war as readily against their neighbors as they routinely do against their own people. In fact, the internal and external wars often become indistinguishable.

In Afghanistan, for example, the puppet regime has announced its intention to relocate tens of thousands of people from border areas. Can anyone doubt this will be done in classic Communist style -- by force? Many will die to make it easier for the Soviets and their satellite troops to intimidate Pakistan. It is just such transgressions that make the risk of confrontation with democratic nations so acute.

So, once again, I propose a three-point peace process for the resolution of regional conflicts: First, talks between the warring parties themselves, without which an end to violence and national reconciliation are impossible; second, discussions between the United States and Soviet Union -- not to impose solutions, but to support peace talks and eventually eliminate the supply of arms and the proxy troops from abroad; and third, if the talks are successful, joint efforts to welcome each country back into the world economy and the community of nations that respect human rights.

In addition to regional disputes, the grave threat of terrorism also jeoppardizes the hopes for peace. No cause, no grievance, can justify it. Terrorism is heinous and intolerable. It is the crime of cowards -- cowards who prey on the innocent, the defenseless, and the helpless.

With its allies and other nations, the United States has taken steps to counter terrorism directly, particularly state-sponsored terrorism. Last April the United States demonstrated that it will defend its interests and act against terrorist aggression. And let me assure all of you today, especially let me assure any potential sponsors of terrorism, that the American people are of one mind on this issue. Like other civilized peoples of the world, we have reached our limit. Attacks against our citizens or our interests will not go unanswered. We will also do all in our power to help other law-abiding nations threatened by terrorist attacks. To that end, the United States believes that the understandings reached by the seven industrial democracies at the Tokyo summit last May made a good start toward international accord in the war on terrorism. We recommend to the General Assembly consideration of the Tokyo resolutions.

Moving to the economic realm -- how ironic it is that some continue to espouse such ideas as a "new international economic order" based on state

control when the world is learning, as never before, that the freedom of the individual, not the power of the state, is the key to economic dynamism and growth. Nations have turned away from centralized management and government controls and toward the incentives and rewards of the free market. They have invited their citizens to develop their talents and abilities to the fullest and, in the process, to provide jobs, to create wealth, to build social stability and foster faith in the future for all. The economic summits of the industrial democracies have paid tribute to these principles, as has the historic U.N. Special Session on Africa in May. We applaud the African nations' call for reform, leading to greater reliance on their private sectors for economic growth. We believe that overcoming hunger and economic stagnation requires policies that encourage Africans own productivity and initiatives; such a policy framework will make it easier for the rest of the world, including the United States, to help. The laws of economic incentives do not discriminate between developed and developing countries. They apply to all equally.

Much of the recent recovery in the world economy can be directly attributed to this growth of economic freedom. And it is this trend that offers such hope for the future. And yet this new hope faces a grave threat: the menace of trade barriers. History shows the imposition of such barriers invites retaliation, which in turn sparks the very sort of trade wars that plunged the world in the 1930's deeper into depression and economic misery. Truly, protectionism is destructionism.

That is why the United States seeks the assistance of all countries represented here in the General Assembly in protecting the practice of free and fair trade. We applaud the success of the meeting of GATT trade ministers last week in Uruguay, where agreement was reached to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations covering a wide range of topics important to economic growth. With over 90 other countries of the GATT, the United States is working to maintain the free flow of international trade.

In addition to resistance to protectionism, the United States is also seeking to stimulate world economic growth in other ways. Our Treasury bill interest rate is now just over 5 percent, the lowest it has been in 9 years -- which provides enormous relief to debtor countries. America's new tas structure will open the way for greater prosperity at home, which will contribute to greater prosperity abroad. And finally, the United States is working with other countries to minimize currency swings, to promote stability in the monetary market, to establish predictability as a basis for prosperity.

But the United States believes the greatest contribution we can make to world prosperity is the continued advocacy of the magic of the marketplace -- the truth, the simple and proven truth, that economic development is an outgrowth of economic freedom just as economic freedom is the inseparable twin of political freedom and democratic government.

And it is here that we come to our final category: human rights, the indispensable element for peace, freedom, and prosperity. I note that Mr. Gorbachev has used in recent speeches the same categories I have used here today: the military, the political, and the economic; except that he titled his fourth category: humanitarian. Well, the difference is revealing. The United States believes that respect for the individual, for the dignity of the human person -- those rights outlined in the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- does not belong in the realm of charity or humanitarian causes.

Respect for human rights is not social work; it is not merely an act of compassion. It is the first obligation of government and the source of its legitimacy.

It also is the foundation stone in any structure of world peace. All through history, it has been the dictatorships and the tyrannies that have surrendered first to the cult of militarism and the pursuit of war. Countries based on the consent of the governed, countries that recognize the unalienable rights of the individual, do not make war on each other. Peace is more than just an absence of war. True peace is justice, true peace is freedom, and true peace dictates the recognition of human rights.

Commitments were made more than 10 years ago in Helsinki concerning these rights and their recognition. We need only look to the East today to see how sadly unfulfilled those commitments are. The persecution of scientists, religious leaders, peace activists, political dissenters, and other prisoners of conscience continues unabated behind the Iron Curtain. You know, one section of the Helsinki accords even speaks to "improvement of working conditions of journalists." So, it is clear that progress in the human rights area must keep pace with progress in other areas. A failure on this score will hinder further movement in East-West relations. These, then, are the areas of concern and of opportunity that the United States sees in the quest for peace and freedom, the twin objectives of the U.N. Charter.

Last year I pointed out in my address to the General Assembly the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. But I also called for a fresh start in relations between our two nations, a fresh start that could benefit our own people and the people of every nation. Since that time, the United States has taken action and put forth new proposals that could lead our two countries and the entire world in a direction we all have long sought to go. Now more than ever, it is the responsibility of the Soviet Union to take action and demonstrate that they, too, are continuing the dialog for peace.

As I've said, I believe that we can be hopeful about the world and the prospects for freedom. We only need look around us to see the new technologies that may someday spare future generations the nightmare of nuclear terror, of the growing ranks of democratic activists and freedom fighters, or the increasing movement toward free market economies, or the extent of world-wide concern about the rights of the individual in the face of brute, state power.

In the past, when I have noted such trends -- when I've called for a forward strategy for freedom and predicated the ultimate triumph of democratic rule over totalitarianism -- some have accused me of telling people what they want to hear, of urging them not to engage the day but to escape it. Yet, to hope is to believe in humanity and in its future. Hope remains the highest reality, the age-old power. Hope is at the root of all the great ideas and causes that have bettered the lot of humankind across the centuries.

History teaches us to hope, for it teaches us about man and about the irrepressible human spirit. A Nobel laureate in literature, a great figure of the American South, William Faulkner, once said that the last sound heard on Earth would be that of the two remaining humans arguing over where to go in the spaceship they had built. In his speech to the Nobel committee in 1950, Faulkner spoke of the nuclear age, of the general and universal physical fear

it had engendered, a fear of destruction that had become almost unbearable. But he said, "I decline to accept the end of man. I believe that man will not merely endure, he will prevail. He is immortal . . . because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

Faulkner spoke of "the old verities and truths of the heart" -- of the courage, honor, pride, compassion, pity, sacrifice, and, yes, that hope which is the glory of our past. And all of these things we find today in our present; we must use them to build our future. And it's why today we can lift up our spirits and our hearts. It is why we resolve that with God's help the cause of humanity will not merely endure but prevail; that someday all the world -- every nation, every people, every person -- will know the blessings of peace and see the light of freedom.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations in New York. He was introduced by Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury, President of the 41st Session of the General Assembly.

Upon arrival at the United Nations, the President was greeted by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra. Following the President's address, he returned to Washington, DC.

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Los Angeles, California

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Town Hall of California.

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Before we begin, I hope you'll forgive me for saying that it's good to be back in California. Actually, I didn't realize how completely I made the transition from Washington until I got on a helicopter yesterday and told the pilot, Giddyup! [Laughter] But here I am -- delighted to be here. And I'm grateful for this opportunity to address the Town Hall of California meeting and for the chance to be heard at the Chautauqua conference in New York, n1 where citizens of the United States and the Soviet Union are meeting together. East coast or west coast, our purpose is the same: to promote freer and more open communications between the peoples of all nations and to advance together the cause of peace and world freedom.

n1 The President's remarks were broadcast via satellite to a conference on U.S.-Soviet relations that was being held in Chautauqua, NY.

In February of 1945, as he first began meeting with Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, much the same purpose preoccupied Winston Churchill. He felt a great sense of urgency and said to his daughter: "I do not suppose that at any moment in history has the agony of the world been so great or widespread. Tonight the Sun goes down on more suffering than ever before in the world."

It was not just the misery of World War II that appalled him. Churchill said he also harbored a great fear that "new struggles may arise out of those that we are successfully ending." About the great powers meeting in Yalta, he added: "If we quarrel, our children are undone."

But we know now the great powers did agree at Yalta. Difficult issues were raised and resolved; agreements were reached. In a narrow sense, the summit conference was successful; the meeting produced tangible diplomatic results. And among these was an endorsement of the rights upheld in the Atlantic Charter, rights that would "afford assurance that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

And so, too, the right of self-determination of Eastern European nations like Poland were -- at least on paper -- guaranteed. But in a matter of months, Churchill's worst fears were realized: The Yalta guarantees of freedom and human rights in Eastern Europe became undone. And as democracy died in Poland, the era of Allied cooperation ended. What followed is known to us now as the postwar era, a time of tense exchanges and often dangerous confrontations between East and West, our "long twilight struggle," as President Kennedy called it.

And so, 40 years ago, far from ending the world strife and human suffering that so haunted Churchill, the great powers embarked on an era of Cold War

conflict. Perceiving a grave threat to our own security and the freedom of our allies in Western Europe, the people of the United States put in place the major elements of America's bipartisan foreign policy for the next four decades. In 1947 the Marshall plan began the reconstruction of Europe. In 1947 the Truman doctrine supported the independence of Greece and Turkey and established the principle of assistance to nations struggling for democracy and against the imposition of totalitarian rule.

In the 40 years since -- for 8 American administrations and 20 Congresses -- the basis of America's foreign policy principles held firm: opposition to totalitarianism, the advocacy of democratic reform and human rights, and the promotion of worldwide prosperity and freedom, all on the foundation of a strong defense and resolute commitment to allies and friends. When this administration took office, our own sense of these longstanding goals was keen, but we were also aware that much needed to be done to restore their vigor and vibrancy. The structure and purpose of American foreigh policy had decayed in the 1970's.

But as we worked to restore the traditionally upright and forceful posture of the United States in the world and reinvigorate a foreign policy that had maintained allied security for 40 years, we also sought to break out of the stalemate of the Cold War, to push forward with new initiatives that might help the world evolve beyond the postwar era. We sought more than a shaky world peace atop the volcano of potential nuclear destruction; we sought something beyond accepted spheres of influence and tense standoffs between the totalitarian and the democratic worlds. In short, we sought ways to dispel rather than to live with the two great darkening clouds of the postwar era: the danger of nuclear holocaust and the expansion of totalitarian rule.

In dealing with the nuclear threat, the United States and it would no longer pursue merely arms control -- the management, limitation, or controlled growth of existing arsenals. The United States, together with our NATO allies, would seek instead deep verifiable reductions in these arsenals -- arms reduction, not just arms control. We sought to do it by moving beyond the status quo, a mere modus vivendi, in the arms race.

In addition to opening negotiations to reduce arms in several categories, we did something even more revolutionary in order to end nuclear fear. We launched a new program of research into defensive means of preventing ballistic missile attack. And by doing so, we attempted to maintain deterrence while seeking to move away from the concept of mutual assured destruction -- to render it obsolete, to take the advantage our of building more and more offensive missiles and more and more warheads, at last to remove from the world the specter of military powers holding each other hostage to nuclear retaliation. In short, we sought to establish the feasibility of a defensive shield that would render the use of ballistic missiles fruitless.

This was the meaning of our decision to move forward with SDI, and I believe it was the right decision at the right time. But while we sought arms reduction and defensive deterrence, we never lost sight of the fact that nations do not disagree because they are armed; they are armed because they disagree on very important matters of human life and liberty. The fundamental differences between totalitarian and democratic rule remained. We could not gloss over them, nor could we be content anymore with accepted spheres of influence, a world only half free. And that is why we sought to advance the cause of personal freedom wherever opportunities existed to do so. Sometimes this

meant support for liberalization; sometimes, support for liberation.

In regional conflicts, for example, we elaborated a new policy of helping democratic insurgents in their battle to bring self-determination and human rights to their own countries. This doctrine was first spelled out in our decision to assist the people of Afghanistan in their fight against Soviet invasion and occupation. It was also part of our decision to assist the people of Nicaragua in their battle to restore the integrity of their 1979 revolution and make that government keep its promise of democratic rule. Our current efforts in Angola in support of freedom fighters constitute the most recent extension of this policy.

In the area of human rights, our challenges to the Soviet Union became direct. We observed with Andrei Sakharov that true peace in the world could come only when governments observed and recognized the human rights of their citizens. Similarly, in our bilateral relationships -- cultural and political exchanges, for example -- we sought from the Soviets a new willingness to open this process up to larger and more diverse groups.

And finally, undergirding all of this was our commitment to public candor about the nature of totalitarian rule and about the ultimate objective of United States foreign policy: peace, yes; but world freedom, as well. We refused to believe that it was somehow an act of belligerence to proclaim publicly the crucial moral distinctions between democracy and totalitarianism.

And in my address to the British Parliament in 1982, when I noted the peaceful extension of human liberty was the ultimate goal of American foreign policy, I also pointed out that history's momentum resided instead with the cause of democracy and world freedom. And I offered hope that the increasing failure of statist economies would lead to demands for political change. I asked, in short, for a "crusade for freedom" that would spread democracy and promote democratic institutions throughout the world.

As I've said before, we believe that such public affirmations were not only necessary for the protection and extension of freedom but, far from adding to world tensions, crucial to reducing them and helping the pursuit of peace. Public candor and realism about and with the Soviets have helped the peace process. They were a signal to our Soviet counterparts that any compulsion to exploit Western illusions must be resisted, because such illusions no longer exist.

Our foreign policy, then, has been an attempt both to reassert the traditional elements of America's postwar strategy while at the same time moving beyond the doctrines of mutual assured destruction or containment. Our goal has been to break the deadlock of the past, to seek a forward strategy -- a forward strategy for world peace, a forward strategy for world freedom. We have not forsaken deterrence or containment, but working with our allies, we've sought something even beyond these doctrines. We have sought the elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons and an end to the threat of totalitarianism.

Today we see this strategy -- a strategy of hope -- at work. We're moving toward reductions in nuclear arms. SDI is now underway. Our offer to share the benefits of strategic defense remains open to all, including the Soviet Union. In regional conflicts like Afghanistan and Central America, the Soviet Union and its clients have, thus far, shown all too little real willingness to move

toward peace with real self-determination for the people. But the forces of freedom grow steadily in strength, and they put ever greater pressure on the forces of totalitarianism. The paths to peace with freedom are open if Moscow decides to stop imposing its self-styled revolutions.

In another area, we found a parallel interest with the Soviet Union in a political end to the Iran-Iraq war. We hope we can build together on this despite our differences. And finally, in the Soviet Union itself, we see movement toward more openness, possibly even progress towards respect for human rights and economic reform.

And all of these developments weigh on our minds. We ponder their meaning; we ask ourselves: Are we entering a truly new phase in East-West Relations? Is far-reaching, enduring change in the postwar stand-off now possible? Do we have at last the chance envisioned by Churchill to end the agony of the 20th century?

Surely, these are our hopes, but let honesty compel us to acknowledge we have fears and deep concerns, as well. And while we acknowledge the interesting changes in the Soviet Union, we know, too, that any Western standard for democracy is still a very distant one for the Soviets.

We know what real democracy constitutes; we understand its implications. It means the rule of law for the leaders as well as the people. It involves limitations on the power of the state over the people. It means orderly debate and meaningful votes. It means liberation of the captive people from the thralls of a ruling elite that presumes to know the people's good better than the people.

So, while there's hope today, there's also uncertainty. And that's why we know we must deal with the Soviet Union as it has been and as it is, and not as we would hope it to be.

And yet we cannot rest with this. The opportunity before us is too great to let pass by. And that's why in the past year we've challenged the Soviets with our own expectations -- ways of showing us and the world their seriousness about fundamental improvements. It's why we have set down guideposts and pointers towards a better relationship with the Soviet Union.

For 2 years we've been asking the Soviets to join in discussing a cooperative approach toward a transition to defensive deterrence that threatens no one. In April of 1987, we asked that a date be set this year for rapid and complete withdrawal from Afghanistan; in June, that the Soviets join us in alleviating the divisions of Berlin and begin with the dismantling of the Berlin wall; in July, that the Soviets move toward self-determination in East Europe and rescind the Brezhnev doctrine. Of course, these are significant democratic steps, but steps such as these are required for a fundamental improvement in relations between East and West.

Well, today, I want to propose another step that Soviet leaders could take, a realistic step that would greatly help our efforts to reduce arms. We're near an historic agreement that could eliminate a whole class of missiles. If it is signed, we shall rely not on trust but on the evidence of our own eyes that it is being implemented. As the Russians themselves say, Dovorey no provorey -- trust but verify. And that we shall do.

But effective verification requires more than unilateral technical means. Even onsite inspection is not a panacea, especially as we address the ambitious agenda of arms reduction ahead. We need to seek compliance with existing agreements, all too often violated by the U.S.S.R. We also need to see more openness, a departure from the habits of secrecy that have so long applied to Soviet military affairs.

I say to the Soviet leadership: It's time to show some glasnost in your military affairs. First, publish a valid budget of your military expenditures, just as we do. Second, reveal to the Soviet people and the world the size and composition of the Soviet Armed Forces. Third, open for debate in your Supreme Soviet the big issues of military policy and weapons, just as we do. These steps would contribute to greter understanding between us and also to the good sense of your own decisions on the grave matter of armaments and military posture.

The immediate agenda of arms reduction is clear. We can wrap up an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear missiles promptly. There are still issues to be worked out. Our delegation in Geneva has already pointed the way to simplifying verification requirements now that we've agreed to the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles.

We have also repeatedly pointed out that the last-minute demand by the Soviets concerning West German Pershing 1-A missiles was without foundation. Well, earlier today Chancellor Kohl removed even this artificial obstacle from consideration. We are therefore hopeful that the Soviet Union will demonstrate that there is substance behind the rhetoric they have repeated so often of late: that they genuinely want a stabilizing INF agreement. And if so, they'll move to meet our proposals constructively rather than elect [erect] n2 additional barriers to agreement.

n2 White House correction.

We also need to move ahead rapidly on the goal Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed to at Reykjavik last fall, a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear forces. These would be great achievements.

Let me pause and make note of something that will advance the cause of all these negotiations. I think it is vital that Western reporters and editors keep the real record of these negotiations in mind. I note, for example, that the other day the Economist ran a kind of believe-it-or-not type item in which it reminded its readership that it had been the United States that first proposed the zero option in the INF negotiations and first proposed the 50-percent reductions in strategic weapons. I would simply say that as soon as the Soviets realize that attempts to manipulate the media of [on] these negotiations will not work, the better the chances are of treaty documents eventually getting signed.

So, too, as most of you know, we have pursued our four-part agenda with the Soviets of human rights, arms reductions, resolution of regional conflicts, and bilateral issues. All parts must advance if the relationship as a whole is to advance. Let me stress the serious concern about Soviet actions in one of these areas: regional conflicts. The fact remains that in Afghanistan Soviet occupation forces are still waging a war of indiscriminate bombing and civilian massacre against a Moslem people whose only crime is to love their country and

their faith. In Central America, Soviet-bloc arms deliveries have been speeding up during the past year, increasing by more than 100 percent.

So, while talking about reforms at home, the Soviet Union has stepped up its efforts to impose a failed system on others. I stress that speaking up about such actions is a matter of conscience to the West and that Soviet actions in these areas are being viewed with the utmost concern. And I cannot overemphasize this point.

But let me again note that the progress we've seen in East-West relations flows from the new strength and resolution that we have brought to American foreign policy and from the boldness of our initiatives for peace. We are also seeing a Soviet leadership that appears more willing to address the problems that have divided East and West so long and to seek agreements based on mutual benefit.

Perhaps the final measure of this new resolve can be found in the growth of democracy throughout the world. Only a decade ago, democracy was under attack throughout Latin America. Today more than 90 percent of Latin Americans live in nations that are now democratic or headed decisively in that direction. A recent U.N. General Assembly session on Africa called for more personal freedom and a reduction of government power in order to spur economic progress. We have also seen dramatic democratic gains in the past few years in nations like the Philippines and South Korea. Even places like China have shown an openness toward economic reform.

And above all, the old solutions of the 20th century for the world's woes -- solutions calling for more and more state power concentrated in the hands of smaller and smaller elites -- have come under fire everywhere, especially among the intellectuals. The new idea of a nexus between economic and political freedom as the principal vehicle of social progress is catching on.

In looking back over these 6 1/2 years, then, I cannot help but reflect on the most dramatic change to my own eyes: the exciting new prospects for the democratic cause. A feeling of energy and hope prevails. Statism has lost the intellectuals, and everywhere one turns, nations and people are seeking the fulfillment of their age-old aspirations for self-government and self-determination.

Perhaps, then, we may finally progress beyond the postwar standoff and fulfill the promises made at Yalta but never acted upon. Perhaps it's not too much to ask for initial steps toward democratic rule and free elections. And I hope to address this matter more fully before the United Nations General Assembly.

Yes, we may, then, live at the moment Churchill once anticipated: a moment when the world would have a chance to redeem the opportunity it missed four decades ago -- a chance for the "broad sunlit uplands" of freedom, a chance to end the terrible agony of the 20th century and the twin threats of nuclear war and totalitarian ideology, a chance, above all, to see humanity live and prosper under that form of government that Churchill called the worst form of government except, as he said, for all the others: democracy. This is the opportunity before us. It's one we must seize now for ourselves and future generations.

I've been greatly honored to be invited to be here today and to address you. I have been a member of Town Hall for 20 years -- started when I was just a kid. [Laughter] But I'm also aware that this is the 50th anniversary of Town Hall. So, happy birthday to Town Hall! And thank all of you, and God bless you all.

[At this point, Stender Sweeney, chairman of the Town Hall of California board of governors, presented the President with a plaque and scroll designating him honorary founder of the Town Hall American Heritage Endowment.]

Well, I am most grateful and most honored. And I thank you, Mr. Sweeney. As I told you, I've been a member of Town Hall for many years, and I know that your impartial programs set a fine example for our youth. I'm thrilled that you are involving young people in this important Town Hall tradition.

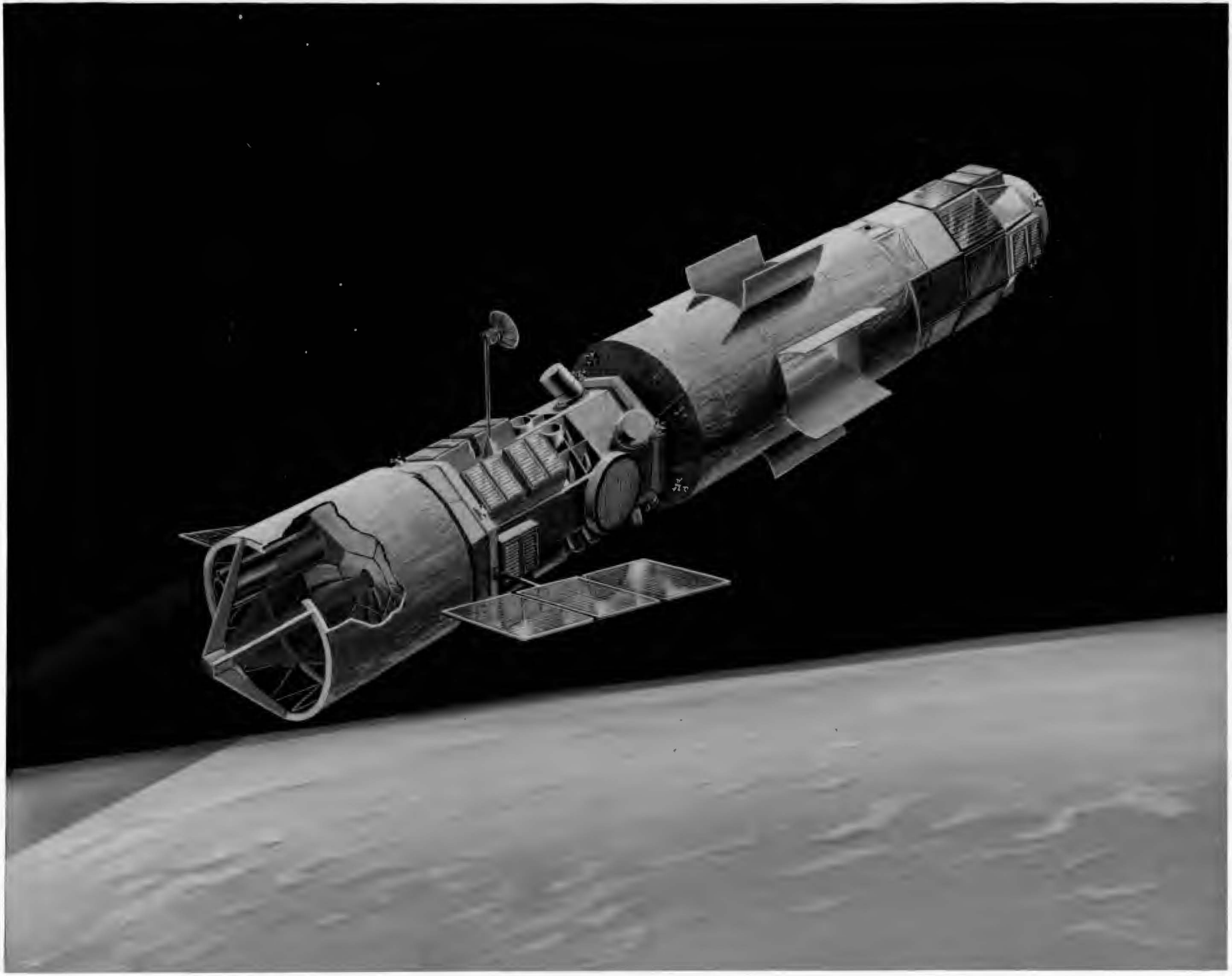
And if I could say something to you about it -- talk about being deserving -- the thing I'm the most proud of and all that goes with this job I have is when I have an opportunity to visit those young men and women of ours in military uniform. You've heard their music. But let me also tell you that we have the highest percentage of high school graduates in our military today that we have ever had in our history, and it is entirely voluntary.

You know that in World War II when General George Marshall was asked what was our secret weapon, he said the best blankety-blank kids in the world. Well, I won't use his language. [Laughter] Generals can say it, but Presidents can't. [Laughter] But I've come to the conclusion that these young people are deserving of what you've proposed, because they are the best blankety-blank kids in the world.

So, I heartily endorse what has been presented here. I'm grateful for the honors that have been done me. But they tell me that a number of you aren't members of Town Hall. [Laughter] And if you'd like to join -- [laughter] -- you can put down my name as sponsor. [Laughter]

Thank you all. They told me that I came on from the left and I can exit from the right. That's been the story of my life. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 1:02 p.m. in the Los Angeles Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel.



FACT SHEET
STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

PROGRAM	Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
CUSTOMER	Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO), Washington, D.C.
COMPANY ROLE	Martin Marietta Corporation has a major role in the Strategic Defense Initiative, with its Astronautics Group in Denver taking the lead on SDI activities. Martin Marietta Electronics & Missiles Group in Orlando, Florida, and Martin Marietta Information & Communications Systems in Denver also perform SDI-related work. To date, the Corporation has been awarded SDI contracts totaling about $300 million.
DESCRIPTION	The Strategic Defense Initiative is a research program to investigate ways that the United States and its allies can defend themselves against a ballistic missile attack. It involves a number of different weapon concepts, both space-based and ground-based; an overall architectural effort and a simulation and test capability; command, control, and communications (C^3), and battle management; surveillance programs; and new, innovative technology concepts. The kinds of weapons include kinetic energy and directed energy weapons. The SDI effort also involves an overlay of the logistical and launch support servicing concepts to support any architecture.

(more)

ZENITH STAR

Martin Marietta was selected by the SDIO in October 1987 for a Phase II study of the feasibility of a space-based laser experiment called Zenith Star. Martin Marietta Space Systems in Denver is the primary contractor for the $10.8 million three-month study, with Lockheed Missiles and Space Company and TRW as principal subcontractors.

The objective of the study is to develop a comprehensive technology road map and a ground verification and integration testing plan for existing key elements of the space-based laser program. The road map will tie together the supporting technologies needed to assimilate the Alpha laser and Large Advanced Mirror Program (LAMP) mirror, along with appropriate sensors to observe the laser.

The Alpha laser is a hydrogen fluoride chemical laser being fabricated by TRW. LAMP is a lightweight, adaptive, segmented mirror being fabricated by Itek Corporation.

SPACE-BASED INTERCEPTOR

Martin Marietta was awarded an Air Force contract in June 1987 to define concepts for an experimental space-based interceptor system, including development of critical technologies for the system. The space-based interceptor, which would maneuver in flight to collide physically with an ICBM, would need no explosive warhead, but would use the tremendous energy of the hypervelocity collision to destroy an ICBM.

Under the $23 million contract, which contains options totaling $126 million, Martin Marietta Space Systems, with Martin Marietta Electronics & Missiles Group in Orlando as a major teammate, will conduct a System Concept and Integrated Technology (SCIT) study. The study will include work on system concept definition, as well as development and validation through ground testing of all critical subsystems associated with these concepts.

(more)

ARCHITECTURE STUDY

Martin Marietta is under contract to the SDIO to define and evaluate architectures for the strategic defense system. Martin Marietta Space Systems in Denver is one of five companies awarded $5 million contracts in September 1985 for Phase II of the SDI System Architecture and Key Tradeoff Study. The contract entails a detailed definition study of various system architectures, and includes technological and functional requirements for the systems and methods to resolve several technical issues. Since the initial award, the contract has grown to $15.3 million and will be completed in March 1988.

X-RAY LASER PROGRAM

Martin Marietta has an Army contract to develop acquisition, tracking, and pointing designs as well as designs for an integrated weapon platform for an X-ray laser system. The $5.7 million contract, which includes a $14.4 million option, was awarded by the U.S. Army Strategic Defense Command in Huntsville, Alabama, in May 1987. The X-Ray Laser program is an element of the SDIO's Nuclear Directed Energy Weapon program.

Under the contract, Martin Marietta Space Systems is developing technologies for the system, which could be used to intercept ballistic missiles in their boost phase, and will test critical subsystems. The system concept will be evaluated as part of the SDI program.

HYPERVELOCITY PROJECTILE WEAPON

Martin Marietta has an Army contract to develop acquisition, tracking, and pointing designs for a hypervelocity projectile weapon, which is being evaluated as part of the SDI program. The $5.1 million contract was awarded by the U.S. Army Strategic Defense Command in June 1987, and includes a $6.3 million option. It also is an element of SDIO's Nuclear Directed Energy Weapon program.

The company will develop technologies and test critical subsystems to enable the weapon to acquire, track, and point at a target. The weapon will be designed to accelerate projectiles to destroy a target by the force of impact. An alternative version of the weapon will be designed to discriminate between reentry vehicles and decoys.

(more)

NATIONAL TEST BED

Martin Marietta Information & Communications Systems (I&CS) in Denver was one of two companies awarded parallel $2.7 million study contracts in July 1986 for Phase II of the SDI National Test Bed program. The National Test Bed will be used to simulate, evaluate, and test SDI concepts. The study was aimed at determining the design specifications and develop initial operational software for the NTB.

I&CS submitted a proposal for the next phase of NTB development in September 1987, and a contract award is expected in December 1987.

ACQUISITION, TRACKING AND POINTING TECHNOLOGY

Martin Marietta has a number of technology contracts that support the SDI space weapons area, including rapid retargeting/precision pointing (R2P2), a ground simulator to evaluate their performance; Space Active Vibration Isolation (SAVI), a program to build a precision pointer/isolator for controlling large mirrors in space; and passive and active control of space structures (PACOSS), a development program to investigate and test the effects of modern composite materials, passive damping techniques, and active control techniques on the behavior of large space structures.

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November 1987

October 5, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR CORRESPONDENTS

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) Organization today announced the selection of contractors for a Phase II study of the feasability of a space-based laser experiment.

Martin Marietta Space Systems —, Denver, Colo., primary contractor, together with its principal subcontractors, Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, Sunnyvale, Calif., and TRW, Redondo Beach, Calif., have been awarded a letter contract not to exceed $10.8 million (SDIO84-87-C-0043). SDIO expects a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract for the three-month study to be definitized by October 22, 1987.

The objective of this study is to develop a comprehensive technology roadmap and a ground verification and integration testing plan for existing key elements of the space-based laser program. The study and the resulting plans will be entirely compliant with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. The roadmap will tie together the supporting technologies needed to assimilate the Alpha Laser and Large Advanced Mirror Program (LAMP) mirror, along with appropriate sensors to observe the laser. The roadmap will structure critical verification tests of the supporting technologies, and schedule two major integrated tests, one for Alpha and one for LAMP. The study will also assess the feasibility of combining these two test articles in a flight experiment. The study will identify the costs and schedules for these potential tests, as well as define options for a flight experiment option which can be conducted within the provisions of the ABM Treaty.

Conducting several laser and laser related experiments in space will be essential for resolving many technical issues relating to the operation of lasers, optic subsystems, and associated sensors in zero gravity and space vacuum. The research conducted by Martin Marietta and its subcontractors lays important groundwork for future decisions on the efficient conduct of potential space experiments. Much of the data from these experiments will be applicable to ground-based, as well as space-based concepts.

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Questions and Answers
Space Laser Feasibility Study
2 October 1987

Version 6
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Q1: What is the Space Laser Feasibility Study?

A1: The Space Laser Feasibility Study is an exercise in the design of a series of ground tests which could support a space experiment. The proposed test would involve the Alpha laser and the 4 meter LAMP Mirror, along with appropriate scientific sensors to observe the operation of the laser. The sensors will also collect data on the spectral characteristics of the laser beam and of simulated boosters and post-boost vehicles in space.

Q2: Does this mean SDI will actually conduct such a test?

A2: No. The objective of the study is to determine the benefits of ground tests and the practicality of a space test, identify the costs in terms of dollars and schedule, and to weight these factors against the potential scientific benefits. The outcome of this study may be used in such a decision process, but the study itself does not imply that such a decision has or will be made.

Q3: Why are such an experiments necessary?

A3: SDI is attempting to perform as much research as possible in the laboratory. However, many answers to technical questions relating to the operation of a laser in a zero gravity vacuum and the associated scientific sensor data can only be obtained in an actual space experiment. The need for sensor data was specifically identified in the Defense Science Board Task Force subgroup Strategic Air Defense -Strategic Defense Milestone (SDM) Panel.

Q4: Isn't this contract a violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty?

A4: The space laser feasibility study, as the name implies, is only a study and therefore is clearly "research" which is permitted by the ABM Treaty. One of the key requirements of the feasibility study is to design a treaty compliant experiment.

Q5: Would a space laser experiment require the broad interpretation of the Treaty?

A5: No. The feasibility study will design a space laser experiment that complies with the more restrictive interpretation. However, under the broad interpretation, a more realistic test would be possible.

Q6: Why does the feasibility study cost so much for such a short study?

A6: The study has a number of complex products, including the complete design of two critical ground integration tests. Another output of the study is a system level design for the experiment and a resolution of technology limitations. Such a task requires a broad base of engineers and scientists in areas of very advanced technologies. The requirement to resolve these technical issues and come up with a detailed spacecraft design, components lists and testing milestones is formidable.

Q7: What was phase I of the study?

A7: Phase I was a five-month effort that began in January 1987 and produced a conceptual design for the space experiment as well as preliminary coat and schedule estimates. The contractors for Phase I were Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, Martin Marietta Denver Aerospace, and Rockwell International.

Q8: Can you provide more details on the Alpha laser?

A8: The Alpha device is a hydrogen fluoride chemical laser being fabricated by TRW. The objective of the program is to resolve, in a series of ground experiments, key technology issues for using space-based lasers for strategic defense. Testing of the Alpha laser concludes in early FY 1988.

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Q9: Can you provide more details on the LAMP mirror?

A9: LAMP is an acronym for the Large Advanced Mirror Program. LAMP is a lightweight, adaptive, segmented mirror being fabricated by Itek Corporation. The mirror is four meters in diameter. The Lamp Program is resolving key technology issues for using large optics for strategic defense applications. Testing of the Lamp mirror concludes in early FY 1988. Itek Corporation will be a subcontractor to Lockheed as part of the Space Laser Feasibility Study.

Q10: What are spectral characteristics ?

A10: In the context of the Space Laser Feasibility Study, spectral characteristics refer to the distribution in wavelength of the electromagnetic energy radiated by booster plumes and other space objects which will be observed during these research activities.

Q11: What will Phase III be; and follow-on phases?

A11: If a decision is made to proceed to Phase III, it would be the final phase and would consist of the detailed design, fabrication, testing, delivery and orbital operations of the two ground test articles and the potential integration of these devices into a fully integrated space experiment. Since Phase III would include the conduct of the experiment itself, it would conclude the program.

Q12: When do you anticipate the experiment will take place?

A12: If a decision is made to proceed to Phase III, we expect the experiment would be conducted in the early '90's.