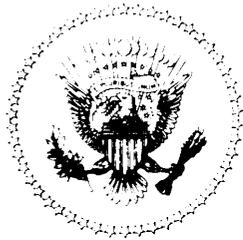


# Excerpts From Statements on BMD by Reagan Administration Officials

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The conclusion of President Reagan's March 23, 1983, speech on Defense Spending and Defensive Technology.

## Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents



Now, **thus** far tonight I've shared with you my thoughts on the problems of national security we must face together. My predecessors in the Oval office have appeared before you on other occasions to describe the threat posed by Soviet power and have proposed steps to address that threat. But since the advent of nuclear weapons, those steps have been increasingly directed toward deterrence of aggression through the promise of retaliation.

This approach to stability through offensive threat has worked. We and our allies have succeeded in preventing nuclear war for more than three decades. In recent months, however, my advisers, including in particular the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have underscored the necessity to break out of a future that relies solely on offensive retaliation for our security.

Over the course of these discussions, I've become more and more deeply convinced that the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations and

human beings by threatening their existence. Feeling this way, I believe we must thoroughly examine every opportunity for reducing tensions and for introducing greater stability into the strategic calculus on both sides.

one of the most important contributions we can make is, of course, to lower the level of all arms, and particularly nuclear arms. We're engaged right now in several negotiations with the Soviet Union to bring about a mutual reduction of weapons. I will report to you a week from tomorrow my thoughts on that score. But let me just say, I'm totally committed to this course.

If the Soviet Union will join with us in our effort to achieve major arms reduction, we will have succeeded in stabilizing the nuclear balance. Nevertheless, it will still be necessary to rely on the specter of retaliation, on mutual threat. And that's a sad commentary on the human condition. Wouldn't it be better to save lives than to avenge them? Are we not capable of demonstrating our peaceful intentions by applying all our abilities and our ingenuity to achieving a truly lasting stability? I think we are. Indeed, we must.

After careful consultation with my advisers, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I believe there is a way. Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive. Let us turn to the very strengths in technology that spawned our great industrial base and that have given us the quality of life we enjoy today.

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant C. S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable, technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. Yet, current technology has attained a level of sophistication where it's reasonable for us to begin this

effort. It will take years, probably decades of effort on many fronts. There will be failures and setbacks, just as there will be successes and breakthroughs. And as we proceed, we must remain constant in preserving the nuclear deterrent and maintaining a solid capability for flexible response. But isn't it worth every investment necessary' to free the world from the threat of nuclear war? We know it is.

In the meantime, we will continue to pursue real reductions in nuclear arms, negotiating from a position of strength that can be ensured only by modernizing our strategic forces. At the same time, we must take steps to reduce the risk of a conventional military conflict escalating to nuclear war by improving our non-nuclear capabilities.

America does possess—now—the technologies to attain very significant improvements in the effectiveness of our conventional, non-nuclear forces. Proceeding boldly with these new technologies, we can significantly reduce any incentive that the Soviet Union may have to threaten attack against the United States or its allies.

As we pursue our goal of defensive technologies, we recognize that our allies rely upon our strategic offensive power to deter attacks against them. Their vital interests and ours are inextricably linked. Their safety and ours are one. And no change in technology' can or will alter that reality. We must and shall continue to honor our commitments.

I clearly recognize that defensive systems have limitations and raise certain problems and ambiguities. If paired with "offensive systems, they can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that. But with these considerations firmly in mind, I call upon the scientific community

in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

Tonight, consistent with our obligations of the ABM treaty and recognizing the need for closer consultation with our allies, I'm taking an important first step. I am directing a comprehensive and intensive effort to define a long-term research and development program to begin to achieve our ultimate goal of eliminating the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles. This could pave the way for arms control measures to eliminate the weapons themselves. We seek neither military superiority nor political advantage. Our only purpose—one all people share—is to search for ways to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

My fellow Americans, tonight we're launching an effort which holds the promise of changing the course of human history. There will be risks, and results take time. But I believe we can do it. As we cross this threshold, I ask for your prayers and your support.

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.*

*Following his remarks, the President met in the White House with a number of administration officials, including members of the Cabinet, the White House staff, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former officials of past administrations to discuss the address.*

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In a speech on March 29, 1985, President Reagan said:<sup>1</sup>

... Two years ago, I challenged our scientific community to use their talents and energies to find a way that we might eventually rid ourselves of the need for nuclear weapons—starting with ICBMs. We seek to render obsolete the balance of terror—or Mutual Assured Destruction, as it's called—and replace it with a system incapable of initiating armed conflict or causing mass destruction, yet effective in preventing war. Now, this is not and

should never be misconstrued as just another method of protecting missile silos.

... The means to intercept ballistic missiles during their early-on boost phase of trajectory would enable us to fundamentally change our strategic assumptions, permitting us to shift our emphasis from offense to defense.

... We're not discussing a concept just to enhance deterrence, but rather a new kind of deterrence; not just an addition to our offensive forces, but research to determine the feasibility of a comprehensive nonnuclear defensive system—a shield that could prevent nuclear weapons from reaching their targets.

<sup>1</sup>Speech to the National Space Club, Mar, 29, 1985.

The Administration has not presented in detail its view of how it thinks the U.S./U.S.S.R. strategic relation would evolve as BMD developments proceed and efforts are made to manage the evolution. Administration spokesmen have, however, given broad descriptions of the major parts of that evolution and the reasons why they believe it to be plausible. Some of these are excerpted in this appendix. For a deeper understanding, the reader should read the sources in their entirety.<sup>2</sup>

In a statement released January 3, 1985, and published in a White House pamphlet *The President Strategic Defense Initiative*, President Reagan said:<sup>3</sup>

... The SDI research program will provide to a future President and a future Congress the technical knowledge required to support a decision on whether to develop and later deploy advanced defensive systems.

At the same time, the United States is committed to the negotiation of equal and verifiable agreements which bring real reductions in the power of the nuclear arsenals of both sides. To this end, my Administration has proposed to the Soviet Union a comprehensive set of arms control proposals. We are working tirelessly for the success of these efforts, but we can and must go further in trying to strengthen the peace.

Our research under the Strategic Defense Initiative complements our arms reduction efforts and helps to pave the way for creating a more stable and secure world. That the research we are undertaking is consistent with all of our treaty obligations, including the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

In the near term, the SDI research program also responds to the ongoing and extensive Soviet anti-ballistic missile (ABM) effort, which includes actual deployments. It provides a powerful deterrent to any Soviet decision to expand its ballistic missile defense capability beyond that permitted by the ABM Treaty. And, in the long-term, we have confidence that SDI will be a crucial means by which both the United States and the Soviet Union can safely agree to very deep reductions, and eventually, even the elimination of ballistic missiles and the nuclear weapons they carry. [emphasis added]

The White House publication which accompanied this statement elaborated on the arms control implications of the Strategic Defense Initiative as follows:<sup>4</sup>

The United States does not view defensive measures as a means of establishing military superiority. Because we have no ambitions in this regard, deployments of defensive systems would most usefully be done in the context of a cooperative, equitable, and verifiable arms control environment that regulates the offensive and defensive developments and deployments of the United States and Soviet Union. Such an environment could be particularly useful in the period of transition from a deterrent based on the threat of nuclear retaliation, through deterrence based on a balance of offensive and defensive forces, to the period when adjustments to the basis of deterrence are complete and advanced defensive systems are fully deployed. During the transition, arms control agreements could help to manage and establish guidelines for the deployment of defensive systems.

The SDI research program will complement and support U.S. efforts to seek equitable, verifiable reductions in offensive nuclear forces through arms control negotiations. Such reductions would make a useful contribution to stability, whether in today's deterrence environment or in a potential future deterrence environment in which defenses played a leading role.

A future decision to develop and deploy effective defenses against ballistic missiles could support our policy of pursuing significant reductions in ballistic missile forces. To the extent that defensive systems could reduce the effectiveness and, thus, value of ballistic missiles, they also could increase the incentives for negotiated reductions. Significant reductions in turn would serve to increase the effectiveness and deterrent potential of defensive systems.

This prediction has been explained by George A. Keyworth II, science advisor to President Reagan, in the following terms:<sup>5</sup>

Strategic defenses of the type we can reasonably project—even in their early modes—can be vital catalysts for arms control . . . In fact, early and intermediate defenses will undoubtedly be imperfect, and any nuclear weapon that makes it through to its target will be devastating. While hardened military assets can be very successfully defended by these transition systems, civilian population centers will still be hostage to a determined adversary. Critics cite this as a major failing. In fact, it is crucial to stability during those transition years, because as long as there is some leakage in those transition defense technologies, there remains a retaliatory deterrent against first strike.

... But we will once again have a common ground for negotiating real weapons reductions. After all, realistic, survivable, retaliatory arsenals do not have to be enormous, not nearly as large

<sup>2</sup>A list of statements and articles on BMD by Administration spokesmen appears in app. 1.

<sup>3</sup>*The President's Strategic Defense Initiative* (Washington, DC: The White House, January 1985), GPO:1985 O-465-450:QL 3, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup>George A. Keyworth II, "The Case For: An option for a World Disarmed," *Issues in Science and Technology*, fall 1984, pp. 42-44.

as the arsenals we now require to survive preemptive strikes (or in the Soviet case, to launch them). With the preemptive option clouded, or even removed, we would have an opportunity to negotiate major arms reductions that would still leave each side with a strong retaliatory deterrent.

At that point we would have accomplished two things, two goals that have eluded us for 20 years. We would have reduced both nations' perceptions that the other could launch a successful disarming first strike, and we would have drastically reduced the size of the arsenals.

... These options will probably become available when the strategic nuclear forces we must build today to maintain our near-term deterrence reach the limits of their operational lifetimes. We then have a new option: rather than replace them, let each side retain only token nuclear forces for their sole remaining purpose—restricted retaliation.

It is only at this point, in the presence of near-zero arsenals, that arms control begins to have any real meaning in the minds of ordinary people. Only when the prospect of final world holocaust reverts to "mere" catastrophe—that is, when the stockpiles can be measured in the dozens, rather than in the tens of thousands—can we once again depend on the sun coming up the next day.

Soviet habits, attitudes, and policies are the product of a thousand years of brutal historical experience. There is no reason to believe that the Soviet Union will suddenly become a country that we would trust to respect the legal requirements of a near-total disarmament treaty.

... Strategic defense provides the option to break this cycle. Although we cannot disinvent nuclear weapons, and although nations will continue to distrust one another, heavily defended countries could nonetheless realistically enter into treaties to reduce nuclear forces to near zero. The scale of cheating necessary to provide an arsenal capable of successfully engaging several layers of active defenses would be so large as to be impractical within the context of normal intelligence-gathering capabilities.

Strategic defense therefore provides an option for a world effectively disarmed of nuclear weapons, yet still retaining national sovereignty and security. In fact, deployment of strategic defense is the only way in which the superpowers will be able to achieve these very deep arms reductions.

In another article<sup>6</sup> he wrote:

When [the Soviets] look seriously at the loss of utility of their ICBMs as a preemptive force, they will have no choice but to admit that the age of the ICBM as the dominant weapon is passing. They, and we, will no doubt begin to replace ICBMs

with other weapons, but in so doing we will be phasing out the most feared and most destabilizing of the nuclear weapons. This is the key issue and, to my mind, the strongest reason we have to pursue the strategic defense initiative. With the ICBM tarnished and with the need to look to other options to preserve national security, both the Soviets and we will have a mutual basis to negotiate reductions in ICBM forces. If ICBMs serve only to retaliate in case the other side does attack first, then both sides can consider truly massive reductions in ICBM warheads. Ten or twenty nuclear weapons are virtually all the retaliatory deterrent that any country needs—and those are the levels of weapons that arms controls ought to be aiming for,

On February 13, 1985, the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman, told the International Institute for Strategic Studies:

[If SDI succeeds in making defenses more cost-effective than offenses], SDI can then prove a real incentive to deep reductions in offensive nuclear systems through arms control. We hope for that kind of incentive from SDI.

We must scrupulously guard against a vicious cycle of defensive efforts—even research for defense—spurring the other side onto more offensive weapons in order to saturate prospective defenses, and so on, and so on. That snowball effect would undercut stability and weaken deterrence.

That risk can be reduced and managed through the kind of overall strategic discussions Secretary Shultz launched in Geneva last month and that Ambassador Kampelman will take up further when the arms talks begin again next month. This type of exchange with the Soviet Union—an in-depth dialog about critical strategic relationships, strategic concepts, strategic stability—is indispensable to an effective SDI approach.

No one has a crystal ball in this complicated business. We need data to provide a sound basis for decisions several years off on whether or not to pursue strategic defensive systems further . . . [a] managed evolution—one involving the Soviets and the Allies intimately all along the way—could lead to a safer world. \*\*\*

Most broadly, we will be going 'back to basics' in looking at the relationship between offensive and defensive forces. We will be describing to the Soviets, in some detail and with some care, the kind of strategic concept that will guide us in the period ahead. We envision it as falling into three phases.

During the first phases, deterrence will continue to rest almost exclusively on offensive nuclear retaliatory capabilities. We believe that this can

<sup>6</sup>George A. Keyworth II, "The Case for Arms Control and the Strategic Defense Initiative," *Arms Control Today*, April 1985, p. 8.

be done at greatly reduced levels of nuclear forces and with full compliance with the ABM Treaty, and we will seek both. We hope the Soviets believe and will act likewise. This period could last ten or fifteen years, or longer or even indefinitely, depending largely on the progress and results of the on-going SD I research,

The second phase will be one of transition. During this period, and assuming successful development of some effective non-nuclear defensive systems, we would begin to move towards a strategic posture with ever-greater reliance on defense, rather than offense. A transition of indefinite duration, this period will help lay the technical and political groundwork necessary for the ultimate goal of eventually eliminating nuclear arms completely.

The last period is one with its hallmark being the complete elimination of nuclear arms. The technical knowledge of how to make these weapons and the danger of cheating would persist. These risks, unfortunately, can never be eliminated, but effective defenses would give insurance against them. The enormous and depressing nuclear threat hanging over the world could be lifted,

These three stages have to evolve gradually and, as I have said, depend critically upon a cooperative effort between the United States, in consultation with its key Allies, and the Soviet Union.

This theme was elaborated on by Ambassador Paul H. Nitze in a speech to the Philadelphia World Affairs Council on February 20, 1985. He summarized the strategic basis for the upcoming talks in Geneva as follows:

During the next ten years, the U.S. objective is a radical reduction in the power of existing and planned offensive nuclear arms, as well as the stabilization of the relationship between offensive and defensive nuclear arms, whether on earth or in space. We are even now looking forward to a period of transition to a more stable world, with greatly reduced levels of nuclear arms and an enhanced ability to deter war based upon an increasing contribution of non-nuclear defenses against offensive nuclear arms. This period of transition could lead to the eventual elimination of all nuclear arms, both offensive and defensive. A world free of nuclear arms is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union, and all other nations can agree.

He then went on to say:

It would be worthwhile to dwell on this concept in some detail. To begin with, it entails three time phases: the near term, a transition phase, and an ultimate phase.

*The Near Term:* For the immediate future—at least the next ten years—we will continue to base deterrence on the ultimate threat of nuclear retali-

ation. We have little choice; today's technology provides no alternative.

That being said, we will press for radical reductions in the number and power of strategic and intermediate-range nuclear arms. Offensive nuclear arsenals on both sides are entirely too high and potentially destructive, particularly in the more destabilizing categories such as the large MIRVed [multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicles] Soviet ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] and SS-20 forces.

At the same time, we will seek to reverse the erosion that has occurred in the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty regime—erosion that has resulted from Soviet actions over the last ten years. These include the construction of a large phased-array radar near Krasnoyarsk in central Siberia in violation of the ABM Treaty's provisions regarding the location and orientation of ballistic missile early warning radars.

For the near term, we will be pursuing the SD I research program in full compliance with the ABM Treaty, which permits such research. Likewise, we expect the Soviets will continue their investigation of the possibilities of new defensive technologies, as they have for many years,

We have offered to begin discussions in the upcoming Geneva talks with the Soviets as to how we might together make a transition to a more stable and reliable relationship based on an increasing mix of defensive systems.

*The Transition Period:* Should new defensive technologies prove feasible, we would want at some future date to begin such a transition, during which we would place greater reliance on defensive systems for our protection and that of our allies.

The criteria by which we will judge the feasibility of such technologies will be demanding. The technologies must produce defensive systems that are survivable; if not, the defenses would themselves be tempting targets for a first strike. This would decrease rather than enhance stability.

New defensive systems must also be cost effective at the margin—that is, it must be cheap enough to add additional defensive capability so that the other side has no incentive to add additional offensive capability to overcome the defense. If this criterion is not met, the defensive systems could encourage a proliferation of countermeasures and additional offensive weapons to overcome deployed defenses, instead of a redirection of effort from offense to defense.

As I said, these criteria are demanding. If the new technologies cannot meet these standards, we are not about to deploy them. In the event, we would have to continue to base deterrence on the ultimate threat of nuclear retaliation. However, we hope and have expectations that the scientific community can respond to the challenge.

We would see the transition period as a cooperative endeavor with the Soviets. Arms control would play a critical role. We would, for example, envisage continued reductions in offensive nuclear arms.

Concurrently, we would envisage the sides beginning to test, develop, and deploy survivable and cost-effective defenses at a measured pace, with particular emphasis on non-nuclear defenses. Deterrence would thus begin to rely more on a mix of offensive nuclear and defensive systems instead of on offensive nuclear arms alone.

The transition would continue for some time—perhaps for decades. As the U.S. and Soviet strategic and intermediate-range nuclear arsenals declined significantly, we would need to negotiate reductions in other types of nuclear weapons and involve, in some manner, the other nuclear powers.

The *Ultimate Period*: Given the right technical and political conditions, we would hope to be able to continue the reduction of nuclear weapons down to zero.

The global elimination of nuclear weapons would be accompanied by widespread deployments of effective non-nuclear defenses. These defenses would provide assurance that were one country to cheat—for example, by clandestinely building ICBMs or shorter-range systems, such as SS-20s—it would not be able to achieve any exploitable military advantage. To overcome the deployed defenses, cheating would have to be on such a large scale that there would be sufficient notice so that countermeasures could be taken.

Were we to reach the ultimate phase, deterrence would be based on the ability of the defense to deny success to a potential aggressor's attack. The strategic relationship could then be characterized as one of mutual assured security.

Ambassador Nitze then went on to say:

We would have to avoid a mix of offensive and defensive systems that, in a crisis, would give one side or the other incentives to strike first. That is precisely why we would seek to make the transition a cooperative endeavor with the Soviets. . .

In an interview with U.S. *News and World Report* printed March 18, 1985, National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane said:<sup>7</sup>

Now, there is a relationship between reductions of offensive systems and the integration of defensive systems because of the potentially destabilizing effect of either side achieving a first-strike capability through possession of both.

<sup>7</sup>"Prospects Are Good for Arms Pact-But Not Soon," U.S. *News and World Report*, Mar. 18, 1985, pp. 24-25.

So our policy must be to first establish agreement between ourselves and the Russians on the value of defensive systems. Once we have reached agreement on that, then we must establish a path for the integration of these defensive systems into the force structure that will be stable.

In an interview on ABC Network television broadcast June 6, 1985, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said:

We're working for a program that could be a thoroughly reliable defense that could indeed give us the confidence that all of these missiles could be destroyed. But if we get only a partial result, it still will be very worthwhile.

In a speech on March 29, 1985, George Keyworth described the goal of the SD I as follows:

Is the SDI the means to protect people or to protect weapons? Protecting people represents no change in present policy. It simply strengthens—entrenches—the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction. Protecting people, on the other hand, holds out the promise of dramatic change.<sup>8</sup>

This clear purpose of the President has been repeated time and time again by Cap Weinberger, Bud McFarlane, and myself. But the ambiguity over SDI's real goal remains. It is fostered by three main tenets: First is the assertion, embraced by those anxious to protect both past strategic doctrine and future nuclear systems, that "strengthening deterrence" must be the primary goal for SDI. Second is that protecting weapons, especially ICBM silos, is the nearer-term and most likely goal for SDI. And third is that defense of European military targets against tactical ballistic missiles is the most politically attractive near-term goal for SDI.

If these arguments continue to be used as the basis to achieve Congressional and Allied support, I believe the opportunity for strategic change—and the President's objective—is lost.

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Terminal defenses within the SDI also can play a very real part in an overall "layered" defense. But attempts to make terminal defense our first move, within the **SDI**, does not start us in the direction of the President's objective.

Following is the text of a "Fact Sheet" on the Strategic Defense Initiative, issued by The White House on June 1, 1985, and published by the Department of State:

<sup>8</sup>"The President Strategic Defense Initiative," remarks to the SDIO University Review Forum, Mar. 29, 1985.

Special  
Report  
NO. 129

# The Strategic Defense Initiative

June 1985



United States Department of State  
*Bureau of Public Affairs*  
Washington, D.C.

In his speech of March 23, 1983, President Reagan presented his vision of a future in which nations could live secure in the knowledge that their national security did not rest upon the threat of nuclear retaliation but rather on the ability to defend against potential attacks. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research program is designed to determine whether and, if so, how advanced defensive technologies could contribute to the realization of this vision.

## The Strategic Context

The U.S. SDI research program is wholly compatible with the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, is comparable to research permitted by the ABM Treaty which the Soviets have been conducting for many years, and is a prudent hedge against Soviet breakout from ABM Treaty limitations through the deployment of a territorial ballistic missile defense. These important facts deserve emphasis. However, the basic intent behind the Strategic Defense Initiative is best explained and understood in terms of the strategic environment we face for the balance of this century and into the next.

**The Challenges We Face.** Our nation and those nations allied with us face a number of challenges to our security. Each of these challenges imposes its own demands and presents its own opportunities. Preserving peace and freedom is, and always will be, our fundamental goal. The essential purpose of our military forces, and our nuclear

forces in particular, is to deter aggression and coercion based upon the threat of military aggression. The deterrence provided by U.S. and allied military forces has permitted us to enjoy peace and freedom. However, the nature of the military threat has changed and will continue to change in very fundamental ways in the next decade. Unless we adapt our response, deterrence will become much less stable and our susceptibility to coercion will increase dramatically.

**Our Assumptions About Deterrence.** For the past 20 years, we have based our assumptions on how deterrence can best be assured on the basic idea that if each side were able to maintain the ability to threaten retaliation against any attack and thereby impose on an aggressor rests that were clearly out of balance with any potential gains, this would suffice to prevent conflict. Our idea of what *our forces* had to hold at risk to deter aggression has changed over time. Nevertheless, our basic reliance on nuclear-retaliation provided by offensive nuclear forces, as the essential means of deterring aggression, has not changed over this period.

This basic idea—that if each side maintained roughly equal forces and equal capability to retaliate against attack, stability and deterrence would be maintained—also served as the foundation for the U.S. approach to the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) process of the 1970s. At the time that process began, the United States con-

cluded that deterrence based on the capability of offensive retaliatory forces was not only sensible but necessary, since we believed at the time that neither side could develop the technology for defensive systems which could effectively deter the other side.

Today, however, the situation is fundamentally different. Scientific developments and several emerging technologies now do offer the possibility of defenses that did not exist and could hardly have been conceived earlier. The state of the art of defense has now progressed to the point where it is reasonable to investigate whether new technologies can yield options, especially non-nuclear options, which could permit us to turn to defense not only to enhance deterrence but to allow us to move to a more secure and more stable long-term basis for deterrence.

Of equal importance, the Soviet Union has failed to show the type of restraint, in both strategic offensive and defensive forces, that was hoped for when the SALT process began. The trends in the development of Soviet strategic offensive and defensive forces, as well as the growing pattern of Soviet deception and of noncompliance with existing agreements, if permitted to continue unchecked over the long term, will undermine the essential military balance and the mutuality of vulnerability on which deterrence theory has rested.

#### **Soviet Offensive Improvements.**

The Soviet Union remains the principal threat to our security and that of our allies. As a part of its wide-ranging effort further to increase its military capabilities, the Soviet Union's improvement of its ballistic missile force, providing increased prompt, hard-target kill capability, has increasingly threatened the survivability of forces we have deployed to deter aggression. It has posed an especially immediate challenge to our land-based retaliatory forces and to the leadership structure that commands them. It equally threatens many critical fixed installations in the United States and in allied nations that support the nuclear retaliatory and conventional forces which provide our collective ability to deter conflict and aggression.

**Improvement of Soviet Active Defenses.** At the same time, the Soviet Union has continued to pursue strategic advantage through the development and improvement of active defenses. These active defenses provide the Soviet Union a steadily increasing capability to counter U. S. retaliatory forces and those of our allies, especially if our forces were to be degraded by a Soviet first

strike. Even today, Soviet active defenses are extensive. For example, the Soviet Union possesses the world's only currently deployed antiballistic missile system, deployed to protect Moscow. The Soviet Union is currently improving all elements of this system. It also has the world's only deployed antisatellite (ASAT) capability. It has an extensive air defense network, and it is aggressively improving the quality of its radars, interceptor aircraft, and surface-to-air missiles. It also has a very extensive network of ballistic missile early warning radars. All of these elements provide them an area of relative advantage in strategic defense today and, with logical evolutionary improvement, could provide the foundation of decisive advantage in the future.

**Improvement in Soviet Passive Defenses.** The Soviet Union is also spending significant resources on passive defensive measures aimed at improving the survivability of its own forces, military command structure, and national leadership. These efforts range from providing rail and road mobility for its latest generation of ICBMs [intercontinental ballistic missiles] to extensive hardening of various critical installations.

**Soviet Research and Development on Advanced Defenses.** For over two decades, the Soviet Union has pursued a wide range of strategic defensive efforts, integrating both active and passive elements. The resulting trends have shown steady improvement and expansion of Soviet defensive capability. Furthermore, current patterns of Soviet research and development, including a longstanding and intensive research program in many of the same basic technological areas which our SDI program will address, indicate that these trends will continue apace for the foreseeable future. If unanswered, continued Soviet defensive improvements will further erode the effectiveness of our own existing deterrent, based as it is now almost exclusively on the threat of nuclear retaliation by offensive forces. Therefore, this longstanding Soviet program of defensive improvements, in itself, poses a challenge to deterrence which we must address.

**Soviet Noncompliance and Verification.** Finally, the problem of Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements in both the offensive and defensive areas, including the ABM Treaty, is a cause of very serious concern. Soviet activity in constructing either new, phased-array radar near Krasnoyarsk, in Central Siberia, has

very immediate and ominous consequences. When operational, this radar, due to its location, will increase the Soviet Union's capability to deploy a territorial ballistic missile defense.

Recognizing that such radars would make such a contribution, the ABM Treaty expressly banned the construction of such radars at such locations as one of the primary mechanisms for ensuring the effectiveness of the treaty. The Soviet Union's activity with respect to this radar is in direct violation of the ABM Treaty.

Against the backdrop of this Soviet pattern of noncompliance with existing arms control agreements, the Soviet Union is also taking other actions which affect our ability to verify Soviet compliance. Some Soviet actions, like their increased use of encryption during testing, are directly aimed at degrading our ability to monitor treaty compliance. Other Soviet actions, too, contribute to the problems we face in monitoring Soviet compliance. For example, Soviet increases in the number of their mobile ballistic missiles, especially those armed with multiple, independently-targetable reentry vehicles, and other mobile systems, will make verification less and less certain. If we fail to respond to these trends, we could reach a point in the foreseeable future where we would have little confidence in our assessment of the state of the military balance or imbalance, with all that implies for our ability to control escalation during crises.

#### **Responding to the Challenge**

In response to this long-term pattern of Soviet offensive and defensive improvements, the United States is compelled to take certain actions designed both to maintain security and stability in the near term and to ensure these conditions in the future. We must act in three main areas.

#### **Retaliatory Force Modernization.**

First, we must modernize our offensive nuclear retaliatory forces. This is necessary to reestablish and maintain the offensive balance in the near term and to create the strategic conditions that will permit us to pursue complementary actions in the areas of arms reduction negotiations and defensive research. For our part, in 1981 we embarked on our strategic modernization program aimed at reversing a long period of decline. This modernization program was specifically designed to preserve stable deterrence and, at the same time, to provide the incentives necessary to cause the Soviet Union to

join us in negotiating significant reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both sides.

In addition to the U.S. strategic modernization program, NATO is modernizing its longer range intermediate-range nuclear forces (LRINF), our British and French allies also have underway important programs to improve their own national strategic nuclear retaliatory forces. The U.S. SDI research program does not negate the necessity of these U.S. and allied programs. Rather, the SDI research program depends upon our collective and national modernization efforts to maintain peace and freedom today as we explore options for future decision on how we might enhance security and stability over the longer term.

**New Deterrent Options.** However, over the long run, the trends set in motion by the pattern of Soviet activity, and the Soviets' persistence in that pattern of activity, suggest that continued long-term dependence on offensive forces may not provide a stable basis for deterrence. In fact, should these trends be permitted to continue and the Soviet investment in both offensive and defensive capability proceed unrestrained and unanswered, the resultant condition could destroy the theoretical and empirical foundation on which deterrence has rested for a generation.

Therefore, we must now also take steps to provide future options for ensuring deterrence and stability over the long term, and we must do so in a way that allows us both to negate the destabilizing growth of Soviet offensive forces and to channel longstanding Soviet propensities for defenses toward more stabilizing and mutually beneficial ends. The Strategic Defense Initiative is specifically aimed toward these goals. In the near term, the SDI program also responds directly to the ongoing and extensive Soviet antiballistic missile effort, including the existing Soviet deployments permitted under the ABM Treaty. The SDI research program provides a necessary and powerful deterrent to any near-term Soviet decision to expand rapidly its antiballistic missile capability beyond that contemplated by the ABM Treaty. This, in itself, is a critical task. However, the overriding, long-term importance of SDI is that it offers the possibility (of reversing the dangerous military trends cited above by moving to a better, more stable basis for deterrence and by providing new and compelling incentives to the Soviet Union for serious negotiating reductions in existing offensive nuclear arsenals

The Soviet Union recognizes the potential of advanced defense concepts—especially those involving boost, postboost, and mid-course defenses—to change the strategic situation. In our investigation of the potential these systems offer, we do not seek superiority or to establish a unilateral advantage. However, if the promise of SDI technologies is proven, the destabilizing Soviet advantage can be redressed. And, in the process, deterrence will be strengthened significantly and placed on a foundation made more stable by reducing the role of ballistic missile weapons and by placing greater reliance on defenses which threaten no one.

**Negotiation and Diplomacy.** During the next 10 years, the U.S. objective is a radical reduction in the power of existing and planned offensive nuclear arms, as well as the stabilization of the relationship between nuclear offensive and defensive arms, whether on earth or in space. We are even now looking forward to a period of transition to a more stable world, with greatly reduced levels of nuclear arms and an enhanced ability to deter war based upon the increasing contribution of non-nuclear defenses against offensive nuclear arms. A world free of the threat of military aggression and free of nuclear arms is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union, and all other nations can agree.

To support these goals, we will continue to pursue vigorously the negotiation of equitable and verifiable agreements leading to significant reductions of existing nuclear arsenals. As we do so, we will continue to exercise flexibility concerning the mechanisms used to achieve reductions but will judge these mechanisms on their ability to enhance the security of the United States and our allies, to strengthen strategic stability, and to reduce the risk of war.

At the same time, the SDI research program is and will be conducted in full compliance with the ABM Treaty. If the research yields positive results, we will consult with our allies about the potential next steps. We would then consult and negotiate, as appropriate, with the Soviet Union, pursuant to the terms of the ABM Treaty, which provide for such consultations, on how deterrence might be strengthened through the phased introduction of defensive systems into the force structures of both sides. This commitment does not mean that we would give the Soviets a veto over the outcome any more than the Soviets have a veto over our current strategic and intermediate-range programs. (Our commitment in this regard rests on our recognition that, if our research yields appropriate results, we should seek to

move forward in a stable way. We have already begun the process of bilateral discussion in Geneva needed to lay the foundation for the stable integration of advanced defenses into the forces of both sides at such time as the state of the art and other considerations may make it desirable to do so.

### The Soviet Union's View of SDI

As noted above, the U.S.S.R. has long had a vigorous research, development, and deployment program in defensive systems of all kinds. In fact, over the last two decades the Soviet Union has invested as much overall in its strategic defenses as it has in its massive strategic offensive buildup. As a result, today it enjoys certain important advantages in the area of active and passive defenses. The Soviet Union will certainly attempt to protect this massive, long-term investment.

### Allied Views Concerning SDI

Our allies understand the military context in which the Strategic Defense Initiative was established and support the SDI research program. Our common understanding was reflected in the statement issued following President Reagan's meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher in December, to the effect that:

**First**, the U.S. and Western aim was not to achieve superiority but to maintain the balance, taking account of Soviet developments;

**Second**, that SDI-related deployment would, in view of treaty obligations, have to be a matter for negotiations;

**Third**, the overall aim is to enhance, and not to undermine, deterrence; and,

**Fourth**, East-West negotiations should aim to achieve security with reduced levels of offensive systems on both sides.

This common understanding is also reflected in other statements since then—for example, the principles suggested recently by the Federal Republic of Germany that:

- The existing NATO strategy of flexible response must remain fully valid for the alliance as long as there is no more effective alternative for preventing war; and,

- The alliance's political and strategic unity must be safeguarded. There must be no zones of different degrees of security in the alliance, and Europe's security "must not be decoupled from that of North America

### SDI Key Points

Following are a dozen key points that capture the direction and scope of the program:

**1. The aim of SDI is not to seek superiority but to maintain the strategic balance and thereby assure stable deterrence.**

A central theme in Soviet propaganda is the charge that SDI is designed to secure military superiority for the United States. Put in the proper context of the strategic challenge that we and our allies face, our true goals become obvious and clear. Superiority is certainly not our purpose. Nor is the SDI program offensive in nature. The SDI program is a research program aimed at seeking better ways to ensure U.S. and allied security, using the increased contribution of defenses—defenses that threaten no one.

**2. Research will last for some years. We intend to adhere strictly to ABM Treaty limitations and will insist that the Soviets do so as well.**

We are conducting a broad-based research program in full compliance with the ABM Treaty and with no decision made to proceed beyond research. The SDI research program is a complex one that must be carried out on a broad front of technologies. It is not a program where all resource considerations are secondary to a schedule. Instead, it is a responsible, organized research program that is aggressively seeking cost-effective approaches for defending the United States and our allies against the threat of nuclear-armed and conventionally armed ballistic missiles of all ranges. We expect that the research will proceed so that initial development decisions could be made in the early 1990s.

**3. We do not have any preconceived notions about the defensive options the research may generate. We will not proceed to development and deployment unless the research indicates that defenses meet strict criteria.**

The United States is pursuing the broadly based SDI research program in an objective manner. We have no preconceived notions about the outcome of the research program. We do not anticipate that we will be in a position to approach any **decision to** proceed with development or deployment based on the results of this research for a **number of years.**

We have identified key criteria that will be applied to the results of this research whenever they become available.

Some options which **could provide** interim capabilities may be available earlier than others, and prudent planning demands that we maintain options against a range of contingencies. However, the primary thrust of the SDI research program is not to focus on generating options for the earliest development/deployment decision but options which best meet our identified criteria.

**4. Within the SDI research program, we will judge defenses to be desirable only if they are survivable and cost effective at the margin.**

Two areas of concern expressed about SDI are that deployment of defensive systems would harm crisis stability and that it would fuel a runaway proliferation of Soviet offensive arms. We have identified specific criteria to address these fears appropriately and directly.

Our survivability criterion responds to the first concern. If a defensive system were not adequately survivable, an adversary could very well have an incentive in a crisis to strike first at vulnerable elements of the defense. Application of this criterion will ensure that such a vulnerable system would not be deployed and, consequently, that the Soviets would have no incentive **or prospect of overwhelming it.**

Our cost-effectiveness criterion will ensure that any deployed defensive system would create a powerful incentive not to respond with additional offensive arms, since those arms would cost more than the additional defensive capability needed to defeat them. This is much more than an economic argument, although it is couched in economic terms. We intend to consider, in our evaluation of options generated by SDI research, the degree to which certain types of defensive systems, by their nature, encourage an adversary to try simply to overwhelm them with additional offensive capability while other systems can discourage such a counter effort. We seek defensive options which provide clear disincentives to attempts to counter them with additional offensive forces.

In addition, we are pressing to reduce offensive nuclear arms through the negotiation of equitable and verifiable agreements. This effort includes reductions in the number of warheads on ballistic missiles to equal levels significantly lower than exist today.

**5. It is too early in our research program to speculate on the kinds of**

**defensive systems—whether ground-based or space-based and with what capabilities—that might prove feasible and desirable to develop and deploy.**

Discussion of the various technologies under study is certainly needed to give concreteness to the understanding of the research program. However, speculation about various types of defensive systems that might be deployed is inappropriate at this time. The SDI is a broad-based research program investigating many technologies. We currently see real merit in the potential of advanced technologies providing for a layered defense, with the possibility of negating a ballistic missile at various points after launch. We feel that the possibility of a layered defense both enhances confidence in the overall system and compounds the problem of a potential aggressor in trying to defeat such a defense. However, the paths to such a defense are numerous.

Along the same lines, some have asked about the role of nuclear-related research in the context of our ultimate goal of non-nuclear defenses. While our current research program certainly emphasizes non-nuclear technologies, we will continue to explore the promising concepts which use nuclear energy to power devices which could destroy ballistic missiles at great distances. Further, it is useful to study these concepts to determine the feasibility and effectiveness of similar defensive systems that an adversary may develop for use against future U.S. surveillance and defensive or offensive systems.

**6. The purpose of the defensive options we seek is clear—to find a means to destroy attacking ballistic missiles before they can reach any of their potential targets.**

We ultimately seek a future in which nations can live in peace and freedom, secure in the knowledge that their national security does not rest upon the threat of nuclear retaliation. Therefore, the SDI research program will place its emphasis on options which provide the basis for eliminating the general threat posed by ballistic missiles. Thus, the goal of our research is not, and cannot be, simply to protect our retaliatory forces from attack.

If a future president elects to move toward a general defense against ballistic missiles, the technological options that we explore will certainly also increase the survivability of our retaliatory forces. This will require a stable concept and process to manage the transition to the future we seek. The

concept and process must be based upon a realistic treatment of not only U.S. but Soviet forces and out-year programs.

7. U.S. and allied security remains indivisible. The SDI program is designed to enhance allied security as well as U.S. security. We will continue to work closely with our allies to ensure that, as our research progresses, allied views are carefully considered.

This has been a fundamental part of U.S. policy since the inception of the Strategic Defense Initiative. We have made a serious commitment to consult, and such consultations will precede any steps taken relative to the SDI research program which may affect our allies.

8. If and when our research criteria are met, and following close consultation with our allies, we intend to consult and negotiate, as appropriate, with the Soviets pursuant to the terms of the ABM Treaty, which provide for such consultations, on how deterrence could be enhanced through a greater reliance by both sides on new defensive systems. This commitment should in no way be interpreted as according the Soviets a veto over possible future defensive deployments. And, in fact, we have already been trying to initiate a discussion of the offense-defense relationship and stability in the defense and space talks underway in Geneva to lay the foundation to support such future possible consultations.

If, at some future time, the United States, in close consultation with its allies, decides to proceed with deployment of defensive systems, we intend to utilize mechanisms for U.S. - Soviet consultations provided for in the ABM Treaty. Through such mechanisms, and taking full account of the Soviet Union's own expansive defensive system re-

search program, we will seek to proceed in a stable fashion with the Soviet Union.

9. It is our intention and our hope that, if new defensive technologies prove feasible, we (in close and continuing consultation with our allies) and the Soviets will jointly manage a transition to a more defense-reliant balance.

Soviet propagandists have accused the United States of reneging on commitments to prevent an arms race in space. This is clearly not true. What we envision is not an arms race; rather, it is just the opposite—a jointly managed approach designed to maintain, at all times, control over the mix of offensive and defensive systems of both sides and thereby increase the confidence of all nations in the effectiveness and stability of the evolving strategic balance.

10. SDI represents no change in our commitment to deterring war and enhancing stability.

Successful SDI research and development of defense options would not lead to abandonment of deterrence but rather to an enhancement of deterrence and an evolution in the weapons of deterrence through the contribution of defensive systems that threaten no one. *We would deter a potential aggressor by making it clear that we could deny him the gains he might otherwise hope to achieve rather than merely threatening him with costs large enough to outweigh those gains.*

U.S. policy supports the basic principle that our existing method of deterrence and NATO's existing strategy of flexible response remain fully valid, and must be fully supported, as long as there is no more effective alternative for preventing war. It is in clear recognition of this obvious fact that the United States continues to pursue so vigorously its own strategic modernization program and so strongly supports the efforts of its allies to sustain their own com-

mitments to maintain the forces, both nuclear and conventional, that provide today's deterrence.

11. For the foreseeable future, offensive nuclear forces and the prospect of nuclear retaliation will remain the key element of deterrence. Therefore, we must maintain modern, flexible, and credible strategic nuclear forces.

This point reflects the fact that we must simultaneously use a number of tools to achieve our goals today while looking for better ways to achieve our goals over the longer term. It expresses our basic rationale for sustaining the U.S. strategic modernization program and the rationale for the critically needed national modernization programs being conducted by the United Kingdom and France.

12. Our ultimate goal is to eliminate nuclear weapons entirely. By necessity, this is a very long-term goal, which requires, as we pursue our SDI research, equally energetic efforts to diminish the threat posed by conventional arms imbalances, both through conventional force improvements and the negotiation of arms reductions and confidence-building measures.

We fully recognize the contribution nuclear weapons make to deterring conventional aggression. We equally recognize the destructiveness of war by conventional and chemical means, and the need both to deter such conflict and to reduce the danger posed by the threat of aggression]] through such means. ■

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