

EXECUTIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OS
FG260 (3)
PR18
FG1

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK VALENTI

The President would like for you to study this and see if you can't get a friendly columnist to illustrate how the President has continued to demonstrate a profound interest in the space program.

Bill Moyers
Saturday, August 7

File

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1965
CENTRAL FILES

Nothing sent to
Central Files as of 9/2/65



NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20546

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

August 6, 1965

MEMORANDUM to Mr. Bill Moyers
The White House

The attached material is in response to your request of yesterday.

Attachment A is a listing of President Kennedy's major space-related activities. It shows that after each major manned space event (one exception: Grissom when he lost his space capsule) President Kennedy had the astronauts at the White House.

Attachment B is a listing of President Johnson's major space-related activities. It shows a continuing interest over a long period of time as both Vice President and President.

Attachment C is a partial compilation of major speeches and statements by President Johnson on space, a period from 1957 to 1964. (This document has not and will not be publicly circulated.)

Attachment D is a story by William Hines, Evening Star, who wrote yesterday's story. This is dated November 24, 1963. It indicates that the author expected President Johnson to be a vigorous and enthusiastic leader of the nation's space program, who was by the author's own terminology, "Mr. Space." The author now seems disturbed that the President has remained as vigorous and enthusiastic in this area as he predicted two years ago:

The space program would not change greatly under the new President he predicted. "The reasons are twofold and simple," he said.

"First, Mr. Johnson is fully as enthusiastic about the space program as was Mr. Kennedy, if not more so. Second, the new President has been in on the space program from its start, and through the 34 months of President Kennedy's tenure was 'Mr. Space.'"

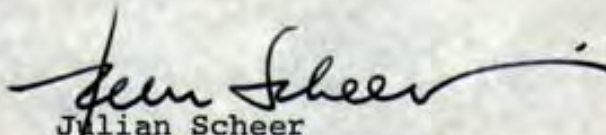
Mr. Johnson was head of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee at the time the U.S.S.R. launched Sputnik I, Hines pointed out. As Senate Majority Leader he caused the inquiry into U.S. space posture and sparked the special Senate committee that later became the standing Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

"More than any other one man, President Johnson is personally responsible for the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 and the sprawling agency which it created...

"With the advent of the Kennedy administration, the space program immediately grew in importance, largely through Mr. Johnson's urging. The Space Act was amended to make the Vice President head of the Space council...

"Under then Vice President Johnson, the council took on real meaning...

"The Johnson-organized council staff prepared the studies which the Vice President used to persuade President Kennedy in the spring of 1961 that a manned lunar landing should be undertaken 'before the decade is out.'"


Julian Scheer
Assistant Administrator
for Public Affairs

Attachments

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Space-related Activities

Post-flight Activities:

Shepard family at White House	May 8, 1961
Cape Canaveral ceremony - MA-6	Feb. 23, 1962
Glenn family at White House	Feb. 26, 1962
Carpenter family at White House	June 5, 1962
Schirra family at White House	Oct. 16, 1962
Cooper family at White House	May 21, 1963
7 original astronauts at White House--Collier Trophy	Oct. 10, 1963

Tours of Space Facilities:

Marshall Space Flight Center, Huntsville, Ala.; Cape Canaveral, Fla.; Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, Texas; McDonnell Aircraft, St. Louis, Mo.	Sept. 11-12, 1962
--	-------------------

Nuclear Rocket Development Station, Nev.	Dec. 8, 1962
--	--------------

Cape Canaveral and Merritt Island, Fla.	Nov. 16, 1963
---	---------------

Other:

Major address on space at Rice University, Houston, Texas	Sept. 12, 1962
---	----------------

White House ceremony (Sir Winston Churchill, U.S. citizen) via RELAY satellite	April 9, 1963
--	---------------

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Space-related Activities

Post-Flight Activities:

Dr. Pickering at White House (Ranger VII)	Aug. 1, 1964
Astronaut Cooper and family at White House for award	Sept. 14, 1964
Astronauts Grissom and Young at White House	Mar. 25, 1965
Astronauts White and McDivitt at White House	June 17, 1965
State Department with Astronauts White and McDivitt	June 17, 1965
Mariner IV briefing at White House	July 28, 1965

Tours of Space Facilities:

*Ames Research Center	Oct. 3, 1961
*Flight Research Center	Oct. 3, 1961
*Jet Propulsion Laboratory	Oct. 4, 1961
*Grand Turk Island Tracking Station	Feb. 22, 1962
*Nuclear Rocket Development Station Jackass Flats, Nevada	Dec. 8, 1962
Edwards Air Force Base, California	June 19, 1964
Cape Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Space Center	Sept. 15, 1964
Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston	June 11, 1965

Other:

*Address and dedication of the NASA Space Exhibit at Century XXI	May 10, 1962
*Presentation of small medal of Telstar Communications Satellite to Pope John XXIII	Sept. 7, 1962
Nominated Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., for promotion to full colonel.	Sept. 29, 1964
Randolph Lovelace II was sworn in as Director of Space Medicine, NASA	April 20, 1964
Thanksgiving Day Message broadcast by RELAY I, RELAY II, and SYNCOM II communications satellites	Nov. 26, 1964
NASA building FOB-6--Ranger briefing	Feb. 26, 1965
General William F. McKee was sworn in as NASA official	Sept. 1, 1964

* As Vice President

1957

Tyler Rose Festival Luncheon

RETURN TO AFEN

Tyler, Texas - October 18, 1957 - Two weeks after Russian Sputnik

The real meaning of the satellite is that we can no longer consider the Soviet Union to be a nation years behind us in scientific research and industrial ability.

The mere fact that the Soviets can put a satellite into the sky --- even one that goes beep --- does not alter the world balance of power. But it does mean that they are in a position to alter the balance of power.

And they will do it if we remain where we are.

1957

Dinner in Honor of Archbishop Lucey
Austin, Texas - October 19, 1957

But it does not take an investigation or a long series of facts to realize the central implication of the satellite. At this point, the question of whether the satellite does or does not possess military value is secondary to the basic meaning of its existence.

Our minds must grasp the fact that for the first time in recorded or unrecorded history, men have managed to escape the earth into outer space.

More than 30 years elapsed before the airplane reached its potentialities as a decisive weapon of war and a basic instrument of commerce. Times have changed. Anybody who believes that it will take 30 years for Sputnik to reach its potentialities is not even reading the newspapers.

There is no witchcraft involved in the Soviet satellite. It did not take secret charms and incantations to put Sputnik into the heavens. It is spinning in the skies today as the result of deliberate decisions made by mortal men.

The Soviet government decided that a certain number of scientists would devote a certain amount of time and a certain amount of materials to the project. Its component parts were planned and mapped out with the same sort of logic a businessman would use in planning factory expansion.

Nobody sacrificed a goat by the light of the moon. No old crones stirred a brew of batwings, toad legs and cattails.

The communists simply mobilized their brainpower; pooled their information and dedicated their resources to placing Sputnik into the sky.

Our brainpower is at least equal to the Soviets. Our information is probably inferior because they now actually have a satellite in the air. But certainly --- unless there has been a staggering amount of self-deception --- our resources are even greater.

We have plant capacity that is superior in every respect. We can outproduce the Soviet Union in steel, electric power, alloys, aluminum, magnesium --- everything that could go into a satellite.

There is no reason why we cannot catch up and outstrip anyone else --- providing we unite and decide to do it.

1957

**Statement Made by Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson
For Immediate Release - November 4, 1957**

The time has come for bold, new thinking in defense and foreign policy. The objective of this inquiry is not to fix blame or to put anybody on trial. The objective is to determine what steps can be taken to strengthen our position and restore the leadership we should have in technology.

The question of who is to blame is far less important than the question of what is to be done.

We need to direct the attention of the public into a frame of mind where, without panic, we can explore the real need for changes in our military policies.

1957

Statement at Opening of Hearings on the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee on
Satellite and Missile Programs - Caucus Room, Senate Office Building - Nov. 25, 1957

Although the facts I have learned so far give me no cause for comfort, I do not feel that they must be withheld from the public. I feel that we need observe only the requirements of security -- and these are requirements upon which sensible men can agree.

It is not necessary to hold these hearings to determine that we have lost an important battle in technology. That has been demonstrated by the satellites that are whizzing over our heads.

But to me --- and I think to every American --- a lost battle is not a defeat. It is, instead, a challenge --- a call for Americans to respond with the best that is in them.

There were no Republicans or Democrats in this country the day after Pearl Harbor. There were no isolationists or internationalists. And, above all, there were no defeatists of any stripe.

There were just Americans anxious to roll up their sleeves and wade into the enemy.

But we do have time. We do have determination. We do have will power. I do not believe the facts will invite our people either to a siesta or to hysteria.

I believe the facts will inspire Americans to the greatest effort in our history.

This committee seeks only to determine what can be done. The American people have the capacity to do it and we are confident they will do it.

First, the mere ability to place the satellites into the skies indicates a Soviet technology beyond our present capabilities.

Second, we stand on the threshold of the space age --- and the Soviets got there one step ahead.

In other words, the Soviet satellites gave us a clear warning of both an immediate and a long range danger.

The immediate danger is serious enough. The satellites were placed in the skies by exactly the same technique that would be used to fire an Intercontinental Ballistics Missile.

And the Intercontinental Ballistics Missile is the most destructive weapon in the foreseeable future.

The unhappy truth is that we are living in an age where there is no safety in anything other than staying ahead. We cannot rest secure merely because we have developed a weapon to counter an enemy's weapon.

In that kind of game, the other side is always one step ahead. And one of these steps could be fatal.

What has happened to us is simple. We have been beaten at our own game --- technology. We have allowed the Soviets to build up a reserve of scientists and engineers who surpass ours in numbers and who are of a very high quality.

The real answer to Sputnik and the ICBM lies in two simple figures recently set forth by our Central Intelligence Agency. In this year, 1957, the Soviets will graduate 140,000 engineers and scientists.

We will graduate 100,000.

In individual branches of science and engineering, the figures are even more impressive. In mathematics, physics, and other related fields, we are outstripped two to one in graduates.

And the proportion continues to grow.

The scientist and the engineer are the soldiers of the mid-Twentieth Century. And we must realize that they are more effective than any troops that have been put into the field in all of past history.

There is no one simple solution. We cannot rely upon the Federal government alone. We cannot look to a "crash program," or a "czar" or any other "quick and easy" method to recover our lost lead in technology.

We must go down to the local level --- to the elementary schools and the high schools. We must kindle in our young people an enthusiasm for learning and an enthusiasm for science -- and that will not be done merely by spending more money or creating more bureaus.

We must prove that the free way of life is superior to slavery. And if we do not prove it now, we may never have another chance.

We can search our hearts and our souls to determine whether we have granted teachers the proper status in our society. And then we can determine the steps that should be taken to remedy the situation.

We can call in our experts and find out what must be done to encourage our talented children. And we must remember that they are the ones upon whom the defense of our country will rest.

There are many things we do not know about this strange new age into which we are stepping. But there is no "mystery" to it.

The secrets of the future will yield to the united efforts of determined men. The pace of modern technology has brought us to our most difficult hour and as Americans we must prove that it is our finest hour indeed.

1957

Address before Texas Classroom Teachers Association
Dallas, Texas - November 29, 1957

It is obvious to all that the Soviet Union is not going to halt its programs and obligingly wait for us to catch up. The communists will pile achievement on top of achievement. Each step will provide a foundation for another step.

The only true security lies in recovering the firm lead in technology which we have lost. And this can be accomplished only by increasing the reservoir of scientists, engineers, and technicians from which we can draw.

Our battlefield is the classroom. Our real battle is the struggle to educate our youth. And if we fail, it will be the greatest defeat suffered by any nation in the history of the world.

1957

Address before Texas Classroom Teachers Association
Dallas, Texas - November 29, 1957

It is obvious to all that the Soviet Union is not going to halt its programs and obligingly wait for us to catch up. The communists will pile achievement on top of achievement. Each step will provide a foundation for another step.

The only true security lies in recovering the firm lead in technology which we have lost. And this can be accomplished only by increasing the reservoir of scientists, engineers, and technicians from which we can draw.

Our battlefield is the classroom. Our real battle is the struggle to educate our youth. And if we fail, it will be the greatest defeat suffered by any nation in the history of the world.

1957

Address before the Junior Chamber of Commerce
Wichita Falls, Texas - November 29, 1957

Of course, we possess a productive system that far outstrips the Soviet Union. It will be many years before they even get close to our present ability to turn out goods.

According to our best estimates, the Gross National Product turned out by the Soviet Union every year is only about 42 per cent of ours. But the amount of goods and services they put into their military establishment is equal to ours.

Any time a Soviet commissar has to choose between guns and butter, he does not hesitate for a second. The decision is made in favor of the guns.

These facts are deeply disturbing. But I do not consider them a cause for gloom leading to doom. I consider them a challenge --- a challenge to respond with the best that is in us.

And Americans have always responded to a challenge.

We have lost a battle. But it is not the first battle that we have lost and it will probably not be the last. History does not reward the people who win the battles but the people who win the war.

When I was a small boy, the idea of space ships and rockets to the moon represented an evening's entertainment by the fireplace. It was a dream --- an escape from the ordinary affairs of an ordinary world.

Now those dreams are becoming realities --- something that is right in front of us and that most of us will see. Flights to the moon are just over the threshold; flights to Mars and the planets are but a hop, skip, and a jump away.

These are stirring times which should make the blood tingle in our veins. These are times which can fire the imagination and the daring and the boldness of Americans.

This is the land of the pioneers --- of the men who did not fear deep forests and high crags and unknown peril. This is the America formed by the men who would cross a mountain just to see what was on the other side.

The work and faith of men of science over the ages has brought us to the greatest challenge in our history. It is a challenge which we should and will accept joyfully --- as men and women who are willing to dare the vastness of outer space.

The unknown is beckoning to us. It has its perils and it is fraught with dangers. But we will meet it not in the spirit of men defending what they have but in the spirit of Americans who will welcome and clasp to their bosoms a bold, new age.

1957

Address at Lyndon Johnson Appreciation Dinner
Houston, Texas - December 4, 1957

The word "achievement" in the American vocabulary does not mean merely "catching up" or "keeping up" with somebody else. It means forging ahead boldly; reaching high goals; daring the other fellow to keep up with us.

The goal is leadership --- the leadership of men who are not afraid of the future which is approaching so rapidly.

There is something much bigger and more important in front of us than a few pieces of military hardware. Ballistic missiles and the other fantastic weapons now on the drawing boards are not to be despised.

But they do not hold the key to the future. They are only a small part of the future --- a part which will become obsolete almost as soon as it is developed.

What we are doing is stepping into the age of space.

Rockets to the moon are just over the horizon. Space ships are only a few years away and most of us will live to see them. The scientists are already talking --- in serious terms --- about the day when we will escape the solar system and explore the universe.

We have very little idea of what we will find. But our ancestors had very little idea of what they would find when they crossed the oceans, the mountains and the prairies.

All they really knew was that they were challenged by the unknown. The challenge was irresistible. As a result a mighty nation was founded --- a nation which today is the great fortress of freedom.

1957

Address at Lyndon B. Johnson Appreciation Dinner
Dallas, Texas - December 10, 1957

But time -- like most other things -- is of no value unless it is put to use. If we merely take advantage of the time for a little nap, it will be a long sleep from which we will never awaken. It will take us into the twilight of the American dream and the sunset of freedom.

We must live as though there will never be a tomorrow and everything must be done tonight. If we don't, tomorrow may never come. And if it does come, it may be a cold grey dawn of a communist world.

Every American is going to have to pitch in. We need workers, farmers, professionals, technicians, businessmen. We must call back from retirement our senior citizens and we must call for higher efforts from our children in the schools.

There is only one type of person we can do without. And that is the man or woman who says: "It cannot be done."

We can outthink, outwork, and outdo Soviet scientists, workers, and production men. We can even handle communist spies.

The only person who can defeat us is the American who spends his time explaining why he cannot deliver the goods.

If heads must be knocked together, let's do it.

If more money is needed, let's spend it.

If more resources are needed, let's use them.

If more hours are needed, let's work them.

Let us do whatever it takes to preserve our country and our freedoms.

It will do us little good to spend our time trying to find out why many of those things were not done sooner. We can just take it for granted that all of them should have been done at some point in the past -- and I will let the historians fix that point.

We will have no real security until we have won the battle of the classroom. We cannot postpone seeking a solution to that long range problem. We must start right now.

We cannot produce the weapons of security - on time - if we think more of the 40-hour week or of "business as usual." We cannot achieve security if we are more interested in cutting taxes than we are in cutting the Soviet lead in missiles.

Today this is the most powerful nation on the earth. We have great factories that can produce all the goods of commerce or all the weapons of war. Our land is criss-crossed with power lines that carry more electricity than its discoverers dreamed could be made. We have the highest productivity based upon the freest and most competent labor in the world.

If we lose our freedoms, it will be our own fault.

This is no time for either hysteria or a siesta -- for either panic or complacency. We must take a cold, hard look at the situation and determine effective, prudent steps that will assure our future.

1. We must lend every possible encouragement and help to the dedicated scientists and engineers upon whom we rely for our security.
2. We must urge that scientific production be put on as efficient, economical and rapid a basis as possible to meet our needs.
3. We must set new goals for education so we can produce the trained minds that will guarantee our security.
4. We must find new and imaginative ways of teaching our children and encourage the people who are now carrying that burden.

I believe that every American is willing to work. I believe we are ready to devote more men, more money and more of everything that we may find necessary to recover our lost lead.

The hopes and dreams of all the years have brought us to the greatest challenge of all times. It is up to us to prove we are big enough to meet it.

1957

Address at Luncheon Clubs Meeting
Waxahachie, Texas - December 10, 1957

Our people will rise to any challenge -- providing that they know what the challenge is. In this case, the stakes are the survival of this nation in freedom.

1957

Address at Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce
Fort Worth, Texas - December 11, 1957

We are getting ready to open a whole new chapter of history. And it will be a chapter of opportunity.

We had thought that the frontier was closed -- that nothing was left of it except a few carefully preserved parks and forests. That is not the case.

The scientists have brought us all sorts of problems with their new and destructive weapons. They have also brought us all sorts of opportunities -- from controlling the weather to sending expeditions into outer space.

For these opportunities, we should be grateful. The people of this country are a rugged breed -- ready to step into the new world with full confidence in what it will bring.

1957

INQUIRY INTO SATELLITE AND MISSILE PROGRAMS

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PREPAREDNESS INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Johnson (Texas), Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Saltonstall, and Flanders.

Also present: Senator Bush, member of the Committee on Armed Services, and Senator Carroll; Edwin L. Weisl, chief counsel; Cyrus R. Vance, counsel; Gerald Siegel, associate counsel; Solis Horwitz, associate counsel; Daniel F. McGillicuddy, associate counsel; Stuart P. French, associate counsel; Edwin L. Weisl, junior counsel; Dr. William V. Houston, consultant; and Dr. Edward C. Welsh, staff adviser.

Senator JOHNSON. The committee will be in order.

We are opening the second round of our hearings on the satellite and missile programs. We are going to hear the services, the groups that have actual responsibility for developing the weapons of survival.

Our first set of hearings were intended to offer us some perspective on the problems that we face. I believe you will agree that they succeeded.

It is apparent that research and development is a key problem. America's production capacity is not the question. Our production facilities supply us with the highest standard of living in the history of the world. And yet, as we meet here today, a large part of our productive capacity is idle.

Our workers are the most efficient and the most productive the world has ever known, but more than 3 million of them are today looking for jobs.

Our industrial leaders are imaginative, courageous, and able, but they are complaining already about the need for more orders to keep their factories going.

The key to the situation, as I see it, is the group of dedicated scientists and engineers who are struggling to develop the weapons of the immediate future. From the studies made by our staff, I am deeply impressed by the devotion and competence of our scientists and our engineers.

I do not believe in trying to change a statement that expresses a thought perfectly. Therefore, in referring to these scientists and engineers, I am going to paraphrase a statement that was once made by Winston Churchill.

Never in the history of human endeavor have so many depended upon so few.

We have an obligation to those men—an obligation which can be paid only by helping them to the fullest extent of our capabilities.

If these scientists and engineers need more facilities, they should have them.

If they need more resources, they should have them.

If they need better organization, it should be supplied.

If they need more dollars, they should be appropriated, and I believe they will.

And this committee meets here today to help in every way that it can.

Once the technicians have completed their job, America can swing into the production problem rapidly. The unused productive capabilities could be put into use; the unused workers could be put back to work.

The weapons themselves will come rapidly, once the development work is done.

A PLEA FOR IDEAS TO SPEED DEVELOPMENT

The committee is looking for steps that will speed the development stage. We are hoping that the witnesses in the next few days will present ideas of how they think we can best get over the hump.

We have a logjam to be broken, and the quicker it is broken, the better for all of us.

The vital necessity of speed was emphasized once again this morning. The newspapers tell us that, once again, the Soviet Union has presented the world with another poorly concealed threat.

We have entered a period of international blackmail on a scale never before practiced in history. That period will continue until once again the United States is back in the lead on technology...

STATEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC LEADER LYNDON B. JOHNSON TO THE MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE ON JANUARY 7, 1958

Members of the conference, for this presentation this morning, I shall divide my own remarks in two parts.

I shall, briefly, summarize certain of the findings which have been made thus far by the Senate Armed Services Preparedness Subcommittee. Other members of the subcommittee will, in greater detail, deal with specific areas of the investigations.

In all candor, however, I cannot begin these remarks with a simple recapitulation of the work we have done. Illuminating as such might be, I realize—as I know all members realize—that we have, thus far, barely begun a work that will occupy and dominate the Congresses of freemen for lifetimes to come. It is, therefore, of first importance, that—no matter how feeble our understanding—we strive to establish perspective.

Our security may very well depend, above all else, on how well and how quickly we grasp such perspective.

Let us begin with this fact: the ground beneath us when we last met has been, largely, swept away. How much is gone, how much remains are questions no man can answer with authority.

The peril of the hour is obvious.

Less obvious, but of far greater importance, is the fact that beyond the peril lies a potential for peace that exceeds any ever before within man's reach.

Since August 30, when the first session of this Congress adjourned, the human race itself—without regard to flags or philosophy—has multiplied its capabilities to infinity.

The exploitation of these capabilities by men of selfish purpose holds the awful threat of a world in subjugation.

The mastery of such capabilities by men wholly dedicated to freedom presents, instead, the prospect of a world at last liberated from tyranny, liberated in fact from the fear of war.

What this Congress does will, at best, be only a small beginning on what must ultimately be done—and will be done in decades and perhaps even centuries ahead. But, small as our effort may be in the long view of history, we can see that lack of sufficient effort on our part would be compounded throughout the ages ahead into a failure of tragic proportions.

We cannot, in the months of this session, assure the Nation's superiority: the era we have entered is too young, its ultimate dimensions too far beyond our vision, for us to anticipate so fruitful a result from our labors.

We can, however, by hesitation, by dissension, by narrow partisanship do much to build an insurmountable barrier about ourselves and perpetuate our relative inferiority.

Responsible men have no choice.

We must work as though no other Congress would ever have an opportunity to meet this challenge, for, in fact, none will have an opportunity comparable.

We must, furthermore, bring to this opportunity a freshness, an originality, a diligence far exceeding our previous standards, for many of the concepts and ideas and rules

which have applied to our actions in the past are no longer pertinent and applicable.

Let me expand this by dealing first with certain general facts which have been established in the short time of our hearings:

1. Our national potential exceeds our national performance.

2. Our science and technology has been, for some time, capable of many of the achievements displayed thus far by Soviet science.

3. That the Soviet achievements are tangible and visible, while ours are not, is a result of policy decisions made within the governments of the respective nations. It is not—as yet, at least—the result of any great relative superiority of one nation's science over the other's.

The heart of the matter then is the national policy of each of the two great world powers, for this fact stands higher than all others: We could have had what the Soviets have in the way of technical achievements if it had been the aim of our Government to employ our resources and capabilities in comparable pursuit of comparable goals.

From this, we deduce these matters of importance:

First, it is obvious that the Soviet valuation on the significance of control of outer space has exceeded that of our officials.

Second, it is equally obvious that our valuation has been based on factors other than the fullest realization of our scientific capability.

In essence, the Soviet has appraised control of space as a goal of such consequence that achievement of such control has been made a first aim of national policy. We, on the other hand, have—or so the evidence suggests—regarded other goals and aims as having a higher imperative.

Which nation is correct?

If our policy is correct in the approach that has been taken, then the Soviet is ludicrously wrong, and some might dismiss the sputniks as playtoys.

If the Soviet policy is correct in its approach, however, then we face the judgment that our own position may be tragic.

At root, this Congress must—before it does much else—decide which approach is correct. If the Soviet is wrong, then we would be wrong to undertake any sort of great acceleration solely to produce counterparts for the visible Soviet achievements. If the Soviet is correct, then we would again be wrong to limit our response to nothing more than a stride-for-stride matching of their progress.

From the evidence accumulated, we do know this: the evaluation of the importance of control of outer space made by us has not been based primarily on the judgment of men most qualified to make such an appraisal.

Our decisions, more often than not, have been made within the framework of the Government's annual budget. This control has, again and again, appeared and reappeared as the prime limitation upon our scientific advancement.

Against this view, we now have on the record the appraisal of leaders in the field of science, respected men of unquestioned competence, whose valuation of what control of outer space means renders irrelevant the bookkeeping concerns of fiscal officers.

The testimony of the scientists is this:

Control of space means control of the world, far more certainly far more totally than any control that has ever or could ever be achieved by weapons, or by troops of occupation.

From space, the masters of infinity would have the power to control the earth's weather, to cause drought and flood, to change the tides and raise the levels of the sea, to divert the gulfstream and change temperature climates to frigid.

The meaning is, to my limited view, quite clear.

We have, for many years, been pre-occupied with weapons.

We are, even now, concerned with what some currently regard as the ultimate weapon. But, when we perfect such a weapon for ourselves we may still be far behind.

The urgent race we are now in—or which we must enter—is not the race to perfect long range ballistic missiles.

There is something more important than any ultimate weapon. That is the ultimate position—the position of total control over earth that lies somewhere out in space.

This is the future, the distant future, though not so distant as we may have thought. Whoever gains that ultimate position gains control, total control, over the earth, for purposes of tyranny or for the service of freedom.

Where do we now stand?

Let me summarize briefly the work of your committee.

Our staff has spent more than 50 days in intensive preparation for hearings which now have filled nearly 3,000 pages of transcript. Thirty-four witnesses have been heard before the committee. In addition, the staff has conducted 150 to 200 interviews with individuals concerned with the missile and satellite programs. Searching questionnaires have been sent to industrial organizations, leading scientists and engineers, and leading educators.

An effective, comprehensive and important job has been done. Credit of the highest order is due each member of the subcommittee of both parties. Seldom have I seen men work with greater dedication; the debt due them is great. Likewise, the effectiveness and thoroughness of the committee's work is a direct result of the splendid direction afforded by our counsel, Mr. Edwin L. Weisl and his partner, Cyrus R. Vance. Mr. Weisl and Mr. Vance are distinguished New York lawyers, members of the firm of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett, and we are fortunate in securing their services.

From this committee effort, the essential findings developed thus far are these:

The Sputniks now orbiting around the earth are not military weapons, but have a military potential.

Whatever their military potential may be, the present significance of these satellites is this:

First, the Soviet ability to put satellites of this size in orbit indicates a rocket ability far beyond any capacity we have developed; and, second, the satellites have gathered for the Soviet vital information about outer space which we do not have and which is decisive for any nation seeking to enter the space age.

Our primary effort to put a satellite into the skies ended in humiliating failure. It is my opinion the humiliation could have been avoided: It was unfair to the dedicated scientists who are trying to do a difficult job and it reflected unnecessarily upon our scientific capabilities.

The people must have the truth, good or bad, but truth begins with perspective. It is not a proper perspective to reflect the responsibility for our lack of a satellite upon the men at work now in Florida. They are neither the source nor the cause of our failure.

Beyond the satellites, our committee has learned facts in open sessions about Soviet capabilities which are far more disturbing in relation to our present security.

First, the Soviets have almost as many Army divisions as all the nations of the free world combined, and a great proportion are highly mechanized.

Second, Soviet Air strength is probably close to our own.

Third, Soviet submarines now number 300, while ours total 110, and there is evidence that they have some with missile capability.

Fourth, the Soviets are building 100 submarines annually, while we are building fewer than 10.

Fifth, there is no certain evidence of a Soviet nuclear submarine, but they have launched an atomic icebreaker, and nuclear submarines, if not now in existence, will be soon.

In the field of the intercontinental and shorter range missiles, the facts again are not comforting. The capacity to launch a one-half ton satellite is interpreted by our scientists as evidence of the capacity to launch an ICBM against our cities. Other problems than the problem of propulsion are involved, however. We cannot fully appraise Soviet capacity in this regard. The safe assumption is that they have solved or will solve such problems as remain.

In part the answers that have been given to the committee are these:

1. Strengthen our strategic air force, about which Senator Symington will tell you more.

2. Accelerate and expand our research and development programs.

3. Speed up the development and manufacture of the intermediate and intercontinental missiles now being worked on.

4. Strengthen our educational system.

5. Provide a top-level, non-service-connected military planning staff for the Secretary of Defense.

6. Establish a new, advanced weapons development agency outside of the Defense Department to reduce the lead time in the production of new weapons—which, incidentally, according to evidence presented at the hearings, is over twice as long as the lead time required by the Russians.

7. Streamline the decisionmaking process.

8. Accelerate the nuclear submarine program.

9. Eliminate all overtime limitations.

10. Increase cooperation with our allies particularly in the exchange of information.

11. Build shelters and store food and machinery as a precaution against Russian attack.

12. Build as quickly as possible an early warning radar system capable of detecting missiles.

13. Increase our interchange of scientific information between the free nations.

14. That we must begin to do all of these things with a strong sense of immediacy and urgency.

The question in your minds, I am sure, is whether or not there has been progress in actions taken during the past few weeks. I believe it is fair to say that some progress has been made since the inquiry began.

The President has named Dr. Killian as his personal scientific adviser. Also, the President has designated the Pentagon's special assistant on missiles as a "missile director," although in candor it must be said that it is difficult to define his powers.

The Secretary of Defense has been active:

1. He has removed the overtime restrictions.

2. He has restored research and development funds.

3. He has speeded up development and production schedules for missiles.

4. He has ordered both Jupiter and Thor into production.

5. He has reinstated a previously canceled launching pad for the Titan intercontinental missile.

6. He has established a new agency to develop advanced weapons.

7. He has ordered the Army into the satellite project.

These actions—as all, I am sure, will agree—constitute only a beginning of what even-

tually must be done. We can hope that the rate of acceleration will be adequate to the great challenge before us.

Our problems have been listed. The suggestions about our future course have been listed. The actions taken have been listed. All of these relate to matters which are, essentially, military in character.

It is fundamental, I believe, that however urgent these military problems may be we are faced with the unchanging problem of building a strong country, not a strong military force alone.

In this perspective, we cannot ignore the problems of 3 to 4 million unemployed workers.

We cannot ignore the grave problems of our farmers.

We cannot ignore the problems of our schoolchildren.

We cannot ignore the problem of housing.

We cannot ignore the problem of credit.

We cannot ignore the soft spots in our economy which are bringing some of our most vital industries into a difficult and troublesome climate.

We cannot ignore the growing problems of small business.

We cannot ignore the issue of conserving our natural resources.

These problems—and many more—must occupy our attention, and it becomes all the more imperative that we seek and reach answers of lasting durability for the road ahead.

One final question, the most important of all: Where do we go? What should be our goal?

If, out in space, there is the ultimate position—from which total control of the earth may be exercised—then our national goal and the goal of all freemen must be to win and hold that position.

Obviously, attainment of that goal is no overnight thing. It may not come within our lifetime. Until it does, we must continue to have weapons—but we must recognize both their limits and their potentially short life.

With weapons, whatever their form, our ultimate gain is likely to be stalemate—such as we have had during the atomic age. But our position must remain flexible. We must forego a fixation on weapons as the ultimate of security. For, if we do not, we may build the space age's first—and last—Magenet Line.

Total security perhaps is possible now, for the first time in man's history. Total security—and, with it, total peace. This potential we must not underestimate.

Within the short weeks since October 4, man has become master of horizons far beyond our imagination. We must respect this mastery, and from that respect we must, more than ever, seek to bring all men together in cooperative effort. The goals now within reach of the human race are too great to be divided as spoils, too great for the world to waste its efforts in a blind race between competitive nations. The conference table is more important now than ever it has been, and we should welcome to its chairs all men of all nations.

(Congressional Record ,
10/10/63)

190-8

ADDRESS BY SENATOR LYNDON B. JOHNSON OF TEXAS BEFORE A MEETING OF CBS AFFILIATES, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am here today to speak to a group which has a grave responsibility for informing our people.

In the Chambers of the Senate of the United States, I am the designated leader of the majority party. That is a title of which I am proud but one which carries with it responsibilities that would cause any man to be humble. But it is a designation which, for this occasion, I have left behind.

I am not here as a Democrat.

I am not here as a leader of the Senate.

I am here as an American.

In this town, we have the habit of dividing all things by lines of affiliation: the offices, the jobs, the various positions, and sometimes even our judgments.

At this hour in our history, I, for one, believe that there are certain facts which cannot be divided along such lines and certain judgments we must reach and decisions we must make together, as Americans, and as Americans only.

Even as we sit here at these tables there orbits in the sky above us—around, and around this earth—the most compelling fact of our times.

The sputniks out in space have only one meaning.

There is no Democratic meaning.

There is no Republican meaning.

There is, in truth, no narrow American meaning.

In all history, mankind has never faced so great a challenge—or so great an opportunity. If outer space is allowed to become the province of the earth's imperialists, then the freedom we have fashioned at so high a price shall fall into eternal jeopardy.

If, however, free men set their sails for this new world as our forefathers did when this continent was opened, then we have the opportunity of adding a new dimension to freedom—and, with it, the very real prospect of reaching our goal of total peace.

These are exciting thoughts, exciting goals.

We would be out of character with our American heritage if we were not stirred by what we can now see on ahead in this new age.

We would be even more out of character—both as Americans and as freemen—if we should lose this hour of opportunity in preoccupation with partisan thoughts of who is to receive the credit and who is to receive the blame.

Facts are not partisan, and the facts are these:

For a decade now, the free world—led by the United States—has summoned up its resources and resourcefulness to contain the most powerful and most ruthless aggressor ever to appear among the governments of the earth.

The physical containment has, in large part, succeeded.

It has succeeded, I should say, until now.

Today no responsible man can say or would say continued success of our past policies is assured.

There is now abundant evidence that a pattern of history is repeating. We, like the dynasties of ancient China on down to the Republic of France, have built a wall against aggression, but now we find that we are the imprisoned.

The Soviet has, dramatically, leaped over our wall.

More importantly, we are awakened to the reality that advances of Soviet technology and science have made our wall of security a relic of another age.

Let me cite for you certain specifics, certain facts which all of us, as Americans, must sit down and consider together.

These are not facts of my invention. These are facts testified to by our military leadership coming before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, of which I am chairman.

First. The Soviet has under arms nearly as many divisions as do all the free nations combined.

Second. The Soviet air strength is probably close to that of our own.

Third. The Soviet submarine armada now numbers 500, while ours totals only 110.

Fourth. The Soviet shipyards are building 100 new submarines annually, while we are building fewer than 10.

Fifth. The Soviet capacity to launch a one-half ton satellite into space indicates the capacity on their part to launch long-

range ballistic missiles against our cities from Soviet soil.

Sixth. The Soviet has now the capacity to launch, from land bases or from its submarines, shorter range missiles against our installations at home and overseas.

These are military facts. They are important. I would mislead you if I did not say that there are more, more which in time I believe should become public knowledge.

What is the sum of these facts?

The facts of comparative strength between the two strong powers do not add up to disaster—but they do, clearly, total up to peril.

For the moment, the stalemate is not clearly broken. The Soviet striking power is great and growing greater, but our retaliatory power is great, also. This the Soviet knows, as we know.

The Soviet, however, also knows—as we must come to know—that the rate of growth of their striking power far exceeds ours.

We are behind but we are not yet hopelessly behind. Our peril becomes a disaster when we fall so far behind that there is no hope of recovery. It is to the prevention of that disaster all freemen must now dedicate their efforts.

How is such disaster to be prevented?

Some, looking back to the past, will answer only that the Nation must retool its productive capacity, get ready for a massive effort, and move forward to match the Soviet sputnik for sputnik, missile for missile, sub for sub.

If war were inevitable, I would join in such a call.

But no man who looks beyond the moment will suggest that war is the inevitable consequence of mankind's new adventure into space. I, myself, am confident that it is not.

Space may well be the sea in which the human race will someday find an island of peace.

To reach that island, we need more than weapons.

We need, in fact, to free ourselves of the bonds of a weapon psychology.

Our greatest need in this hour is to unleash the pioneering spirit and the daring and brilliance of our people and set this Nation's course on the pursuit of peace.

We cannot, of course, ignore the need for weapons now.

We need a faster rate of production for our missiles, far faster than any yet permitted or any yet envisioned.

We need continued production of our proved long-range bombers for our Strategic Air Command.

We need an acceleration of our submarine production.

We need these things now, for this reason:

In the past, we have had the time to mobilize and build our strength while others fought—on their soil—the wars we were eventually to enter and help provide the margin of victory.

We shall not have such time again.

Our own soil is within the target range of a hostile nation for the first time in the American experience.

For the next 10 years or more, we must be ready every night for any challenge that might come before morning. There is no other way.

Behind the security that such strength affords, though, we must do more than content ourselves with a stalemate. We must lay aside the illusion that a nation is strong merely because its military strength equals that of its adversaries.

If we can now buy time, and I believe that we can, we must make certain that we make proper use of what we purchase.

This means, as I see it, that we must change our ways—and those changes will make this both a happier land and a better land.

We have had since the end of World War II much time.

The evidence is indisputable that we have not used that time to full advantage.

What has been wrong? Why have we lagged?

Why do we stand now in a posture of relative weakness?

When such a question is asked, as it should be asked, there is an ever-present danger that we shall frame our answers in terms of credit and blame.

To do this now could well be fatal.

There is little question that wrong decisions have been made.

These errors are not divided along any partisan lines.

Furthermore, there is little doubt that such decisions, picked out of the context of the past, may seem glaringly wrong today, but at the time many of them met with majority approval.

As Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons on June 18, 1940: "If we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future."

I say that such must be our creed at this hour.

It is with that creed before us that we must proceed, as responsible men, to assess the position of free men in the world today.

I see no gain in picking petty quarrels with the past.

I, myself, am willing to draw a line at the here and now, and measure responsibility in terms of what is done for the future rather than in terms of what was done in the past.

From this base, I believe we can take a more honest look at the problems we face.

What are those problems? Let me call them as I see them.

First and foremost, I believe that we are paying too high a price for conformity.

Our country has been, always, a nation built by the greatness of men's hearts and spirits and minds. America's vigor has come from the originality, the freshness, the vision of our people—all our people, not merely an intellectual elite.

For a decade now, we have seen growing a climate of contempt for these values. We are paying a price for that.

Our investigating committee has found, in some most striking examples, that this has been at the heart of some of our preparedness difficulties.

The fight to build for this Nation an atomic submarine is a record of the persistence against great odds of one man, Admiral Rickover, who believed that it could be built. Because he was more determined to perform than to conform, this brilliant man was—on numerous occasions—shunted into obscurity and his services to the Nation were very nearly lost.

This past few days, in our committee room, I sat 2 feet away from a great Army general and watched him choke back the tears of deep emotion. He told us that his decision to retire from service was final. He said he could not speak freely and he could not support a policy which meant placing American troops in the range of enemy missiles without adequate weapons of defense.

Over and over again, I have heard—and our committee has heard—the leading military men of this Nation come before us and say that a conventional system has out back on our programs for unconventional developments.

Over and over, we have heard them say that we are not, even yet, doing all that we could and should be doing to move forward in this hour of challenge.

This is not the road to strength. This is not the road America should travel.

We must turn to the dedicated men of vision and welcome them into the councils of respect and dignity.

We must provide a climate in which the men and women of our universities, our research centers, our career services, our world of journalism and communications can make a full contribution of their talents.

Let me make this point clear.

It is not true that the abilities of Soviet science far exceed those of our American scientists.

As free men, who respect the freedom of man's mind, we must not allow political policies to chain our most priceless resource.

As we face this problem of removing the fetters from our capacity, we must also remove the fetters of tradition from our policy.

Our defensive strategies, in a military sense, are undergoing reappraisal and reexamination.

It would be a mistake to stop there.

Our foreign policies require the same reappraisal.

So, also, do our domestic policies and values.

We have, for long, held a position of strength in world affairs. That position is no longer secure. We must not be so inflexible that we can imagine no changed policy to cope with a changed position.

Domestically, likewise, each of you as businessmen know that our economy is now undergoing a period of change. This change is not merely a cycle through which we are passing. There are new problems, new challenges arising to the very functioning of our system.

Channels of distribution are undergoing change.

Changes are evident in consumer demand and consumer taste.

Profoundly important population shifts are continuing.

We must not wait for calamity before undertaking a cure.

Just as we erred in our estimate of what Soviet gains might mean in the realm of technology, so can we err by complacency in our estimate of what domestic losses might mean in the realm of our economic health.

These things I mention only briefly, to emphasize that in this challenging period we need more, far more, than a purely military response to the Soviet challenge.

We need the marshaling of our resources, physical and mental, such as we have never had before.

We need imagination and freshness.

We need force and boldness in our leadership.

We need, further, I believe, to look beyond the danger evident now to see the horizons of peace in outer space.

I am no scientist and I do not pretend to be.

But the brilliant men of this age—the brilliant minds of America—tell us things that we cannot ignore.

Out in space, there is the power to control the earth's weather, to change the climate where we live, to alter the tides and direct the Gulf Stream on a different course.

From space, snapshots can be taken of your backyard.

The whole technology of communication can be changed.

It is a fascinating, daring, exciting world.

The frontier it opens for human advancement exceeds any man has ever faced.

Surely we cannot, as leaders of free men, ignore it.

Surely we cannot, with this opportunity before us, fail to see that this affords us the one clear course to recapture the initiative for freedom.

Here is an opportunity to bring men together in common cause as never before.

Here is an opportunity for us to sponsor the flourishing of mankind's genius.

Before this session of Congress ends, I am hopeful that we shall be able to establish in our Government a proper agency for direction of a new national effort in this realm.

I am hopeful, also, that we shall be able to provide a program for the enlargement of our research activities, making the laboratories and the equipment available to draw the best from the minds of our people.

I am hopeful that, furthermore, we shall be able to foster the strengthening of our total educational process, not to produce an army of technicians, but, rather, to pour forth legions of broadly educated men and women.

As we do these things, I trust that in our relations with other nations we shall be imaginative, and that we shall make it evident that America's free world leadership is not sterile.

We should, certainly, make provisions for inviting together the scientists of other nations to work in concert on projects to extend the frontiers of man and to find solutions to the troubles of this earth.

Our President, holding as he does the esteem of men throughout the world, has a rare opportunity to lead in this labor boldly and forcefully, and in the vigorous pursuit of peace he will find the Nation undivided in his support.

Further, it would be appropriate and fitting for our Nation to demonstrate its initiative before the United Nations by inviting all member nations to join in this adventure into outer space together.

The dimensions of space dwarf our national differences on earth.

If we are to win space as the outpost of peace, all men may—and should—share in that endeavor.

We, with our great resources and our great abilities, must not allow the leadership to slip from our grasp.

The world in which we live is a world in which danger abounds.

There is no greater danger, though, than for us to shrink from the responsibilities of the hour.

Ahead, if we move with speed, if we move with daring, we shall find fulfillment of our quest for peace.

If we are to reach such a goal, our response must begin now. This, more than we realize, is the year of decision, the year our course is set.

In such a year, we need be responsible men, loyal to our Nation, faithful to freedom, strangers to partisanship, and friends with the imagination that has been so much a part of our heritage.

Speech was released 1/14/58
(Congressional Record
10/10/63)

1958

STATEMENT BY PREPAREDNESS INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, JANUARY 23, 1958.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have a very brief statement which I should like to present to the Senate, if my colleagues will indulge me.

The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee today concluded its current series of hearings into the satellite and missile programs with the adoption of a unanimous statement, in the nature of an interim report.

That statement expressed the sense of unity that the committee has as to the urgent need for strengthening our country's defenses. It expressed the kind of unity which I believe Americans desire.

We tried to state the facts which give cause for foreboding and the facts which give cause for hope. We stated those facts not as members of political parties but as servants of the Senate reporting to the Senate and to the people of the Nation.

Our country is entering a new period of history in which the total resources of America must be brought to their greatest development. No segment of our economy or of our life must be ignored or neglected.

Our programs, our policies and our practices must all be in good working order. A full national effort is required and this can be achieved only by people working together.

The goal is not merely to imitate some Soviet missile or some Soviet achievement. This attitude could lead us into a hypnotic trance in which we would forget that our true strength is our freedom.

That is a fundamental which we must not forget.

We would lose much more than we would gain if we tried to match totalitarian accomplishments by adopting totalitarian methods and values.

Our need to mobilize today flows from a necessity of forging ahead to broader frontiers of freedom—not merely from the need of catching up with the Soviets.

5
(ctd →)

We must not fail because we sell short the potential of a free society. We must succeed by unleashing our minds, unleashing our capacity, and moving forward with the great force, vigor, and imagination of which we are capable.

I believe that spirit dominated the deliberations of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee.

I do not mean that we are in agreement on every point presented to us in some seven-thousand-odd pages of testimony. The members of the subcommittee will differ on many specific points. But we see the dangers before us through the single perspective of Americans determined that freedom shall survive.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to the majority and minority members of the subcommittee. Without their wholehearted cooperation, the enterprise in which we have engaged would not have been possible.

I wish to express my great admiration and respect for our counsel, Mr. Edwin L. Weisl, who gave freely of his great talents and energies to bring about this report; to his associate, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, and to the many other staff members who contributed to the report.

For the benefit of the Senate, I wish to read the committee's statement, which is brief. Let me say, as I think I stated earlier, that there were 10 members present, all of whom approved this statement.

Approval of the following statement was voted by the members of the Senate Preparedness Committee: Senators Johnson (chairman), Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, and Senators Bridges, Saltonstall, and Flanders. In addition, the other members of the Senate Armed Services Committee who were present at the meeting—Senator Smith of Maine, Case, and Bush—indicated their approval of the statement.

We have now concluded our current set of hearings. On behalf of the subcommittee in consultation with other Members, I am making a brief statement.

No responsible civilian or military leader in the Government can do aught but face with deep foreboding the current prognoses of the outcome of general thermonuclear war. The subcommittee feels that the problems involved in this hearing are of immediate urgency to our Government and our people.

For the past 110 days, this subcommittee has been engaged in an unusual enterprise. It is a review of the Nation's present and future defense posture in the light of a rapidly evolving science and technology.

The subcommittee has heard some 70 witnesses. About 200 experts have been interviewed. Questionnaires have been sent to leaders of science, education, industry, and government. Some 7,000 pages of testimony are before us.

This inquiry has been one of the most thorough in my memory. It had to be because the subject matter did not permit anything except a careful, prudent, thorough approach. I believe both majority and minority Members will agree with that point.

In the course of our investigation, I hope we have been able to present to our people important facts. I know that it has been an educational process for me, and, I believe, for the other members of our group.

(Ctd →)

We began with a simple—but revolutionary—fact. It was that for the first time in all history, a man-made satellite was placed into an orbit around the earth.

There were many who realized that this was an inevitable development of the march of science. But the circumstances under which it happened were startling and brought into sharp focus facts which had been known previously but not fully appreciated.

We had expected to be first with this achievement. In fact, we have yet to prove second—although our own achievement in this field is not very far away. The winner was the Soviet Union.

From the beginning, however, it developed that there was much more at stake than the prestige of being first.

There is no evidence that the satellite is a weapon now.

But it has two important implications.

First, it demonstrates beyond question that the Soviet Union has the propulsive force to hurl a missile from one continent to another.

Second, the Soviet Union has gathered basic information about outer space.

These two facts raised a number of disturbing questions. We set out to explore those questions and determine the answers. On the basis of sworn testimony by top scientists, leading industrialists, and Government and military officials, it can now be said:

First. The Soviet Union leads the United States in the development of ballistic missiles.

Second. The Soviet Union leads the United States in number of submarines, which raises the possibility of attack with modern weapons or missiles—although the indications are that we are ahead in the production of atomic submarines.

Third. The Soviet Union is rapidly closing the gap in manned air power—and, at present rates, will surpass this country in a comparatively short time.

Fourth. The Soviet Union has a system which enables it to develop new weapons in substantially less time than the United States.

Fifth. The Soviet Union has led the world into outer space.

Sixth. The Soviet Union is producing scientists and technicians at a rate substantially greater than is our country.

These facts do not give cause for comfort. But we do not consider them a cause for despair or hopelessness. We regard them as a challenge to all Americans.

There is nothing in the record to indicate that America has lost its vitality or its capacity to produce in time whatever we need to retain our present power to strike devastating blows—blows of almost total destruction—at any aggressor.

The facts which we have been investigating are the facts of the future. And while the future is very close—extremely close—it is still under our control.

There is no point in arguing that things might have been different had things been done differently in the past. Everybody on this committee is willing to concede that point.

The past is already for historians. Let us seek solutions so that the future may be written by free world historians.

Since sputnik I was put into orbit, and this inquiry began, the Secretary of Defense has taken the following actions:

(ctd →)

Overtime restrictions have been removed from the ballistics programs and some of the other high priority programs.

Basic research projects have been restored to former levels.

The Army has been ordered into the satellite program.

Production of the Thor and Jupiter missiles has been authorized.

The development of the Atlas missile has been stepped up.

Development of the Polaris missile system has been accelerated.

The Army has received a go-ahead for developing a new, solid fuel missile.

An advanced research project agency has been authorized.

An office of Director of Guided Missiles is now in being.

Development of antisubmarine warfare capability has been stepped up.

Steps to disperse the Strategic Air Command are underway.

The Air Force has been authorized to go ahead with an early warning program against missiles.

The Army has been assigned the task of developing an antimissile system.

The Secretary of Defense has appointed consultants and has promised to come to Congress as soon as possible with recommendations to improve Defense Establishment through organizational changes.

I may say, for the information of the Senate, that the Secretary of Defense told us yesterday that he was hopeful he would be in a position to make positive recommendations within the next few weeks, perhaps by late March or early April.

These steps are admittedly only a beginning. There are many steps still to be considered. And it is heartening that the Secretary of Defense is keeping an open mind on those steps and has pledged decisions and greater actions, when such actions are necessary, as soon as possible.

The committee has received many urgent recommendations. The principal areas covered, though not necessarily in the following order of priority, upon which decisive action must be taken are:

First. Modernize and strengthen the Strategic Air Force.

Second. Step up the dispersal of SAC bases.

Third. Put more effort into developing antimissile missiles.

Fourth. Improve our early warning system for manned aircraft and accelerate the development of an early warning detection system for ballistic missiles.

Fifth. Modernize and strengthen ground and naval forces.

Sixth. Provide an adequate airlift for ground troops.

Seventh. Pour more effort into our antisubmarine program.

Eighth. Step up production schedules of Atlas, Thor, Jupiter, and accelerate the development of Titan.

Ninth. Reduce lead time in the development of weapon systems by cutting down on decision time and by simplifying procurement procedures.

Tenth. Provide for a freer exchange of scientific and technical information between the nations of the free world.

Eleventh. Start work at once on the development of a rocket motor with a million-pound thrust.

Twelfth. Give serious attention to the question of shelters and stockpiles for civil defense.

Thirteenth. Reorganize the structure of the Defense Establishment.

(Ctd →)

Fourteenth. Provide increased incentives for the retention of trained personnel in the military service.

Fifteenth. Accelerate and expand research and development programs, provide funding on a long-term basis, and improve control and administration within the Department of Defense or through the establishment of an independent agency.

Sixteenth. Put more effort in the development of manned missiles.

Seventeenth. Accelerate the development of the Polaris missile system.

The recommendations will all receive the careful consideration of the committee. They will be evaluated in the light of facts—carefully, thoroughly, and prudently.

There is another point I should like to make. The responsibilities of this subcommittee are limited to defense. But we have reached a stage of history where defense involves the total effort of a Nation.

We have been led into fields which will have to be explored by others with proper jurisdiction and with greater background. But these fields are related to our principal responsibility—the defense of our country.

There is, of course, the highly important field of education, which the able junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] has referred to eloquently and at length this afternoon. It is obvious that all our plans for the future will be frustrated if we do not foster the training of our children along broad lines through greater concentration on science and mathematics without neglecting the humanities.

We can produce the weapons of survival with what we have now. But the missiles which are so dreaded today may prove obsolete almost as soon as they become realities.

There can be no adequate defense for the United States except in a reservoir of peace and educated minds.

Even more important, however, is the fact that there can be no security for the United States or any other country in weapons. The most accurate and destructive missile yet conceived can bring us nothing but a stalemate.

We prefer a stalemate to defense and slavery. Let there be no mistake about that.

I am happy that the distinguished junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey] is on the floor, because I want him to follow the last lines of this intermediate report.

But the same forces, the same knowledge and the same technology which are producing ballistic missiles can also produce instruments of peace and universal cooperation.

We are engaged in a race for survival and we intend to win that race. But the truly worthwhile goal is a world of peace—the only world in which there will also be security.

The immediate objective is to defend ourselves. But the equally important objective is to reach the hearts and minds of men everywhere so the day will come when the ballistic missile will be merely a dusty relic in the museums of mankind and men everywhere will work together in understanding.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I am happy to yield to my friend from Minnesota.

(Ctd. →)

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am happy indeed that I was in the chamber this afternoon when the majority leader made his intermediate report. I know it would have been a temptation for anyone in the Senator's position to have delivered a very pointed and even a caustic report, which would have been interpreted by some as partisan.

It would have been possible for the majority leader and the majority members of the committee to have assessed political blame.

I believe the majority leader, in his report, has relied upon the intelligence of the American people as to where any blame or fault may lie, and as to whether the recommendations which have been placed before us are sound and adequate.

I wish to commend the Senator from Texas and his committee. The intermediate report should be classified as "must" reading for every citizen of this Republic. It will also be reassuring, I am certain, to our allies, because it demonstrates the active, alert, keen, and dedicated interest of one of the coordinate branches of the Government, namely, the Congress, along with the executive branch of the Government.

I add these few words: Just as the subcommittee on preparedness is in the process of reviewing our basic military needs and our defense needs, so the entire area of American foreign policy will come under review, and needs to, in the same spirit, I may say, of constructive proposals and careful evaluation. When we find weaknesses and mistakes, we must correct them, instead of abusing one another. Where we see need for progress and new proposals, we must have the boldness to undertake them and carry them out.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to do so at that point, I should like to congratulate the committee of which he is a member for such worthy objectives and such high motives and such desirable proposals as he has enunciated in an effort to seek the truth and in order that the United States may be worthy of the leadership of the free world, in which we take much pride.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am of the opinion, I may say, the Senator from Texas. I conclude my remarks, that the American people are so deeply concerned about the future of their country and about their present condition, that they will look with a certain amount of disdain and justifiable disgust upon Congress if our efforts to study the defense and foreign policy posture of our Nation, and if our efforts to strengthen both our military and foreign policy program, are treated in too rabid and partisan a manner.

Needless to say, there will have to be discussions, and there are areas of disagreement. I believe we must be able to disagree in such a manner as will enable constructive alternatives to be offered.

I have spoken on occasion, very bluntly, concerning the foreign policy of our country. I shall do so in the future. I shall not chastise those who are in charge of it, but rather I shall offer what I hope will be fruitful and constructive suggestions to those who will continue to have responsibility.

I hope the Senator from Texas, the majority leader, will permit me to associate myself with the worthy objectives which have been expressed here today in the interim report. I am not a member of his subcommittee. I can say that the concluding paragraphs of that report are, of course, the spirit of the Nation and the hope of mankind.

(ctd. →)

It is my intention, as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, to present to the Senate next week a statement of what I believe has been going on in this very difficult, complex, uncertain, and as yet, fruitless field, and to offer some constructive suggestions in that particular area.

I would only say that the hope of disarmament, or the hope which the Senator from Texas outlines, is possible only if this Nation can survive. Because it is a truth that the leadership of free men rests in the Government of the United States and in this Chamber.

If this Government and this Nation are in peril, and if by any unhappy set of circumstances we should be weakened or destroyed, then I honestly believe that the hope for a world in which freedom can live will have been lost.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I am indeed appreciative of the contribution which my able friend from Minnesota has made to the discussion. I am delighted that he should feel justified in associating himself with the statement made by the entire membership of our subcommittee.

I should not want this opportunity to pass without the Senator from Minnesota being informed that in the days ahead, when he travels down the rugged, rough road looking for peace, he will have my prayer and my support because, Mr. President, if the only thing we have to look forward to is the spending of \$40 billion or \$50 billion a year to negate the expenditures of another great power we will, at best, be letting it all go down the drain.

Somehow, somewhere, the great minds which have done so much to bring us modern implements, great adventures in science, and great discoveries, must be able to find a solution whereby men can live in the world together. If not, the road ahead will not be a very happy one.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I desire to add my words of appreciation to those of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota concerning this message of great importance from the Subcommittee on Preparedness. I express my admiration for the wonderful work which has been done by the subcommittee, particularly by its chairman, the distinguished senior Senator from Texas, of whom we are so proud.

I particularly commend him, not merely for the report upon the present state of our defense and about what has not been done, but, more than that, for the inclusion in the report of a set of present objectives, without awaiting the final report, to give America some goal toward which to work in preparations for the long pull.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank my friend for his complimentary statement. He is always generous and kind to me. He knows I reciprocate his admiration.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues in congratulating the distinguished majority leader upon the responsible attitude he has shown, not only in conducting the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Preparedness, but also in being able to cause members holding diverse views to issue a unanimous report. This is another indication of the sense of responsibility which the distinguished Senator from Texas has shown, not only since he has been the leader of the majority party in the Senate, but also in the days when he first became a Member of the Senate.

(Ctd. →)

1958

210

SPACE AND ASTRONAUTICS

It is a pleasure, in view of what has happened in recent days, to see that this sense of responsibility is still paramount. I am hopeful that the nonpartisanship—or, as one of our colleagues on the other side of the aisle referred to it a short while ago, the unpartisanship—on the part of the Senate Subcommittee on Preparedness will be the norm rather than the exception in the days ahead as the subcommittee undertakes to continue its hearings. The country can be confident that a good job has been done and that the unanimous recommendations of the subcommittee will have good and lasting results.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank my friend from Montana.

1958

Speech on the Floor of Senate - January 27, 1958 - following statements
made by Senator Johnson

"True security will come only when war is no longer an instrument of national policy. I try to be a realist about such things. I have little faith in outlawing of war as an instrument of national policy merely through pacts of renunciation -- either of acts of aggression or of specific weapons.

".....I do, however, have a great deal of faith in efforts to outlaw war when they are accomplished by positive steps to bring people together in cooperation.

"...When people work together to face a great challenge, they tend to lose their suspicion of others. They become absorbed in the task before them -- and fighting as an instrument war fades from the picture.

"...It is for this reason that I believe the current situation affords us such a great opportunity. There are positive steps which we can take in concert with the other nations of the world to face the great challenge presented by outer space."

1958

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ACT OF 1958

Tuesday, May 6, 1958

United States Senate
Special Committee on Space and Astronautics,

Senator Johnson: "I believe it is entirely fair to say that seldom, if ever, has a Congress and an administration faced a more challenging task.

"We are dealing with a dimension -- not a force.

"We are dealing with the unknown -- not the known.

"While the present is urgent, the real imperative is the future.

"What we do now may very well decide, in a large sense, what our Nation is to be 20 years and 50 years and 100 years from now -- and, of no lesser importance, our decisions today can have the greatest influence upon whether the world moves toward a millennium of peace or plunges recklessly toward Armageddon.

"Our ideal should be to convert outer space into a blessing for mankind, rather than a threat of the destruction of civilization.

"A decade ago the Nation and the Congress were faced with the very great challenge of instituting policy with regard to the new force of nuclear fission. Then, as now, questions of peace and war dominated our thoughts and discussions, but it is inappropriate and irrelevant to draw an extended parallel between these two eras.

"The challenge of the atomic age, at the beginning, was to harness a vast destructive power to prevent its use in war.

"The challenge of the space age, at the beginning now, is to open a new frontier and to permit its use for peace.

"Twelve years ago much of our attention was dedicated to choosing between civilian control or military control. I believe that choice is not really before us now. On all sides, there is wide agreement that while space adds a new dimension to the technology of weapons and the strategy of security, the ultimate opportunity of space is not that of a final battleground. Freemen have no intention of rattling sabers among the stars.

"It is appropriate and heartening, I think, that we begin this work now on a base of unity and broad agreement, rather than on a base of disagreement and contention. I see no reason why this spirit cannot be maintained.

"The primary legislation before the Committee is legislation drafted by the advisers to the Chief Executive. It has been introduced here, upon request, by myself and by the Senior Senator from New Hampshire.

"I know, on the part of the sponsors and I believe on the part of the authors, there is full expectation that public examination and discussion of the terms of the legislation can contribute many strengthening recommendations.

"Such constructive contributions will be welcome from any source.

"I believe it is well to say, however, that this Committee wishes to confine its deliberations to the issues which are most pertinent and most in need of immediate attention.

"We could, of course, receive extensive and all but endless testimony about the possibilities and probabilities of outer space and what it may mean in a technical way. However, more than six months ago a committee of this Senate undertook an extensive and exhaustive study of that kind. No substantial purpose would be served by devoting further time to repetition of such testimony.

"Furthermore, there is in the House an eminent committee led by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McCormack, which is holding hearing in the same field. We are not here to duplicate those hearings but to act in accordance with the facts which are presented to us.

"One of the important features of our legislative system is that it provides checks and balances and assures that in the course of the legislative process there are a number of points at which proposals must be tested, and whatever is missed at one point will usually be found at another.

"What is before us now is not a question of whether we should begin the orderly exploration of space but, rather, the question of how such exploration may best be directed and initiated. We are past the point of studying sketches. It is time to get the blueprints drawn and start pouring concrete for the foundation.

"There is an obvious need within our Government for a structure and organization to give purpose, direction, and impetus to the national effort. That is what this committee is here to consider and to recommend.

"We cannot expect and do not expect to resolve this question for all time to come. Knowing as little as even our best minds know about space, it would be the height of vanity for us to suppose that we could -- in an age not yet 12 months old -- settle national policy for decades or centuries ahead.

"On the contrary, our particular challenge -- as I see it -- is to

devise a pattern which encourages rather than inhibits the full response of American initiative to the infinite challenges of outer space.

"If we create the agency which the challenge requires, it will be unlike rather than like anything now existing in the Federal Government. Certainly, it will require the closest attention from the Congress in the years immediately ahead to make certain that this potential is fully realized. For that reason, we must also make provision for Congress to give permanent attention to this new enterprise.

"Space, as I said, is a new dimension. Hence, it in no way detracts from or usurps the role of existing agencies or the programs of committees but, rather, it adds to and greatly expands the role of each. In fact, if our blueprints are proper and our building adequate, we should assure that after this period of transition there will be a diminished need for special agencies and special committees to deal with space.

"Space affects all of us and all that we do, in our private lives, in our business, in our education, and in our Government. We shall succeed or fail in relation to our national success at incorporating the exploration and utilization of space into all aspects of our society and the enrichment of all phases of our life on this earth."

Hearings before the Special Committee on Space and Astronautics,
United States Senate, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second Session on S. 3609.

1958

Statement on the Floor of the Senate - July 16, 1958

We are dealing with a new dimension only recently opened to us by an onward march of science. We know very little about that dimension. In fact, the only thing we know with certainty is that its exploration will dominate our activities for many centuries to come.

We must look upon outer space as a challenge to the creative impulse of mankind. And if we meet that challenge properly we may find that the road to lasting peace truly lies through the stars. The challenge is so great that it dwarfs the animosities and the hatreds that divide humanity today. We must be big enough to meet that challenge, and I have confidence that we will be big enough to meet that challenge.

1958

Statement on the Floor of the Senate - July 16, 1958 - in presenting
the Conference Report on the Bill Creating the New Space Administration

"Instead, we must look upon outer space as a challenge to the creative impulse of mankind. And if we meet that challenge properly we may find the road to lasting peace truly lies in the stars. The Challenge is so great that it dwarfs the animosities and the hatred that divides humanity today. We must be big enough to meet that challenge, and I have confidence that we will be big enough to meet that challenge."

late?

Statement on the Floor of the Senate - in support of H. Con. Res. 332.
A Resolution relative to the establishment of Plans for Peaceful Exploration
of Outer Space

"For the past two decades it has been fashionable in some circles to blame our scientists for opening up new roads to destruction. I have never sympathized with that attitude. It has always seemed to me that if humanity is bent on mass suicide, it is humanity, rather than the tools which are used, which must be blamed. But here is an instance in which our scientists are placing in our hands new opportunities which may not only call for peace, but may compel peace. The demonstrable necessity for working together will eventually override the quarrels which divide us."

1958

Statement on the Floor of the Senate - August 23, 1958

Our scientists have placed in our hands keys to open a whole new universe. For centuries to come, the exploration of outer space will dominate the minds and lives of men just as the exploration of the Western hemisphere dominated the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

As the leader of the free world we had an obligation to engage in that exploration -- not just from the military standpoint but to shape the exploration in the image of freedom.

Outer space will be explored. It will become the domain of free men or of men whose minds are enslaved. Either we meet our responsibilities or abdicate to the totalitarianism the dimension which will shape the lives of the coming generations.

One of the finest actions of this Congress was its clear expression that the exploration of outer space should be a joint venture by all members of the United Nations.

This is a true road to lasting peace. Men who work together to launch great and daring enterprises are men who can live together in harmony and in mutual understanding.

Americans, more than any other peoples on earth, have pioneered new frontiers. Each new frontier -- from the New England shore to the California coast -- has opened new horizons for commerce, trade, agriculture, engineering and science. Yet, in each instance, the greatest single effect has been upon our political institutions and our political concepts.

Men move into the unknown of a frontier because there is a compelling reason to do so. There are, I say, compelling reasons for us to move -- and move with greater force and determination than we have yet shown -- into the frontier of space.

Security is a prime concern. It is not our sole concern.

Security itself is not the reason we are, as a Nation, dedicated to the exploration of space.

That is why I welcome our national arrival at the Space frontier. That is why I so earnestly want us to press forward into it -- to move ahead and seek what is there.

As we found our national character in the frontiers of the American West, so, I believe, can we recapture our confidence and fulfil our greatness in the frontiers of the universe beyond the atmosphere.

Now, though, as we stand at the edges of outer space we can see both -- we can see the end of this stalemate and we can see victory, not victory for one nation alone, but victory for all mankind.

Peace is the first and greatest opportunity space affords.

We cannot reach into space successfully without marshaling the full potential of our resources and, in fact, the resources of the world.

This means, for the first time, that we shall summon up the ultimate of our capabilities and, by so doing, enrich the lives of all.

In a world circled by the vehicles of Space, there can be no secrets. We need, therefore, to concern ourselves not with guarding what we know but, rather, with exchanging and pooling our knowledge with all the community of free men.

We are moving to extend the frontiers of freedom -- personal freedom, social freedom, economic freedom, and the freedom of liberation from war.

As we learn more of this new age, and these new arts, we must return again and again to the scrutiny of our patterns -- not only in government and the military, but in business and the professions and education and industry.

We must concern ourselves with achieving the fullest utilization of our trained minds. Where talents are hoarded wastefully, we must seek their redistribution to more productive labors -- whether in the military or industry. Where there is want for such minds and talents to teach others, we must strive to meet those needs.

We must concern ourselves, too, with the processes to which our progress is entrusted -- to make certain that the processes yield the highest dividends.

Our research dollars must yield research dividends and not be dissipated casually in non-productive channels of contracting which may now be obsolete. Certainly we must find, at the governmental level, a way to reconcile the necessary prudence at handling the taxpayer's money with the necessary pioneering of pure research.

November 17, 1958

STATEMENT BY SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON IN
COMMITTEE I ON OUTER SPACE AT THE UNITED
NATIONS

I come today with one purpose. I am here to express to you the essential unity of the American people in their support of the goals of the resolution offered now in their name.

This resolution is presented, as our system requires, by the representative of the executive branch of our Government. I speak here today at its request.

The executive position in the United States is held by the Republican Party through the mandate of the people.

I am here as a Member of one House of the legislative branch in which the majority position is held—also at the mandate of the people—by the Democratic Party, of which I am a member.

These are distinctions.

They are not—on this resolution—differences.

On the goal of dedicating outer space to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind, there are no differences within our Government, between our parties, or among our people.

The executive and the legislative branches of our Government are together. United we stand.

There need be no differences among us here.

The very opportunity of the issue before this assembly is to erase the accumulated differences of our earth's long and troubled history and to write across the vastness of space a proud new chapter of unity and peace.

Men have not faced such a moment of opportunity before.

Until now, our strivings toward peace have been heavily burdened by legacies of distrust and fear and ignorance and injury.

Those legacies do not exist in space.

They will not appear there unless we send them on ahead.

To keep space as man has found it and to harvest the yield of peace which it promises, we of the United States see one course—and only one—which the nations of earth may intelligently pursue. That is the course of full and complete and immediate cooperation to make the exploration of outer space a joint adventure.

There is, I emphasize, no other course.

In saying this, I express no personal belief alone—but, rather, I convey to you the conviction of my countrymen and the force of the American decision which has already been established.

The American people—through their elected representatives in the Congress—have spoken their aims and their purposes. The will of the people is now fixed in our laws and our policies.

The end is peace.

The means to that end is international cooperation.

This is—and this will remain—the American decision.

Eleven months ago, the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee submitted to the full Senate a report on an exhaustive inquiry into the satellite and missile program of the United States. In that report, the bipartisan membership of the Subcommittee made this unanimous declaration:

"The immediate objective is to defend ourselves, but the equally important objective is to reach the hearts and minds of men everywhere so that the day will come when the ballistic missile will be merely a dusty relic in the museums of mankind and men everywhere will work together in understanding."

On July 29 of this year, the Congress in an act signed by the President established in the executive branch an agency under civilian control to guide and direct our national efforts in the exploration of space. By the act creating this agency, Congress embedded in the permanent law of the United States the following declaration of policy:

"The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind."

Further, in the same section of that act, Congress stated as a firm objective of the national efforts the following:

"Cooperation by the United States with other nations and groups of nations in work done pursuant to this act and in the peaceful application of the results thereof."

Subsequent to that, the majority leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, introduced before that body a resolution expressly requesting the President of the United States to submit to the United Nations the question of international cooperation in dedicating outer space to peaceful purposes only.

That resolution received the earnest support of the full membership of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and it was adopted unanimously by the full membership of the House of Representatives.

In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Theodore GREEN likewise accorded to the resolution the most serious study and recommended without dissent that it be adopted. The Senate of the United States—like the House of Representatives—gave to the resolution the unanimous support of

the Senators of both parties. Thus, it is a matter of record that the sense of the full membership of the Congress of the United States is that this question should be here on the agenda of the nations of the world. It is also the congressional view that this organization should assume the responsibility of leadership in promoting international cooperation in the exploration of outer space.

This is the American decision, expressed firmly in the resolutions of policy by the elected representatives of the people and established solidly by them in the cornerstone law of our Nation's space effort.

The resolution before this assembly now embodies fully the will of the Congress and the will of the people whom the Members of the Congress serve.

Thus I can—and I do—commend it to you for adoption. The record already made assures you the continuing support of the Congress for the cooperative endeavors toward peaceful uses of outer space which the resolution contemplates.

The full dimensions of the promise of space are now beyond the scope of our knowledge and our imagination. To presume that we have more now than merely a glimpse of those dimensions would be both a vain and, perhaps ultimately, a fatally limiting error.

At this moment, the nations of the earth are explorers in space, not colonizers. Hence, it is proper that this assembly should provide—first—the means for the United Nations to encourage and inspire that exploration.

That is contemplated in the form of this resolution which would create an exploratory ad hoc committee of representatives of member nations to carry out the following tasks:

First, to inventory the activities and resources of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international bodies relating to peaceful uses of outer space;

Second, to determine areas of international cooperation and programs which could be undertaken under auspices of this organization by member nations, without regard to their present stage of economic or scientific advancement;

Third, to consider the future form of international organization in the United Nations which would best facilitate full international cooperation in this field; and

Fourth, to survey the nature of the legal problems which may arise in implementation of this joint adventure among the nations of the earth.

These are essential first steps. Until these explorations are conducted, orderly procedure to the broader horizons beyond will not be possible. Thus, to impede this first step is to impede all progress toward the goals of peace which men of faith believe exist in the realms of space.

While these are first steps, they are decisive steps and we cannot be unmindful of the precedents which, if established now, may influence or even control the longer steps ahead.

We of the United States have recognized and do recognize, as must all men, that the penetration into outer space is the concern of all mankind. All nations and all men—without regard to their roles on earth—are affected alike by what is accomplished over their heads in outer space.

If nations proceed unilaterally, then their penetrations into space become only extensions of their national policies on earth. What their policies on earth inspire—whether trust or fear—so their accomplishments in outer space will inspire also.

For nations given to aggression and war and tyranny on earth, unilateral success in space technology would only multiply many times over their threat to peace.

Thus, it is the interest of nations dedicated to peace and freedom that the opportunity of space not be perverted to the end of aggression and control over earth by the aggressors.

Recognizing this as true, men of peace will recognize fully the necessity to proceed without delay on the first step which is here proposed.

Today outer space is free. It is unscarred by conflict. No nation holds a concession there.

It must remain this way.

We of the United States do not acknowledge that there are landlords of outer space who can presume to bargain with the nations of the earth on the price of access to this new domain.

We must not—and need not—corrupt this great opportunity by bringing to it the very antagonisms which we may, by courage, overcome and leave behind forever through a joint adventure into this new realm.

What man has done, thus far, has been the result directly of international cooperation on an informal basis by men of science through the years.

The success, further, of the formal cooperation undertaken in observance of the International Geophysical Year foretells the high promise offered by enlargement of our goals and intensification of our support and efforts.

We know the gains of cooperation. We know the losses of failure to cooperate.

If we fail now to apply the lessons we have learned, or even if we delay their application, we know that the advances into space may only mean adding a new dimension to warfare.

If, however, we proceed along the orderly course of full cooperation, we shall by the very fact of cooperation make the most substantial contribution yet made toward perfecting peace.

Men who have worked together to reach the stars are not likely to descend together into the depths of war and desolation.

It is the American vision, I believe, that out of this fresh start for humankind which space affords man may, at last, free himself of the waste of guarding himself against his ignorance of his neighbors.

Barriers between us will fall as our sights rise to space.

Secrecy will cease to be. Man will come to understand his fellow man—and himself—as never he has been able to do. In the infinity of the space adventure, man can find growing richness of mind, of spirit, and of liberty.

The promise of this moment of opportunity is great.

We of the United States believe that this assembly will honor the moment and fulfill the opportunity—and all mankind will be the beneficiary of your courage.

① Congressional Record

10/10/63

Also see:

② Dept. of State Press Release, 11/17/58,
No. 695.

③ Cinco, The Impact of Air Power (1959),
PP. 719-23.

1958

NATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AWARDS AND FOUNDERS DINNER
NEW YORK INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 16, 1958

"With our eyes on the stars -- and our feet on the ground -- let us
move forward and lead the world with us to reach the substance now at hand."

195-8

Statements before Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences
For Release - December 23, 1953

"I know that I speak not only for myself but for all other Committee members when I say that the Committee is dedicated to the principle that our nation must achieve pre-eminence in this field, and that our overriding goal is to do all in our power to insure the dedication of outer space to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind. Any other alternative is unacceptable.