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# REACHING FOR THE HIGH FRONTIER

The American Pro-Space Movement, 1972-84

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#### TO THOSE

who are trying to make the pie larger

new arms control regimes using strategic defenses. Armstrong introduced a parallel measure in the Senate. Newt Gingrich also was supportive, including the idea of space-based ABM in his 1984 book *Window of Opportunity*.85

The Strategic Defense Initiative also drew strong support from the Fusion Energy Foundation and from the publication *Executive Intelligence Review*, both of which are associated with the Presidential candidacy of Lyndon LaRouche. These organizations, which had begun campaigning for a space-based missile defense system in May 1982 (possibly in response to the High Frontier report), emphasized the economic as well as the military benefits of the beamed-energy research that would be conducted. One of their slogans was "Beam the Bomb."

The Citizens Advisory Council on National Space Policy met in August 1983 to draft a reaction to the President's initiative and to reconcile differences among advocates of different technical approaches to strategic defense such as Maxwell Hunter, Daniel Graham, and Lowell Wood of Livermore Laboratories. The report, entitled Space and Assured Survival, concluded that "The President's proposal to change the defensive posture of the United States from Mutual Assured Destruction to Assured Survival is morally correct, technologically feasible, and economically desirable." John Rather, speaking at a seminar at the Heritage Foundation in April 1984, said, "we'll stake our reputations on the fact that it's possible to do it soon."

The Strategic Defense Initiative also stimulated more expressions of opinion from citizens space advocates in their own publications. The L-5 News carried an article by General Graham in December 1983 and a rebuttal by David Webb the following month. Jerry Pournelle added his own views a month later.<sup>88</sup>

Meanwhile, technological developments based on long-standing research programs achieved increased public visibility. The United States conducted the first test of its new ASAT system in January 1984.<sup>89</sup> In June of that year, the U.S. Army conducted its first successful interception of a dummy missile warhead under its Homing Overlay Experiment, reportedly capping a six-year, \$300 million program. A spokesman reportedly said, "We hit a bullet with a bullet." <sup>90</sup>

By the end of 1984, strategic defense advocates still held the initiative in the ongoing debate. By most accounts, the Strategic Defense Initiative had been effective in defusing the nuclear freeze movement and was an important factor in bringing the Soviet Union back to the arms control negotiations in Geneva.<sup>91</sup>

### THE ARMS CONTROL RESPONSE

Judging by the open literature, established arms control groups showed relatively little interest in space weapons during the 1970s. Occasional articles and papers appeared, notably during the brief surge of media interest in the ASAT question and directed energy weapons during 1977 and 1978.<sup>92</sup> However, most liberal intellectuals appeared not to take space-related issues seriously.

As in the past, criticism of military activity in space often was led by individual scientists, some of whom also were critics of the manned space program. Pro-arms control groups with a scientific base, such as the Federation of American Scientists and the Union of Concerned Scientists, began to get more interested after the Reagan administration took office in January 1981. Several scientists and weapons experts issued a statement opposing laser weapons in space. Scientific American became an important medium for critiques of space-related weapons, particularly by Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist Kosta Tsipis. 93 However, criticisms tended to reflect distaste for weapons buildups rather than interest in space exploration or development.

## The Progressive Space Forum

The first pro-space group to campaign actively against space weapons appeared before groups actively supporting space defense, growing out of a confluence of leftist politics and the California space group boom described in Chapter 8. Jim Heaphy, who had been active in the anti-war movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, discovered the space movement in the San Francisco Bay area in January 1978 through *Space Age Review*, a publication put out by pro-space and pro-peace activist Steve Durst. An article about Space Day 2, to be held in Sacramento in April 1978, got Heaphy involved in the rally, where he spoke on the dangers of an arms race in space. Heaphy, by then a member of the L-5 Society, saw disarmament as an unfilled niche in the pro-space movement. 94

Meetings held in the summer of 1979 in connection with preparations for Space Day 3 led to the formation of a group called Citizens for Space Demilitarization (CFSD). In January 1980, CFSD published the first issue of Space for All People, a quarterly newsletter that remained in publication as of 1985. An editorial by Heaphy in the June 1980 issue described CFSD as a bridge between two movements – that favoring