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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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## SECRET

WASHINGTON

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DECLASSIFIED WHITE HOUSE

SECRET

NLRR 748-22-38-1-1

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170503

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT:

Secretary Haig's Memo on President Brezhnev's

Komsomol Speech

Attached for your information is a memo from Al Haig summarizing the Department of State's assessment of President Brezhnev's START and INF statements (Tab A), in Brezhnev's May 18 speech to the Komsomol.

The speech took a predictable posture in its critique of the U.S. position and in advocacy of a freeze. Nevertheless, as Al's memo points out, it "constitutes a relatively mild and constructive-sounding reply" to your May 9 speech.

#### Attachment

Tab A Secretary Haig's Memo

cc Vice President
Ed Meese
James Baker
Mike Deaver

SECRET Review May 19, 1988

SECRET ..

### THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

S/S 8214225 82 ' 19 PH **05** 

May 19, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Alexander M. Haig, Jr. 7

Subject:

THE BREZHNEV KOMSOMOL SPEECH

Brezhnev's speech is clearly aimed at public opinion in the United States and especially Western Europe. It emphasizes grand gestures, both in START and INF, but gives little insight into the Soviet negotiating approach. nevertheless constitutes a relatively mild and constructivesounding reply to your Eureka speech. Brezhnev's major points and our comments follow.

#### START

Brezhnev proposes a prompt interim quantitative freeze and qualitative restraints on strategic nuclear weapons. to the nuclear freeze movement, this proposal is a logical extension of Soviet proposals for an INF freeze. It does not specify the units which would be frozen or the way in which modernization could be limited. We can expect Brezhnev's call for a strategic weapons freeze to feature prominently in Soviet propaganda.

Concurring in the need for substantial reductions, he welcomes US willingness to negotiate on strategic arms and says the talks should begin immediately. He gives no signal on a date or venue, but I expect to hear from the Soviet side through diplomatic channels in the near future.

Brezhnev predictably criticizes your START proposals as facilitating a quest for US military superiority and jeopardizing Soviet security. These criticisms fall short of rejecting the US proposals, although the Soviets will clearly seek to broaden the focus of START negotiations well beyond the US proposals when talks begin.

He proposes banning or severely restricting the development of new types of strategic weapons. While this posture has public appeal, it also probably results from the Soviet desire to restrain US technology, particularly development of the D-5.

He proposes three general principles for successful strategic negotiations: the pursuit of actual limits and reductions, not camouflage for a continuing buildup;



respect for each other's legitimate security interests and the principle of equality and equal security; and preservation of "everything positive" which has been achieved earlier. Brezhnev stopped short of mentioning SALT II.

#### INF

Brezhnev pays more detailed attention to INF than to START and says that "the key task today (in the quest for peace) is to lower the nuclear confrontation in Europe."

Brezhnev expresses readiness to consider <u>deeper INF</u> reductions than the two-third cuts the Soviet Union had previously proposed. The meaning of this will have to be explored in the INF negotiations.

He reports reduction of a "considerable" number of INF missiles. These are presumably obsolete SS-4s and SS-5s undergoing normal retirement.

He announces that "no medium-range missiles will be additionally deployed in places from which both the FRG and other countries of Western Europe could be within their reach." We believe that the Soviet moratorium offer of 16 March included SS-20s at some Asian bases within range of Western Europe. If this is true, he is making explicit an aspect of their original offer, but in so doing he admits the validity of our position that limits on missiles "in Europe" alone are inadequate.

He confirms that the Soviet INF freeze "envisages" termination of preparation for missile deployments, including construction of launch sites. This clarification is aimed at hampering our own site preparations, and it responds to US criticism that construction was continuing at some sites even after the moratorium. Very recent intelligence indicates ongoing construction at SS-20 sites, and we will watch closely to see if it stops after the speech.

Calling our desire for a US-Soviet agreement on global INF limitations "absurd," he announces that the question of missiles in the Eastern part of the USSR could only be addressed in negotiations "with those in whose hands are the nuclear means which are opposed by our missiles." Without calling for Asian INF negotiations involving China, Brezhnev says that the USSR "does not object" to such negotiations. Soviet INF negotiators will presumably now use this line in rejecting our global approach.



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S. KRAEMER TO W. CLARK RE HAIG MEMO ON BREZHNEV'S KOMSOMOL SPEECH

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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**MEMORANDUM** 

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

170512

May 25, 1982

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INFORMATION

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

ROGER W. ROBINSON

SUBJECT:

U.S. Equipment Sales to the West Siberian

Pipeline

The Washington representative of G.E. telephoned Norman Bailey May 24 to relay information reaching G.E. that the Soviets are intending to make a 46% capital injection (\$11-15 million) to their French competitor, Alsthom-Atlantique, to cover its retooling and plant expansion costs to manufacture the additional rotors based on G.E. technology. G.E. also claimed that the Administration may not fully understand their posture on the question of sanctions. In the way of clarification, G.E. stated that if sanctions are to be maintained, they believe it only fair for the White House to impose extraterritorial controls to curtail these kinds of abuses of their licensing arrangements.

I am increasingly convinced that the Soviets are making strenuous efforts to insulate the Siberian pipeline and the planned second strand from any U.S. equipment and technology requirements. The 46% capital investment in Alsthom-Atlantique by the Soviets tends to support this view.

If pressed, I believe we could prove that G.E. would lose their rotor contracts irrespective of whether or not December 30

SECRET Review 19 May 2002

Derivative Classification by CIA

No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/10/12: NLR-748-22-38-4-8

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sanctions are lifted. Caterpillar may also find itself permanently replaced as a supplier by Komatsu of Japan. We have numerous reports of "heavy-handed" Soviet pressure. on turbine manufacturers to accept Alsthom rotors now and in the future. We will follow this new angle closely as concern over "victimized" U.S. companies was used today as a major argument supporting the lifting of sanctions.

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Norman Bailey Richard Pipes

Don Gregg

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 24, 1982

170514

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MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

NLRR 748-22-38-6-6

FROM:

CHRIS SHOEMAKER

BY GOB NARA DATE (1/17/15

SUBJECT:

Organizing for Terrorism

Noel Koch's memo to Ambassador Sayre (Tab I) reflects the continuing unhappiness Noel has with the lead agency concept. The issue is whether a lead agency should have responsibility for managing minor terrorism incidents or whether this responsibility should shift to a new office within the NSC. Noel Koch feels very strongly that the latter should be adopted. This option was presented to Judge Clark prior to the submission of NSDD-30, and he decided against it. (Noel's comments about the preparation of the NSDD reflect far more his own irritation that his view was not adopted than they do any inadequacy of consultation.)

There are options we could adopt short of managing all terrorism incidents from the White House, however, which could help address Noel's concerns.

The first is to hire a staff member with solid credentials in terrorism and assign him counterterrorism responsibility. He would probably have other duties as well, but such an appointment would demonstrate increased White House concern with terrorism. We could then give him a charter that would make the lead agency report to him even in minor incidents. He could also be appointed chairman of the TIWG.

The second option builds on the first in that we would appoint an expert on terrorism to the staff with the authorities outlined above. In addition, this individual would assume the chairmanship of the Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism. This would give him both operational authority through the TIWG and policy oversight through the IG/T. State would oppose this, but it would move in the direction that DOD suggests.

Third, we could create an NSC office of terrorism manned by three or four people. This office would serve as a permanent secretariat to the TIWG. In addition, it would assume the interagency coordination policy role currently exercised by the IG/T.

The fourth option is to adopt Noel Koch's suggestion and have all terrorism incidents and all terrorism policy managed by the NSC staff. This would require the creation of a separate office and

SECRET Review 5/24/1988

11

a restructuring of Situation Room operations so that incidents could be managed here. We would then subordinate the lead agency and all other terrorism activities to this new office. The advantages of this option are:

- -- It would clearly centralize incident management here in the White House, facilitating interagency coordination and the timely preparation of options.
- -- It would put real substance and visibility behind the President's counterterrorism policies.
- -- It would fix terrorism responsibility once and for all in a single agency.

The disadvantages of this option are several:

- -- It would require changing the size and composition of the NSC staff.
- -- It would give every incident of terrorism, no matter how minor, White House visibility.
- -- It is probably unnecessary given the current IG/T and lead agency mechanisms. The case has not been conclusively made that the lead agency concept does not work, notwithstanding Noel's protestations.

North concurs.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That we discuss this issue in the TIWG meeting on June 2.

Approve	1/	Disapprove	
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Attachment

Tab I Noel Koch's memo to Ambassador Sayre.



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170515 LETTER 2 5/18/1982 B1

N. KOCH TO R. SAYRE RE ORGANIZING ANTITERRORISM STAFF

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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cc: Meese Baker Deaver

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FROM ROBINSON

KEYWORDS: EAST WEST ECONOMICS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

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SUBJECT: US EQUIPMENT SALES TO WEST SIBERIAN PIPELINE

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TRESIDENT DAS

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SITUATION ROOM NOTE

May 26, 1982

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SECRET

Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade's Urgent Requirement for Funds

In a possibly related matter, the U.S. grain consultation team recently concluded two days of talks with the Soviet team and found particularly interesting Soviet indications that financial resources and financing were a current problem.

SECRET REVIEW ON MAY 26, 2002 CLASSIFIED BY MULTIPLE SOURCES

DECLASSIFIED IN PART INFORMED 746-73-38-84 BY <u>CV</u> NARA DATE (1542 He must be very careful on this. Our position may be a bit of a dichotomy. We have grain to sell and are willing to sell and even willing to extend credit. The European have industrial sproducts and are willing to sell and piname. We are asking the asked Henry to do a page for Preside of.

#### **MEMORANDUM**

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 27, 1982

170517

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT:

Soviet Succession

DECLASSIFIED \*

BY COB

Attached at Tab I is State's appraisal of the latest changes in the Soviet sweepstakes, emphasizing the head start of Andropov and Dolgikh. I would not attach too much importance to such prognoses: we are only in the first lap of a lengthy race and horses that lead as the gate opens have been known to come in last. (8)

#### Attachment:

Tab I

State's memorandum of May 25, 1982

cc: Robinson Dobriansky

Derivative from State Review May 27, 2002.



# CONFIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, O.C. 20520

May 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Soviet Leadership Changes: Policy Implications

Attached for your information is an analysis of recent Soviet Leadership Changes: Policy Implications.

L. Paul Bremer, III. Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated

CONFIDENTIAL RDS-3, 5/25/0 SUBJECT: Soviet Leadership Changes: Policy Implications

Promotion of Andropov to the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, and elevation of CC Secretariat member Dolgikh to Candidate Politburo status (both moves announced at the May 24 CC Plenum) should have no immediate policy impact but are pregnant with implications for the succession sweepstakes. For example:

- -- As one of the few leaders with seats in both the Politburo and the Secretariat (apart from Brezhnev, the only others are Kirilenko, Chernenko and Gorbachev), Andropov now becomes a serious contender to succeed Brezhnev as CPSU General Secretary;
- -- Dolgikh, a relatively youthful (age 58) specialist in industrial management, may be on the way to full Politburo status, which would also make him eligible for a senior leadership position. In any event, Dolgikh's promotion is a boost for Soviet industrialists, who have been under-represented in the senior leadership since Kosygin's death.

At least one shoe has yet to fall: if tradition is followed, Andropov will give up his job as KGB Chairman. The official announcement from today's CC Plenum did not indicate who will replace Andropov in that important position.

These leadership changes tell us little about Brezhnev's political strength. Andropov's move into the Secretariat makes him a challenger to heir-presumptive Chernenko; but Brezhnev may have felt uncomfortable with having his personal protege Chernenko as the only likely successor. And it is conceivable that, at least in the initial period of succession, Andropov and Chernenko could each inherit a piece of Brezhnev's power. Be that as it may, Suslov's death created a key vacancy in the nine-man Secretariat. Andropov, who served in the Secretariat from 1962-67 and has held other Party positions, can be regarded as a logical replacement. So Andropov's promotion does not necessarily mark a setback for Brezhnev (of course, Andropov became KGB Chairman and a full Politburo member during

CONFIDENTIAL RDS-3 5/24/02

## CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

Brezhnev's reign and presumably with Brezhnev's blessing).

Similarly, Dolgikh's promotion sheds little light on Brezhnev's current position. A Secretariat member since 1972, Dolgikh's rapid rise into the central Party leadrship almost certainly had Brezhnev's support. If, as rumored, Kirilenko (the senior Secretariat member responsible for industry) is ill, Dolgikh's elevation could be explained on the grounds that someone with enhanced authority was needed to assist Kirilenko in overseeing the industrial sector.

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## National Secured Council The White House

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

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ROBINSON DOBRIANSKY

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COMMENTS

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## CONFIDENTIAL WHILE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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MOSCOW 6683 DATE Ø6/Ø3/82

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MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

CONF-T DENT! AL SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 MOSCOW Ø56Ø3 E. 0: 12065: GDS 05/29/88 (MCCALL, S.) OR-P TAGS: MNUC, PARM, US, UR SUBJECT: (U) PETROV ARTICLE QUESTIONS U.S. COMMITMENT ON ARMS CONTROL

1. Je - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: ON THE EVE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEMORIAL DAY SPEECH, AN AUTHORITATIVE PRAVDA COMMENTARY QUESTIONS THE COMMITMENT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENTS IN ARMS CONTROL. THE COMMENTARY CONTRASTS JUDGE CLARK'S GEORGETOWN SPEECH, THE VICE PRESIDENT'S BOSTON COLLEGE SPEECH, AND THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWERS TO WEST EUROPEAN NEWSMEN WITH THE EUREKA COLLEGE SPEECH, SUGGESTING IT IS HARD TO KNOW WHETHER TO BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT'S "PEACEFUL WORDS" OR HIS AND HIS ADVISERS' "BELLICOSE APPEALS," THE COMMENTARY IS AN OBVIOUS SOVIET ATTEMPT TO PLAY TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT. PARTICU-LARLY IN WESTERN EUROPE, IN THE HOPE OF COUNTERING THE U.S. INITIATIVE GAINED BY THE EUREKA SPEECH. IT IS ALSO INTENDED TO BLUNT THE EFFECT OF ANY AGREEMENT TO BEGIN TALKS BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE SUPPOSED U.S. EFFORT TO GAIN "MILITARY SUPERIORITY" CONTINUES APACE. PROPA-GANDISTIC IN PURPOSE, THE COMMENTARY DOES NOT SEEK CAREFULLY TO ADDRESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S START PROPOSAL. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS QUICKLY AND AUTHORITATIVELY CRITICIZED THE U.S. ZERO OPTION PRO-POSAL FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH. THEY HAVE TREATED THE START PROPOSAL SET FORTH IN EUREKA MUCH LESS SEVERELY. END SUMMARY.

3. PRAVDA'S MAY 29 COMMENTARY OVER THE PETROV SIGNA-TURE (USED TO DENOTE AUTHORITATIVE VIEWS) MAKES A STANDARD PLUG FOR THE SOVIET "PEACE PLAN" FROM THE XXVI CPSU CONGRESS AND ASSERTS THAT THE 15-MONTH DELAY IN BEGINNING TALKS WAS "NOT OUR FAULT." THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE TALKS IS REITERATED: THEY SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF EACH SIDE, STRICTLY OBSERVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, PRESERVE EVERYTHING POSITIVE FROM THE SALT TALKS, BAN OR LIMIT TO THE UTMOST BY AGREED UPON PARAMETERS THE CREATION OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS, AND FREEZE SUCH WEAPONS

#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AS SOON AS THE TALKS BEGIN. WHILE CALLING THE DROP-PING OF LINKAGE A "POSITIVE FACT," THE COMMENTARY SAYS THAT "IT IS DIFFICULT NOT TO BE BITTER" OVER THE WASTING OF TIME AND OBSTRUCTING OF SOVIET PRO-POSALS OVER THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF.

- 4. THE COMMENTARY REPEATS THE SOVIET LINE THAT THE U.S. AGREEMENT IN THE PRESIDENT'S EUREKA SPEECH TO RESUME STRATEGIC ARMS TALKS WAS A "STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION" AND NOTES THE PRESIDENT'S "SOLEMN PROMISE" THAT THE U.S. WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION WITH THE USSR. IT ALSO FAVORABLY CITES SECRETARY HAIG'S WELCOME OF BREZHNEV'S RESPONSE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE COMMENTARY COMPLAINS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS "IN NO MEASURE TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S SECU-RITY" BUT ARE BASED ON WASHINGTON'S UNWILLINGNESS TO SEEK A BALANCED ARRANGEMENT WITH THE USSR AND ON ITS INTENTION TO PRESS FOR MILITARY SUPERIORITY.
- 5. PETROV THEN GETS AROUND TO HIS MAIN ASSERTION THAT RECENT SPEECHES BY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS CONFLICT WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PEACEFUL WORDS AND SUGGEST

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PAGE Ø1 S1T754 MOSCOW 6603

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#### MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

C O N F I DENT I A L SECTION #2 OF #2 MOSCOW #66#3 THAT THE U.S. IS CONCERNED WITH "HOW IT CAN CAMOUFLAGE MORE CLEVERLY ITS REAL PLANS AND INTENTIONS." JUDGE CLARK'S SPEECH IS DESCRIBED AS:

- -- STRANGELY DISCORDANT;
- -- IT REFLECTS A NATIONAL SECURITY MEMORANDUM AND THUS CLAIMS TO BE THE ESSENCE OF THE U.S. MILITARY-POLITICAL STRATEGY;
- -- GIVES PRIORITY TO THE "CULT OF THE FIST," NOT TO CURTAILING THE ARMS RACE;
- -- PUTS FORWARD THE THESIS OF THE INEVITABILITY OF ENDLESS CONFRONTATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THUS THE NEED FOR AN UNENDING ARMS RACE:
- -- THE SPEECH REPRESENTS THE "WORST SPECIMEN OF ANTI-SOVIET DEMAGOGY" AND CONTAINS "CALUMNY OF THE LOWEST KIND;" AND IS

-- A "MANIFESTATION OF EXTREME ADVENTURISM AND MILITARISM "

- 6. PETROV FINDS A SIMILAR APPROACH IN OTHER RECENT ADMINISTRATION SPEECHES. THE VICE PRESIDENT AT BOSTON IS SAID TO HAVE FIRST WAVED AN OLIVE BRANCH AND THEN PUT FORWARD A "PLOY ABOUT THE 'PEACE-BUILDING FUNCTION' OF U.S. NUCLEAR ARSENALS" AND SPOKE OF THE PERILS OF TERMINATING THE ARMS RACE. THE PRESIDENT'S MAY 26 INTERVIEW IS SAID TO SHOW AN ANTI-SOVIET BLAS AND THE WRITER ADDS THAT TO "TERM IT UNCONSTRUCTIVE WOULD BE AN UNDERSTATEMENT. "
- 7. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES BY QUESTIONING WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S PEACEFUL WORDS OR "HIS BELLICOSE APPEALS AMPLIFIED BY HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES" SHOULD BE BELIEVED. IT SUGGESTS THAT THE STATEMENTS VARY BECAUSE THEY ARE INTENDED FOR THE DIFFERENT AUDIENCES OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, THE USSR, AND CONSERVATIVE HAWKS IN THE U.S. IT ADDS FOR GOOD MEASURE THAT "CARE AND VIGILANCE MUST BE DISPLAYED IN ASSESSING THE COMMITMENTS, PROMISES AND ASSURANCES COMING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE."

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