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Arms Sales and Arms Limitations: Some Thoughts on SALT II,
1979.

Arms Sales and Arms Limitations:
Some Thoughts on SALT II
Daniel Jeremy Silver
April 29, 1979

I could build and staff a new high school or a ~~new~~ major nursing center every day for the next two thousand five hundred years with the money that our world spent on armaments last year. Anyone in his right mind must be committed to the principle of arms control and disarmament.

Last year our world spent two hundred and thirty dollars on each school child and nearly fifteen thousand dollars on each soldier. The funds that are spent for weapons of destruction are ~~truly~~ astronomical. We sometimes mock the ancient Egyptians who spent their treasure for tombs for dead pharaohs. What are we doing but spending our treasure to put millions of people into tombs? The shells and warheads already in existence contain fifteen thousand pounds of explosive for every man, woman and child on the face of this earth. The Talmud asks: "Who is a fool?" The answer provided is that a fool is the person who wastes what is given to him. Nearly twenty percent of the value of goods and services produced in our world is spent on armaments.

A great debate is about to take place in our country over the ratification of a SALT II treaty which this Administration has been telling us for weeks is nearly negotiated with the Soviet Union. SALT is an acronym for Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty. SALT II has been negotiated by our Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and is explained to us by our President as a contribution to arms limitation and disarmament.

Many are opposed to the treaty. A Committee for Peace Through Strength has come into being whose members argue that under SALT II terms the Russians will be assured of a decided advantage in nuclear armaments. Our own Senator Glenn has become the point man in another facet of the debate. He has questioned whether the treaty is verifiable since we have lost the use of the electronic eavesdropping stations

which we maintained in Iran. Both of these groups have some compelling arguments to support their position. What they fail to do is question the President's fundamental thesis that the treaty is a step towards disarmament or arms control. Actually, SALT II will do little more than reshape the arms race so that the two super powers can spend less for arms of marginal advantage and more on arms which promise ^{Future} ~~major~~ technical superiority.

~~Unfortunately, SALT II will not contribute to arms control or arms limitation.~~
~~Actually,~~ SALT II sets the ground rules for intensified competition and ever more massive arms buildup rather than the reverse. Whatever else it is SALT II is not a contribution to arms control or to disarmament, though everyone seems to be encouraging the American people to believe that the treaty is an arms control measure.

Let me review a little bit of useful history which may help us understand ^{the} ~~what~~ ^{Treaty} ~~I am suggesting~~. The United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic emerged from the Second World War as the uncontested super powers. At that time the United States held a nuclear monopoly and was militarily preeminent. The Soviet Union required about ten years to create an effective nuclear arms system; and another fifteen years or so to reach the point where they had relative nuclear parity with the United States. It was not easy. In the twenty-five years after the Second World War the United States spent over a trillion dollars on research, development and the manufacture of arms. The Soviets must have spent far more. If you have wondered about the low standard of living in the Soviet Union here is your answer.

During these years such peace as exists in our world has been ours not because of ^{AN INTERNATIONAL} ~~a rational~~ commitment ~~by the nations~~ to settle peacefully all international disputes, but because of the doctrine of deterrence. "Doctrine" glorifies little more than the child's game of "chicken": "if you hit me I'll hit you back". You won't kill me because

if you do I will kill you in the process.

Winston Churchill once described international order as a balance of terror. Simply put, Russia will not strike the United States because if her missiles destroyed our cities, our missiles would destroy her cities. We have the power to destroy the Soviet Union many times over and the Soviet Union has the power to destroy the United States many times over. International order rests on fear, a fact most of us conveniently push out of our minds ~~each morning~~ when we awake to another day of responsibilities. We act as if we can take peace for granted despite the nuclear warheads at ready in their silos, separated by only twenty minutes from their targets.

Once the Soviet Union and the United States achieved a condition of relative nuclear parity, they began to assess their positions and found that the arms race was getting expensive even for them. Each country had spent over a trillion dollars ~~apiece~~ on armaments. Countries which had not made a proportional investment in the arms race had forged ahead economically and were stronger and comparatively more powerful. ~~Among the Western nations~~ Germany and Japan, particularly, had become strong precisely because they had been prohibited from using their prosperity for nuclear weapons. In the East, China increasingly challenged the Soviet Union. Burdened by ever growing defense costs the United States and the Soviet Union began to wonder whether they could continue to build everything, follow up every avenue of research, and produce every new weapon without slipping to second rank among world powers.

By the late 1960's it had become clear to the United States and the Soviet Union that the cost of weaponry was weakening their economies and, therefore, their power. At that time a new generation of defensive nuclear weapons had been developed which had particularly disturbing cost and deterrence consequences. These were the anti-ballistic missiles. Defensive systems comprising such weapons could be erected

which had the capability of striking down a good number of incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles, but such defensive systems were extremely costly. A full defense system would have cost nearly half of what had already been spent on a nuclear ^{MS} ~~area~~, ~~with uncertain results~~. Moreover, the placement of a defensive screen against incoming weapons suggested that a country might not be totally annihilated by a first strike. The Rand Corporation began to suggest: "We will only suffer seventy-five million casualties in a first attack and will be able to strike back and our second strike will win it for us." The defensive screen unsettled the balance of terror and made a nuclear war more likely precisely by suggesting the viability of ~~some~~ defense. And there was ^{AN AVAILABLE} ~~a great~~ counter ~~move~~ to the defensive ^S ~~ive~~ system. Both countries could put more missiles in more silos. The more missiles shot, the more missiles would get through.

To prevent an unacceptable drain on their economies the Soviet Union and the United States concluded in 1970 the first SALT treaty. It, too, was proclaimed as an arms limitations and disarmament treaty. In fact, it had little to do with arms control and disarmament and everything to do with cost containment and more bang for the buck. SALT I was an attempt by the two super powers to husband wealth and resources for more promising military technologies and so keep their advantage over other countries who had not spent their wealth for the first, now obsolescent, generation of nuclear weapons.

SALT I was signed in 1970; the Vladivostok Agreement, which worked out practical terms of SALT I, was signed in 1972. It is now 1979. Today the Soviet Union and the United States have three times the nuclear destructive power they had in 1970.

What happened? SALT I limited deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system and set some limits on the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, thus, the illusion of arms limitations. But the scientists knew how to get around these limits.

If the number of missiles was limited, the number of warheads of each missile was not. A half a million scientists and engineers are involved in the arms race, one-quarter of all the scientists and engineers, ^{IN THE WORLD} and ^{SOON THESE MEN HAD} ~~each country's scientists~~ simply created something called Mirv, a multiple, individually-targeted re-entry vehicle: a missile which carries three or four warheads, each capable of being individually targeted. If we sent up such a missile one of its nuclear warheads could be targeted on Kiev, another on Moscow and another on Leningrad. Such is the accuracy of each warhead that ^{FAIL} ~~they~~ would fall within six hundred yards of predetermined target. So much for SALT I as a disarmament or arms control treaty.

SALT I covered ~~only~~ a narrow list of weapons. It said nothing about conventional weapons. It said nothing about high energy weapons. It said nothing about nuclear warheads mounted on mortars or shells which had a projectory of less than intercontinental range. Despite, or rather because of, SALT I each country plunged ahead ^{THOSE ARMED OR} in the arms race. We developed atomic submarines which could shoot nuclear ^{MISSILES} ~~weapons~~ from deep under the sea and were, for the time being, almost impregnable. So did the Russians. We developed the ~~MT~~^X missile which could be deployed at will on land and so was more difficult to locate, and the Russians developed their own counter.

SALT I increased the pace of the arms race. SALT II will probably do the same. It will not limit the total destructive capacity of either nation. It will limit certain kinds of armaments which the two countries have decided between them ~~and~~ can no longer be developed to their advantage. It is a cost containment program and not a disarmament program, and the monies saved will be spent on more weapons. Both countries plan to increase their defense budget ^{OVER} in the coming years.

What does the SALT II treaty stipulate? Over a period of five years the Soviet Union and the United States bind themselves to limit the number of intercontinental

ballistic missiles in their active arsenals to some two thousand one hundred. The two countries will limit the number of multiple warhead missiles to ~~three thousand three hundred and some~~. To meet these figures the United States will have to increase by ^{the missile force} fifty, and the Soviet Union ^{by} over two hundred or two hundred and fifty, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Mirv systems~~ ^{now on line}. The treaty says nothing about sub-intercontinental missiles or the ~~so-called~~ Soviet backfire bomber, whose range is just a few miles short of being intercontinental. It says nothing about our MX highly mobile land missiles. It says nothing about the amount of destructive power which can be put in any warhead. It says nothing about the number of nuclear warheads which can be ~~loaded~~ ^{loaded ON} from more conventional weapons: canon, mortar; or a gun. It says nothing about high energy weapons. I would suggest that ~~even if SALT II is satisfied~~ there will be more destructive power in the world in 1985 when the treaty expires than there is today. SALT II ^{simply allows} ~~will alienate~~ the two countries to move to new weapons systems without ^{spending large sums} ~~wasting more money~~ on systems whose destructive capacities have been largely developed ^{and brought on line}.

And so the world plunges ahead towards ~~Armageddon~~. ~~In history~~ ^{WAR.} Every arms race has ended in ~~those arms being used~~. Moreover, the nuclear club is growing. Once we had a nuclear monopoly. Then there were two nuclear powers. Now there are nine or ten. Soon ^{Gaddafi} ~~Khaddafi~~ will have nuclear arms and Assad and Samoza. . . Relying on the balance of terror, we have neglected world order. When too many players can play "chicken", someone, somewhere will go too far.

~~In the process of an untrammelled arms race the nuclear club has grown. By 1990 it will have forty or fifty members.~~ The United States and the Soviet Union like to think of themselves as responsible managers of terror and to list ^G ~~Kh~~ Gaddafi, Assad and Amin as irresponsible managers of terror. But I confess that anyone having such power at his finger tips frightens me.

SALT II has no prohibition against the next generation of sophisticated weapons: high energy weapons, anti-satellite weapons, particle beam weapons, laser beam weapons. I am told that there are so-called conventional weapons whose destructive power is greater than that of the hydrogen bomb. Whether or not this is the case, the decision to destroy the world rests actively with a few men and women and who knows if, when and for what reason, or non-reason, this power might be used?

I am going to be a disinterested spectator during the great SALT II debate. I don't think it makes much difference who wins. If there is no SALT II treaty the arms race will gallop ahead. If there is a SALT II treaty the arms race will gallop ahead. There may be some economic benefit and some marginal diplomatic benefits from a treaty. There is some value in arrangements between the Soviet Union and the United States, although I must add sadly there is little evidence, given Soviet behavior in recent years, that the SALT I treaty increased the effectiveness of Detente. There is little evidence these last years of restraint by the Soviet Union and, certainly the United States has used power when we could for diplomatic purposes. If we have not been as expansionist as the Soviet Union perhaps it is simply that we are less apt than they are.

On the other hand, there may be some advantage if SALT II is not ratified. Perhaps people will begin to insist that leaders work for significant arms control. A defeat of SALT II would say to the world's leaders: don't pull the wool over our eyes; don't talk to us of disarmament when that is not the purpose of the treaty. Talk to us honestly. If you are talking about cost containment we can understand it, but don't raise our hopes for peace when the issue is not peace but greater power.

When President Carter was running for office he attacked the Nixon-Ford position on SALT I by saying: "SALT I provides just the ground rules for an intensified competition for a continued massive arms growth." Today these words can be flung

back into his face. SALT is SALT I's legitimate child.

I am reminded of the 1922 Washington Naval Conference. The great powers got together to control the intercontinental ballistic missiles of their day, the great dreadnaught battleships which were essentially platforms for massive canon which could fire a hundred miles into any country with a coastline. Careful rules were established as to the size of a battleship, the number of its canon and the number of such ships any country could have. The question of verifiability was easily resolved. A battleship takes a long time to build and must be built in a dry dock which any man with binoculars could discover. So what happened? America became bemused that an arms limitation program was in being, and German scientists discovered a way to build a heavy cruiser a few feet shorter than what the treaty classified as a battleship and were able to put weapons in these ships with greater fire power. Germany built a generation of pocket battleships for which the treaty made no provision and ravaged the seas with them at the beginning of the second World War.

Engineers can always find a way around the most carefully constructed rules, if their bosses want them to. Our scientists found a way around SALT I. Their scientists found a way around SALT I. Our scientists will find a way around SALT II. Their scientists will find a way around SALT II. Disarmament will occur only when the nations begin to seek a balance of order rather than terror. Peace will come when the countries who live on planet earth recognize that war is no longer a viable option. Once upon a time war killed only the people who went to war and the few civilians who had the bad fortune to be in the path of the troops. Today a war will kill everyone within a hundred miles of each nuclear explosion. A hundred million Americans or Russians would die in a first strike. There is no other program for peace than disarmament and the construction of a civilized world order, but there is little evidence that any group of countries

is willing to take that road. Instead, ~~it is more of the same economic and political expansion which has always led to war~~ ^{EXPANDED INTO} the Soviet Union in Africa and Asia, China in south-east Asia, the United States into Latin America, one Latin American country into another Latin American country, one African country into another African country. Power speaks and it is only a matter of time before somebody will be angry enough or terrorized to press the button.

Three weeks ago a group of saboteurs broke into a storage area in the Marseilles Docks and destroyed a nuclear reactor being sent to Iraq. Imagine a government like Iraq having nuclear weapons, but they will have them. And the Iraqi might well say, imagine the country that conducted the Vietnamese war having nuclear weapons?

During the SALT II debate you and I will be overwhelmed with complex, technical details about missiles and verifiability. Forget them. Leave these matters to technicians. For us the question is the question which will not be debated: Why are we being presented an arms control treaty which is not an arms control treaty? For us the debate should lead to the painful recognition that SALT I and SALT II represent the failure of meaningful international structures and a ^{THE CONTINUATION OF OUR WORLD'S} continuing and even less sanguine reliance on peace through terror.

The rabbis say that every lecture should end on a word of hope. What hope do we have? Well, there is always the old truth that where there is life there is hope. Stay well.

Kaddish

Friday

Sunday APRIL 29, 1979

Those who passed away this week

MORRIS ARSHAM

MOE NODELMAN

Yahrzeits

MONROE A. ULLMAN

JACOB KRONHEIM

FAN B. ULMER

MARIE KESSLER MOORE

EMIL H. GOTTFRIED

MAX S. FRIED

HETTIE AKERS

SAMUEL W. KERN

ALFRED C. STEIN

PETER J. DUBIN

RUTH GOLDSTEIN FRIEDMAN

CHARLES ALLEN HUEBSCHMAN

JANET HOFFMAN WARNER

EDWARD I. MINTZ

RUTH R. WOLFSTEIN

CHARLES GINSBERG

SIDNEY S. WEISKOPF

ANNE COWAN

IDA RIGELHAUPT

PHIMORE J. HABER

GRACE K. ROTMAN

LOUIS M. SCHER

ZELDA STILLMAN

JACK LINGER

LENA WILK PRENTKE

MOLLY PALEY

BERTHOLD AUERBACH

SYLVIA NEWMAN

POLLY D. BLOOMENTHAL

EARON REIN

GEORGE E. GOLDMAN

DR. LOUIS L. SHORE

HATTIE MENDELSON HORVITZ

DR. JOSEPH W. GRAY

FLORENCE F. WIRTSHAFTER

EUGENE J. MORSE

ABRAHAM B. SEGEL



Your TEMPLE Calendar — Clip and Save

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
<p>22 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch</p> <p>The Mr. & Mrs. Club Service "THE HOLOCAUST"</p>	<p>23</p>	<p>24 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch</p>	<p>25 TWA Board Meeting 10:00 a.m. - Branch</p>	<p>26</p> <p>Program for Older Members 12:30 p.m. The Main Temple</p>	<p>27</p> <p>Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel</p> <p>SEVENTH SABBATH 8:00 p.m. - Branch</p>	<p>28 Shabbat Service 9:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Senior Youth Group Camp Weekend</p> <p>TMC Retreat Kent State University The World of Abe Cahan - Hester Street</p>
<p>29 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch</p> <p>Rabbi Silver will speak on ARMS SALES AND ARMS LIMITATIONS: Some Thoughts on SALT II</p> <p>2nd Grade Trip to Main Temple</p> <p>High School Camp Weekend</p> <p>TMC Retreat</p>	<p>30</p>	<p>MAY</p> <p>1 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Mr. & Mrs. Club Board Meeting 8:00 p.m.</p>	<p>2</p> <p>Israel Independence Day</p>	<p>3</p>	<p>4</p> <p>Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel</p> <p>FIRST FRIDAY AN EVENING WITH MIRIAM FRIED 8:15 p.m. - Branch</p>	<p>5 Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch</p>
<p>6 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch</p> <p>Rabbi Silver will speak on</p> <p>Last Day High School</p> <p>Confirmation Party 4:00 p.m.</p>	<p>7</p> <p>A FESTIVAL OF SYNAGOGUE MUSIC</p>	<p>8 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 - 6:00 p.m. The Main Temple</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>11</p> <p>Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel</p> <p>HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION 7:45 p.m. - Branch</p>	<p>12 Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 - 12 noon The Main Temple</p> <p>Bar Mitzvah MITCHELL STECKER 4:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel</p>
<p>13 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch</p> <p>Rabbi Silver will speak on</p> <p>(Last Sunday Services)</p> <p>TWA Honors Mothers</p>	<p>14</p>	<p>15 Lag Ba'omer</p> <p>TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Religious School Board Meeting 8:15 p.m. - Branch</p>	<p>16</p> <p>TWA ANNUAL LUNCHEON Oakwood Country Club 12:00 noon</p> <p>Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 - 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>17</p>	<p>18</p> <p>Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel</p>	<p>19 Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. - Branch</p> <p>Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 - 12 Noon</p> <p>Last Day Sabbath School Bat Mitzvah CAROLINE SACHS 11:00 a.m. - Temple Chapel</p> <p>Bat Mitzvah SUSAN BROOK 4:30 p.m. - Temple Chapel</p> <p>Mr. & Mrs. Club INSTALLATION DINNER & TOGA PARTY</p>

JUST THE GROUND RULES FOR INTENSIFIED

COMPETITION AND CONTINUED MASSIVE ARMS GROWTH!

PARTICLE BEAMS

HIGH ENERGY WEAPONS



staff

I would build a hospital, as well as a nursing

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on earth WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES 2361

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2. in - reference to Am. Newspaper article
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of reference - J.C. described SALT II as a
significant step in "AMERICAN'S CONCERN POLICY
OF SEEKING PEACE"

a series of steps needed to
reach an agreement on nuclear weapons
reduction - but it is not clear if the idea of reducing nuclear weapons
is the best way to achieve peace



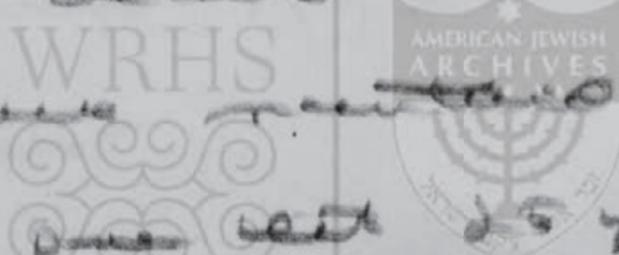
too rapid of nuclear weapons reduction
described by the author in 1955 was not the same as the idea of reducing nuclear weapons
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expand now to today as was needed
at least 2 have one to be reached
conclusion but it is not clear if the idea of reducing nuclear weapons
is the best way to achieve peace

even without Treaty of Commerce to be successful

MONITORING - needed in U.S. in the USIA

to be open as to limited in any significant way by the presence

To make my point, I need to review a lot of history - at the end of WWII the US & USSR emerged as the UNCONTROLED super powers. - the US had a nuclear monopoly, we maintained

and monopoly for decades and we made clean nuclear superiority -  25 years ago

Research would great every aspect of production of all needed in nuclear R & D - manufacture - control we had IT was done in R & D - manufacture - very expensive

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Appendix THE BALANCE OF TUNING

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that defense systems might be built
could predict nearly 1/4 of the population for 1950

WRHS



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Development of Particle Beam and

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