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DIRECTOR OF DEFENSE RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301 Office of the Secretary of Defense SUSC352

6 May 1972

Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS

Date: 02 JAN 2012 Authority: EO 13526

Declassify: _____ Deny in Full: _____

Declassify in Part: X

Reason: 3.3(b)(5)

MDR: 12-M-2601

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Interim Report of Panel to Review U. S. Policies for
Employment of Nuclear Weapons

Reference: (a) SecDef memo, dated 19 Jan 1972, subject: Review
of U. S. Policies for Employment of Strategic Nuclear
Weapons (P), SecDef Control No. X-0277.

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(b) Chairman, JCS memo to SecDef (JCSM-66-72),
dated 22 Feb 1972.

On January 19, 1972, you established in reference (a) a Panel to review
U. S. policy for the employment of nuclear weapons. As a first step,
you directed the JCS to draft a revised National Strategic Targeting and
Attack Policy (NSTAP) (TS) which the Chairman, JCS forwarded to you,
by reference (b).

For your personal review I have attached the Panel's latest drafts of
two documents:

- a. Review of U. S. Policy for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons.
- b. Tentative Policy Guidance for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons.

I have taken the liberty of providing these two draft documents to the
Chairman, JCS for his personal review, inasmuch as he was not able to
attend many of our sessions.

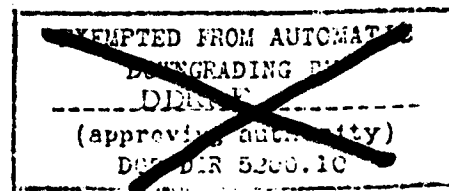


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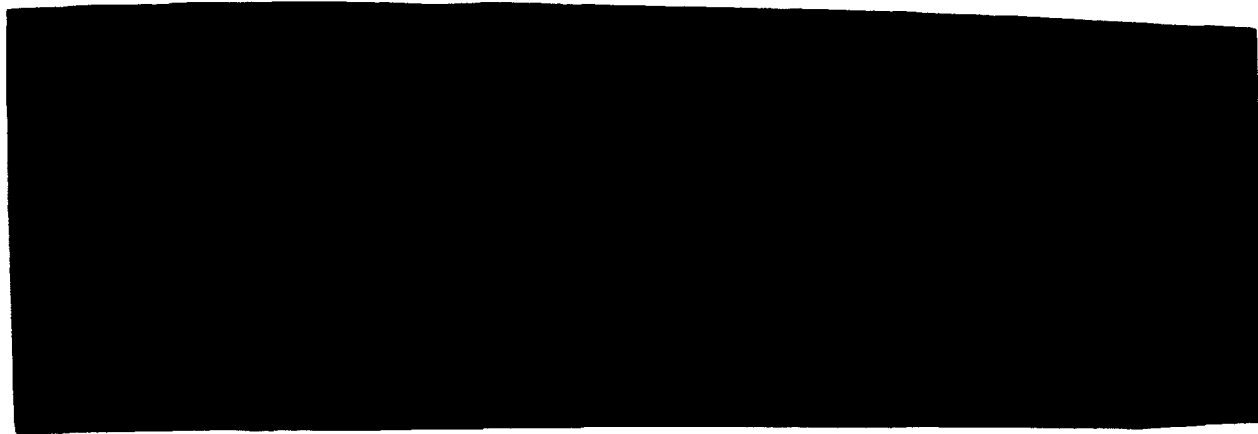


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There is consensus among the Panel members on the general nature of the Tentative Guidance, although we are not agreed on all particulars, as indicated by footnotes in that document. Moreover, even where we are agreed, there are enough new concepts in the draft Tentative Guidance that the Panel feels a need for your review and comments with respect to policy and strategy before we submit a final document to you. Similarly, we recognize the need for inputs from the Chairman, the Joint Chiefs, and their staffs with respect to strategy and the military feasibility of the substantial flexibility in employment plans called for in the Tentative Guidance.

|| Accordingly, we propose that as a first step the Panel meet with you at your earliest convenience to discuss your reaction to our efforts to date. We also plan to discuss the Chairman's reaction with him. At that time, and depending upon your comments, and those of the Chairman, we can then establish a timetable for (1) providing a revision of the Panel's efforts for formal review by the Joint Chiefs and (2) accomplishing background studies in certain areas where the Panel feels a need for additional data and analysis. In addition, we can, at that time, establish the mechanism and timing for effecting whatever coordination with the National Security || Council you deem appropriate.

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By September, 1972, there could be a policy document ready for you to transmit to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for implementation. The Joint Chiefs of Staff would then begin a phased modification of the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) and other nuclear weapon employment plans to conform to your guidance. We anticipate that some problems of implementation, ambiguities in the policy guidance, and further issues will emerge from this process. Suitable arrangements to resolve these issues will be needed.

John S. Foster, Jr.
John S. Foster, Jr.

Attachments:

- a. Review of U.S. Policy for the
Employment of Nuclear Weapons
- b. Tentative Policy Guidance for the
Employment of Nuclear Weapons

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REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY FOR THE
EMPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

5 May 1972

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Review of U.S. Policy
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Review of U.S. Policy for the
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1. General

On January 19, 1972 the Secretary of Defense appointed a panel to initiate an annual review of the U.S. policy pertaining to the employment of nuclear weapons, to identify and illuminate national policy on other issues requiring resolution, and to prepare for his consideration proposed Guidance for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons. ^{1/}

This panel consisted of the following individuals:

Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense
Research and Engineering (Panel Chairman)

Dr. Albert C. Hall, Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Intelligence)

Mr. G. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense
(International Security Affairs)

Dr. Gardiner L. Tucker, Assistant Secretary of
Defense (Systems Analysis)

LGen John W. Vogt, USAF, Director, Joint Staff ^{2/}

VADM J. P. Weinel, USN, Director J-5 (Plans and
Policy) ^{2/}

In order to carry out the tasks assigned by the Secretary of Defense, the panel decided to scope the review as follows:

a. Because the employment of nuclear weapons at any level has the potential for escalation to strategic nuclear war and because

^{1/} SecDef memo dtd 19 Jan 1972, subj: Review of U.S. Policies for Employment of Strategic Nuclear Weapons (✓), SecDef Control No. X-0277.

^{2/} On 10 April 1972, VADM Weinel replaced LGen Vogt as the representative of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

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theater nuclear weapons can provide options for flexible nuclear responses below the level of the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP), the policy for employment of theater nuclear weapons was included within the scope of the panel's review. The panel considered employment policies which will be feasible with U.S. nuclear forces programmed for 1974.

b. In reviewing U.S. policy for employment of nuclear weapons, the panel examined:

- Analysis of the consequences of SIOP execution under various conditions.
- Issue papers prepared for the Review Panel by its staff.
- Views of SACEUR and CINCSAC as expressed in informal meetings with the Review Panel.
- Technical aspects of the war planning process as reported by several members of the Review Panel's staff on the basis of several visits to the Joint Strategic Targeting and Planning Staff at Omaha.
- Current U.S. policy pertaining to employment of nuclear weapons, including, but not limited to, the current National Strategic Targeting and Attack Policy (NSTAP) and its implementation in the SIOP.
- A revised NSTAP prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff for consideration by the panel.

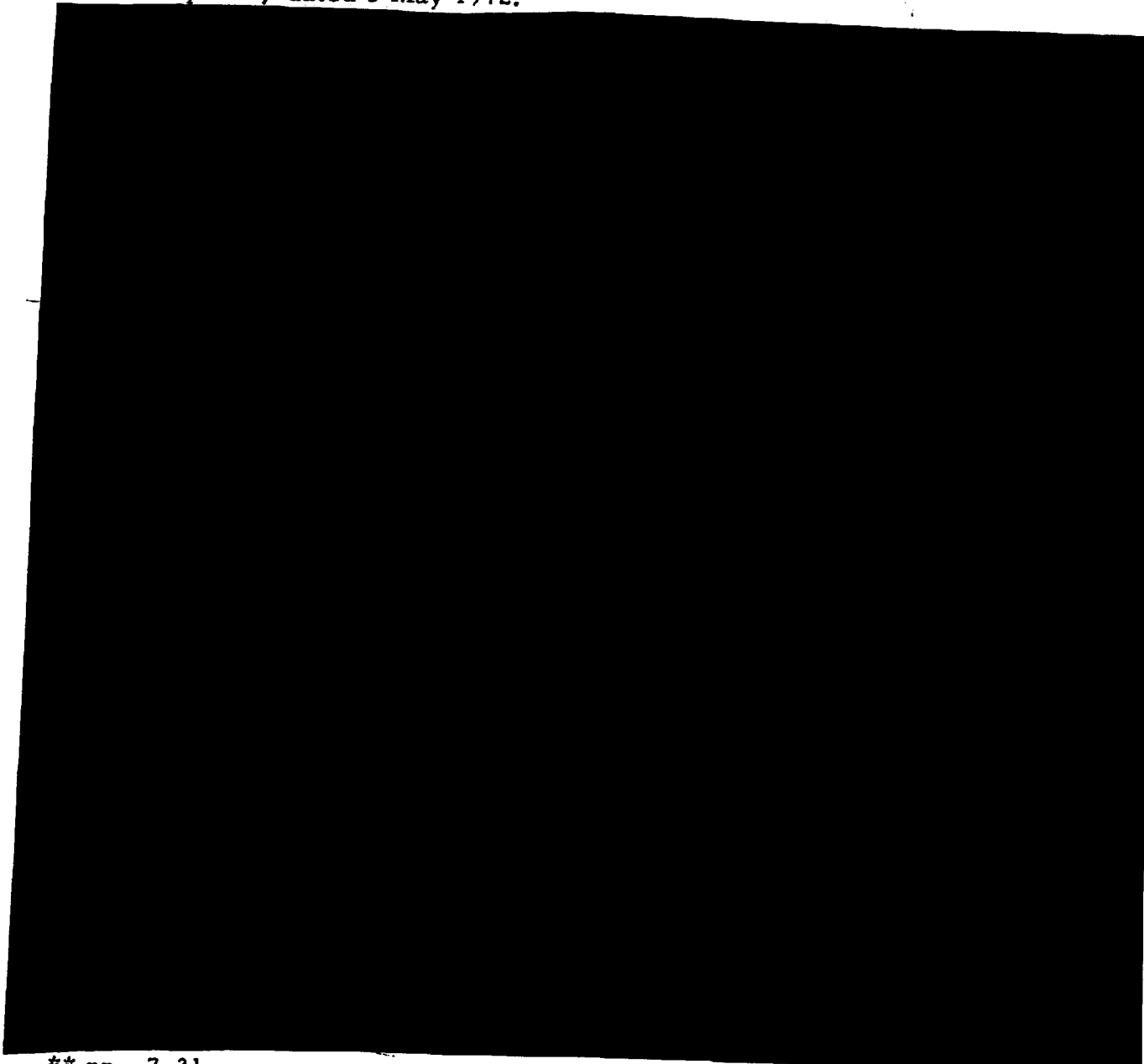
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The findings of the panel regarding these are summarized in section 2 through 6 of this report.* Section 7** contains a review of issues identified by the panel and a summary of the approach to these issues taken in the document, "Tentative Guidance for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons", dated 5 May 1972.



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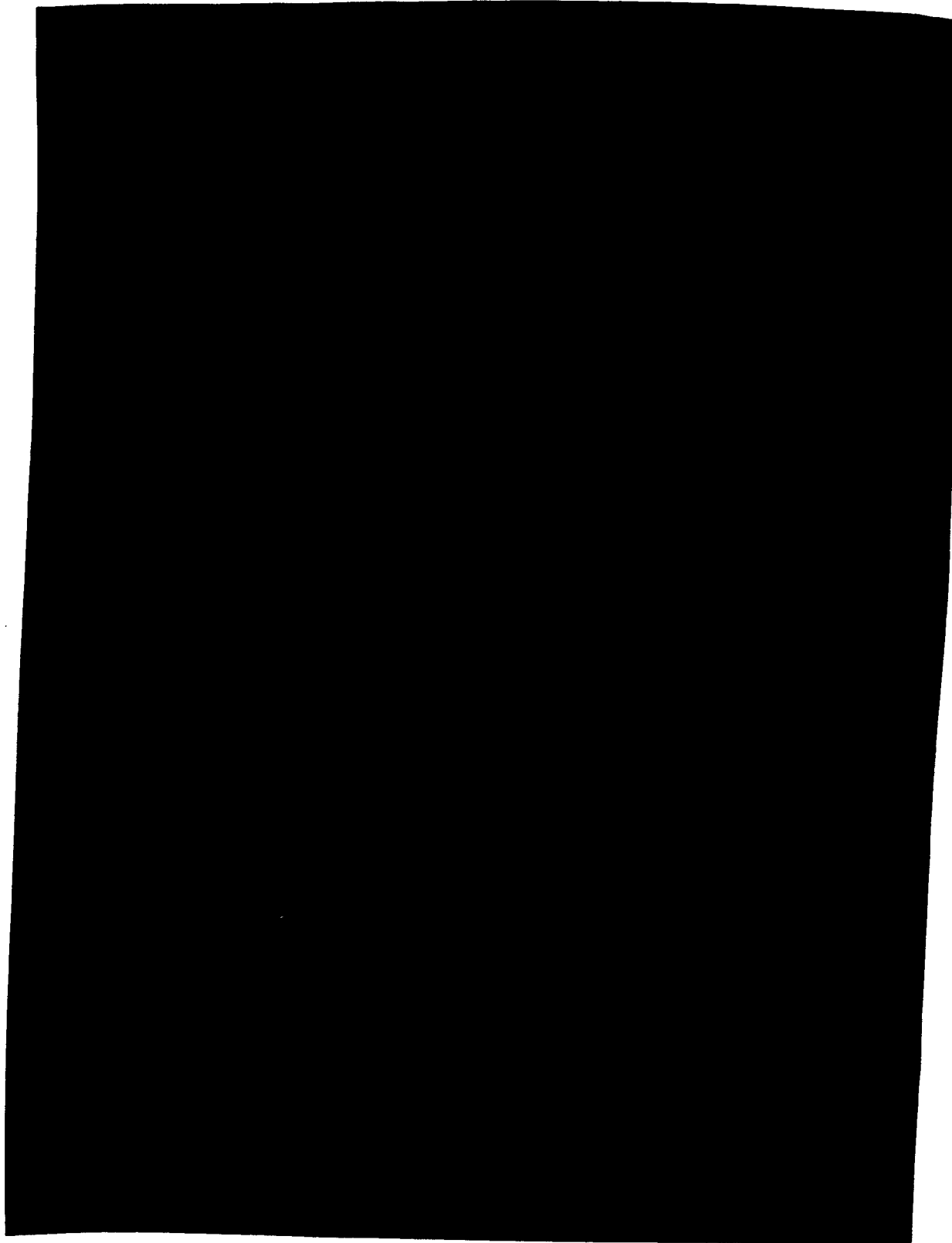
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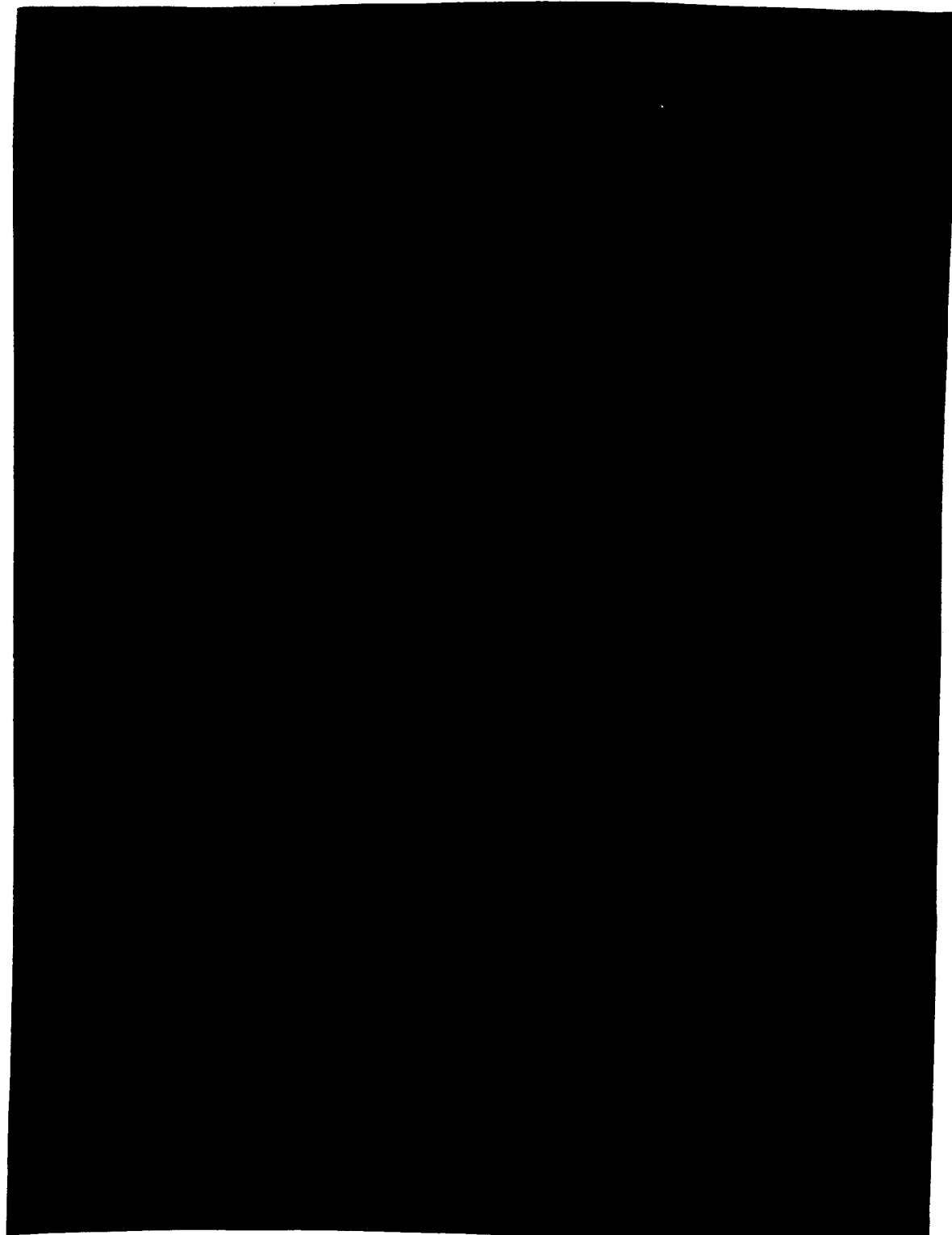
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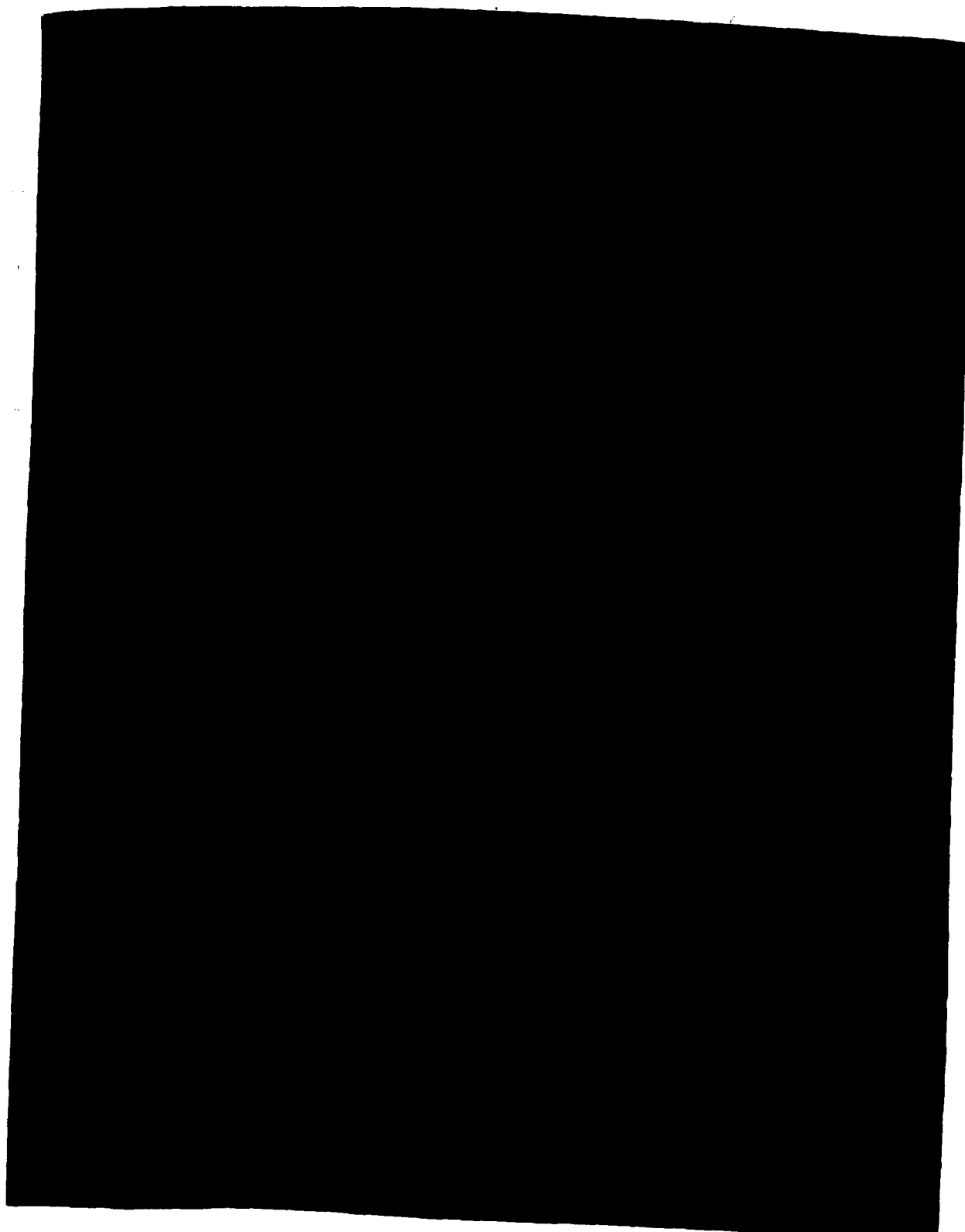
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aggression -- Western Europe -- is likely to be destroyed during such an all-out exchange.

(3) Less is known about the PRC nuclear doctrine than about Soviet nuclear doctrine, in part because of the comparatively recent emergence of a PRC nuclear weapon capability.

d. Conclusions

Although we do not know what deters the Soviet Union and PRC from initiating nuclear warfare, and differing judgments could be made by others on these matters, the following conclusions were arrived at by the Panel:

- The United States should continue to attempt to deter nuclear war by having a high confidence capability to threaten unambiguously the destruction of targets highly valued by the enemy
- If some nuclear conflict nevertheless occurs, the United States should attempt to control escalation (through selective employment of U. S. forces and coercion of the enemy to constrain his further use of nuclear weapons by continuing to threaten enemy targets) to the lowest level consistent with preserving vital U. S. interests.



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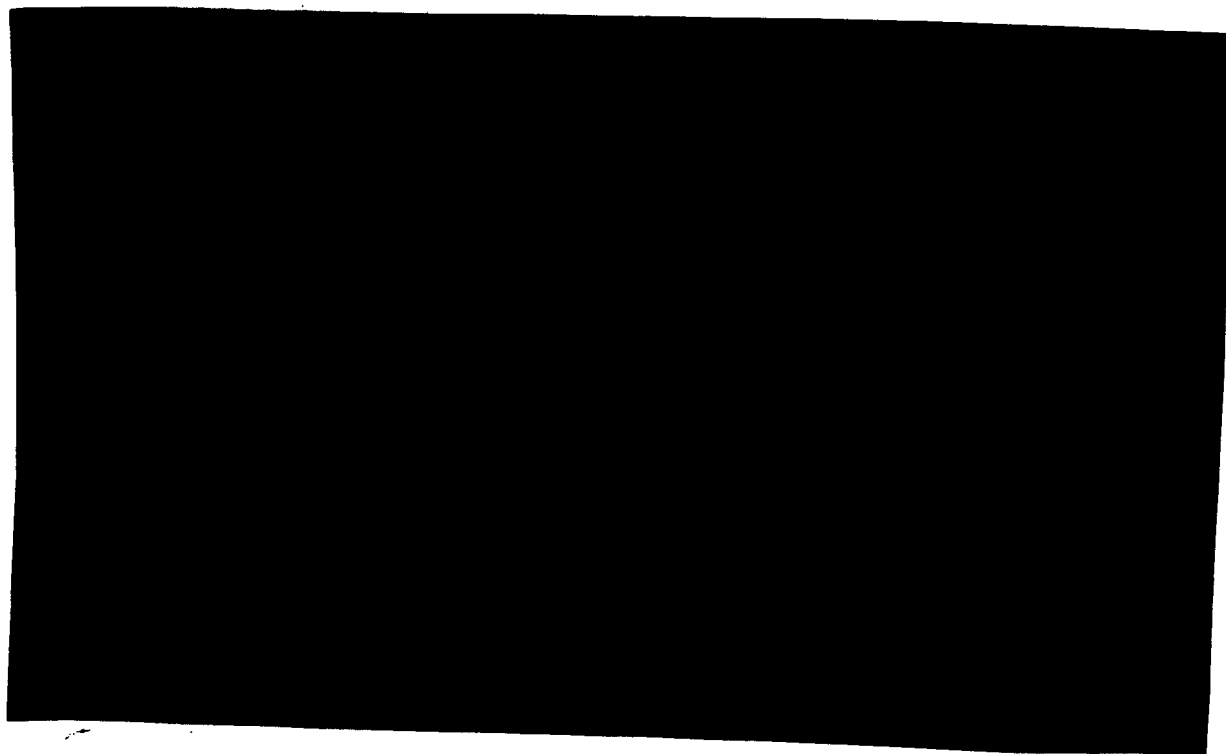
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The Review Panel's considerations in arriving at these
conclusions include the following:



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- 1/ The panel is in agreement on this priority but, because of the departure from past policy, believes that this matter requires careful consideration by the SECDEF.

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3. Current National Policy for Employment of Nuclear Weapons

The Panel reviewed U.S. national policy documents, including National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), the President's annual foreign policy reports, the Defense Policy and Planning Guidance, the Joint Strategic Objectives Plan (JSOP), and the NSTAP. NATO policy documents were also reviewed. As discussed in the next section, the NSTAP is the only source of definitive policy for the employment of nuclear weapons. Other policy documents either do not address nuclear weapon employment or they add little to the NSTAP guidance. The President's foreign policy reports and the Defense Policy and Planning Guidance do, however, stress in general terms the need for flexibility in nuclear weapon employment plans in order to have attack options appropriate to the nature and level of the provocation.

4. The Current NSTAP and Its Implementation in the SIOP

The NSTAP, prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the direction of the Secretary of Defense, provides guidance to subordinate U.S. commanders in preparing the SIOP. Since this guidance was prepared from the viewpoint of the planner who must target nuclear weapons, it does not provide full and explicit coverage of all aspects of national policy for the employment of nuclear weapons. Moreover, the policy on which the current NSTAP was based was established in the early 1960s and does not adequately reflect present world conditions.

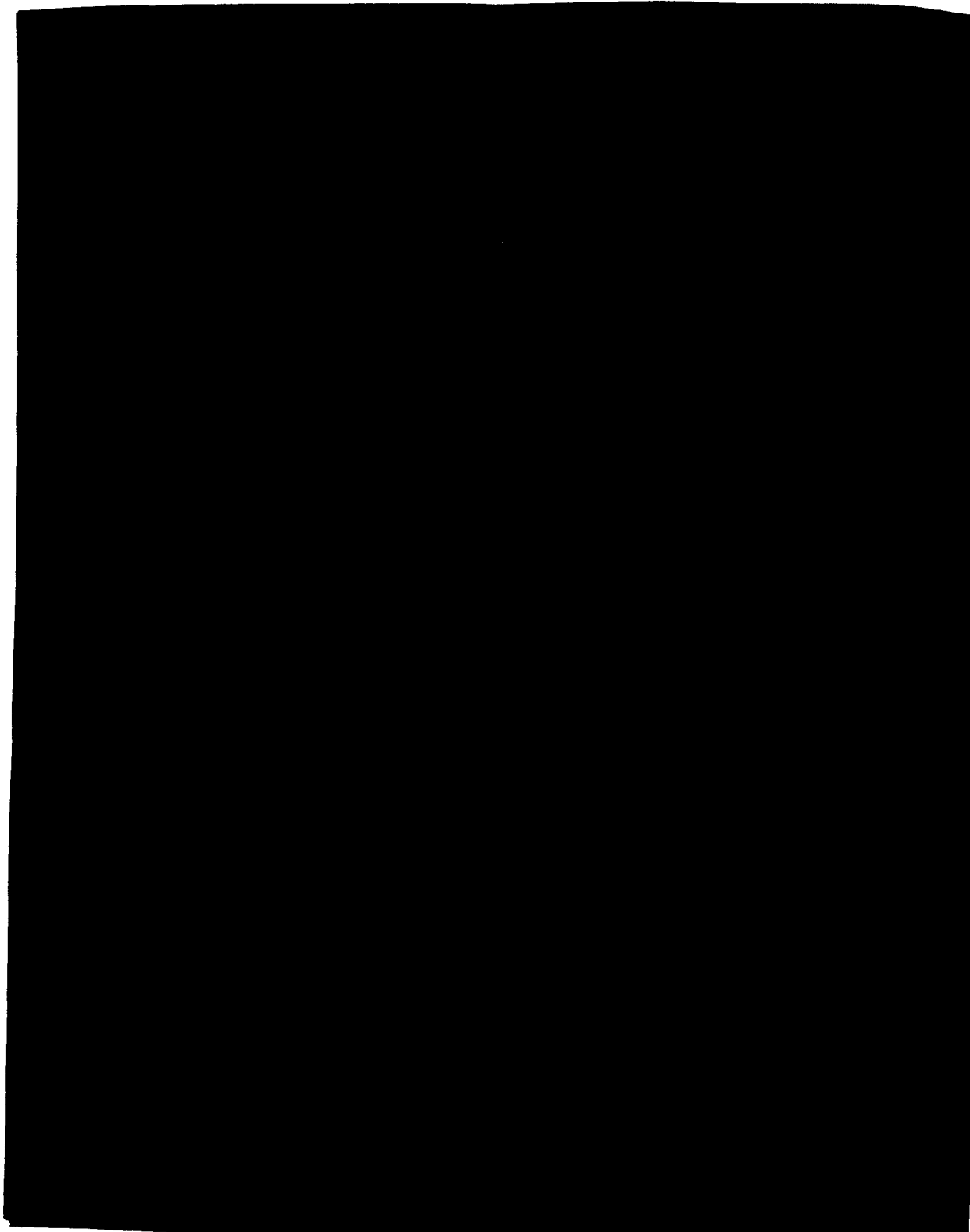
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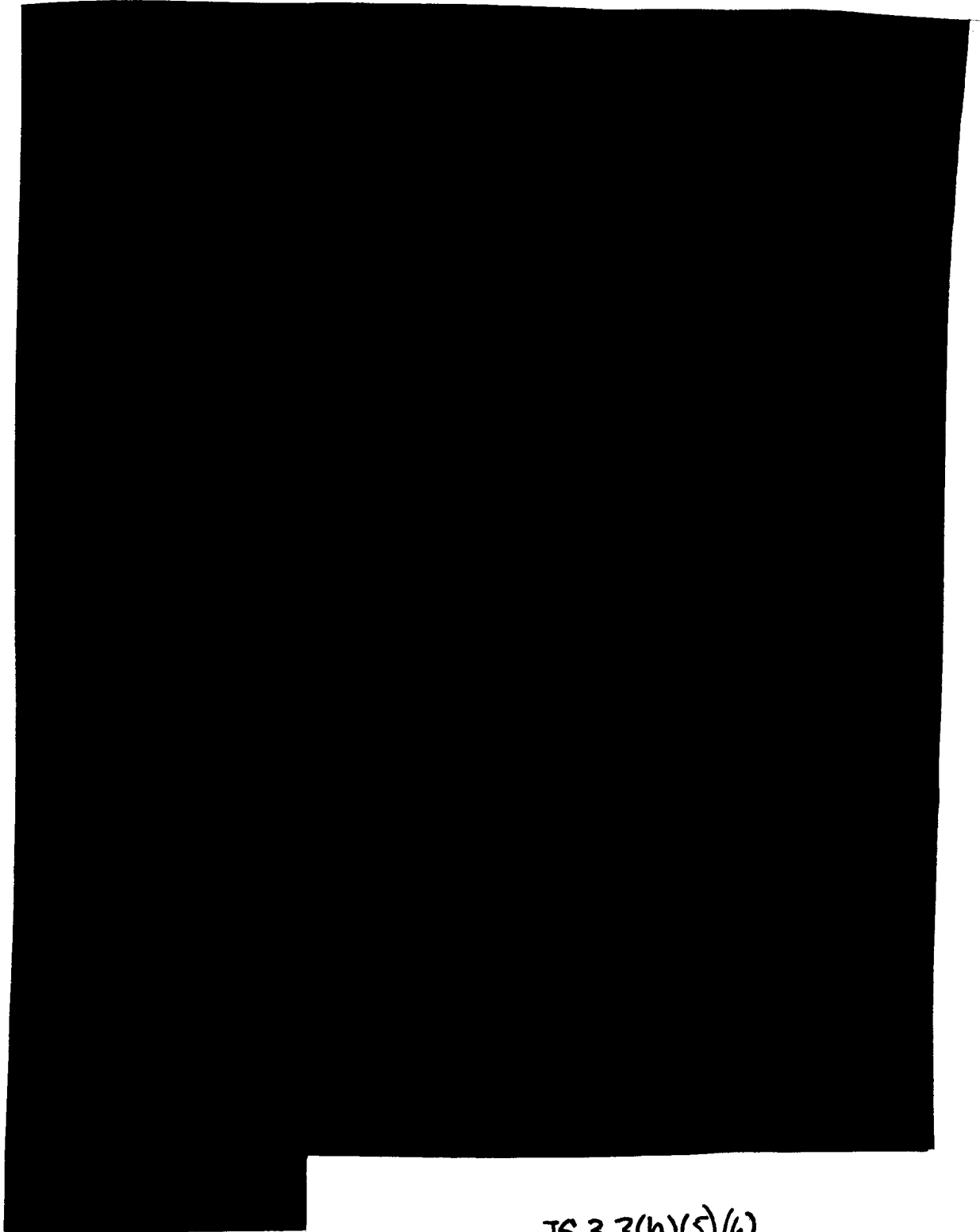
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5. JCS Revision of the NSTAP

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The Joint Chiefs of Staff have approved a revision of the NSTAP for consideration by the panel.^{2/} The revision has the same objectives as the current NSTAP, but there are several major changes:



- 2/ Chairman, JCS memorandum to the Secretary of Defense (JCSM-66-7: dated 22 Feb 72. This revision has not replaced the NSTAP described in Section 4, pp. 10-13.
- 3/ The third NSDM 16 criterion states that the United States "should maintain the capability to deny to the Soviet Union the ability to cause significantly more deaths and industrial damage in the United States in a nuclear war than they themselves would suffer."

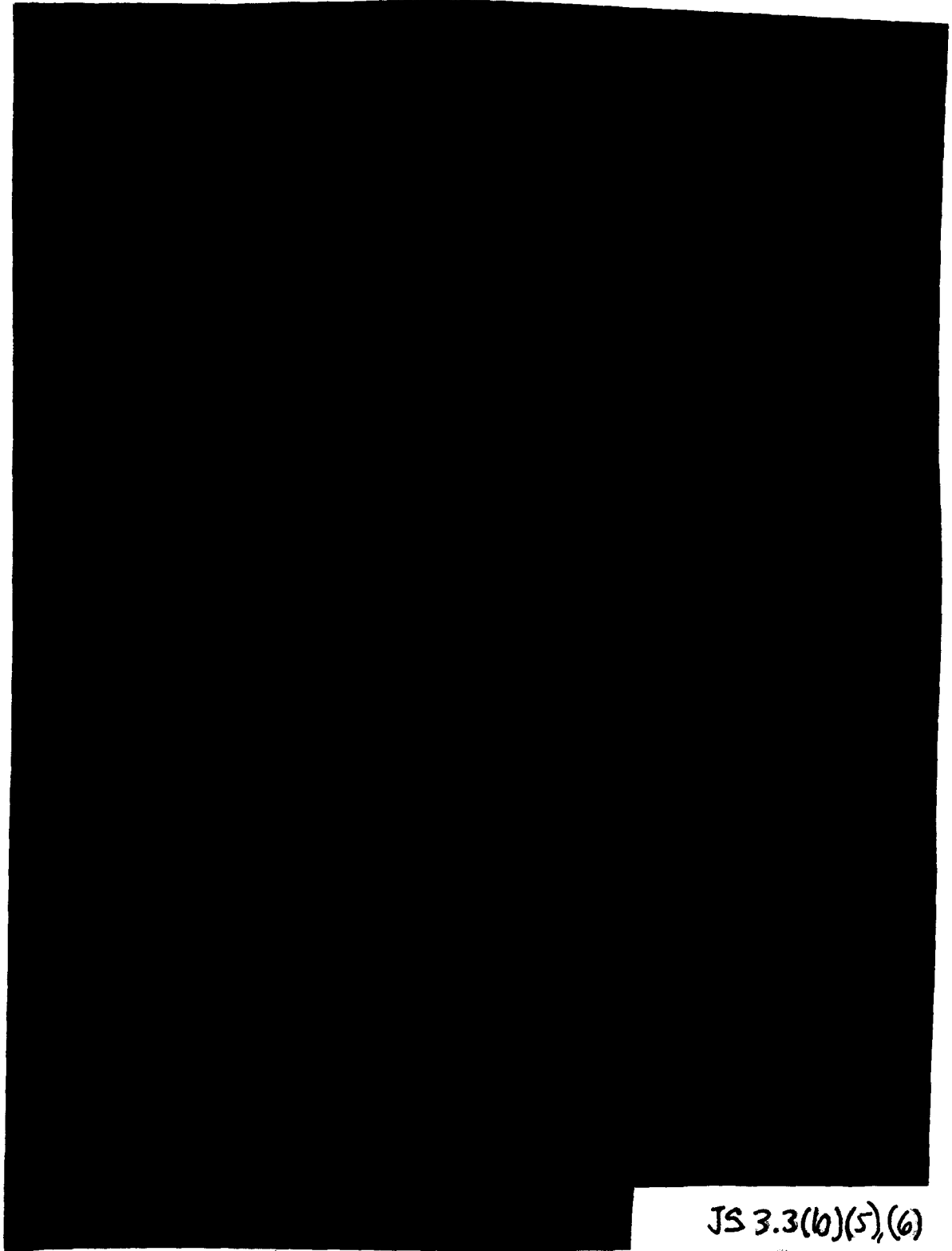
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6. The Need for Expanded Policy Guidance

The Panel considers the revised NSTAP to be a major step forward in defining national nuclear targeting and attack policy. In the course of the review, there were identified additional issues of importance to the Panel which were not within the intended scope of the revised NSTAP. Furthermore, the Panel found that no other policy document covered these issues. Accordingly, the Panel prepared a new "Tentative Policy Guidance for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons." This new document incorporates most new features of the revised NSTAP and is consistent with the limited policy guidance for employment of nuclear weapons that exists elsewhere. This "Tentative Guidance" takes a different perspective than the NSTAP, broadens the scope of the policy guidance, and introduces some new strategic concepts.

In developing this guidance, a number of major issues were identified and studied. The following Section summarizes Panel resolution of these issues as they appear in the "Tentative Guidance."

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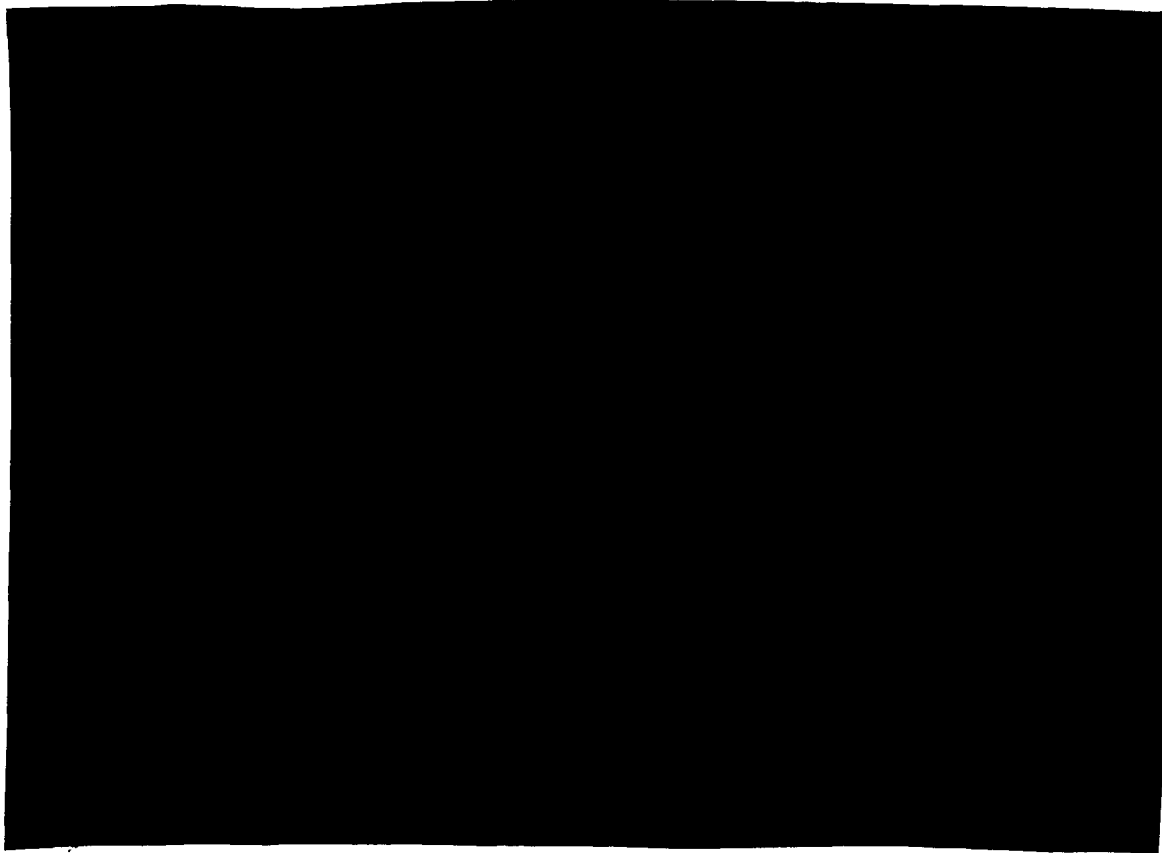
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7. Issues Addressed in Formulating Nuclear Employment Policy

In addressing the problem of employment of nuclear weapons, numerous issues were identified and studied. The more important of these issues developed during the NSTAP review are outlined below in order to give some insight into the rationale behind the "Tentative Policy Guidance for the Employment of Nuclear Weapons", which is attached to this report. For each of these issues, the position taken in the "Tentative Guidance" is outlined, alternatives considered are reviewed and the rationale for the position that was taken is outlined.



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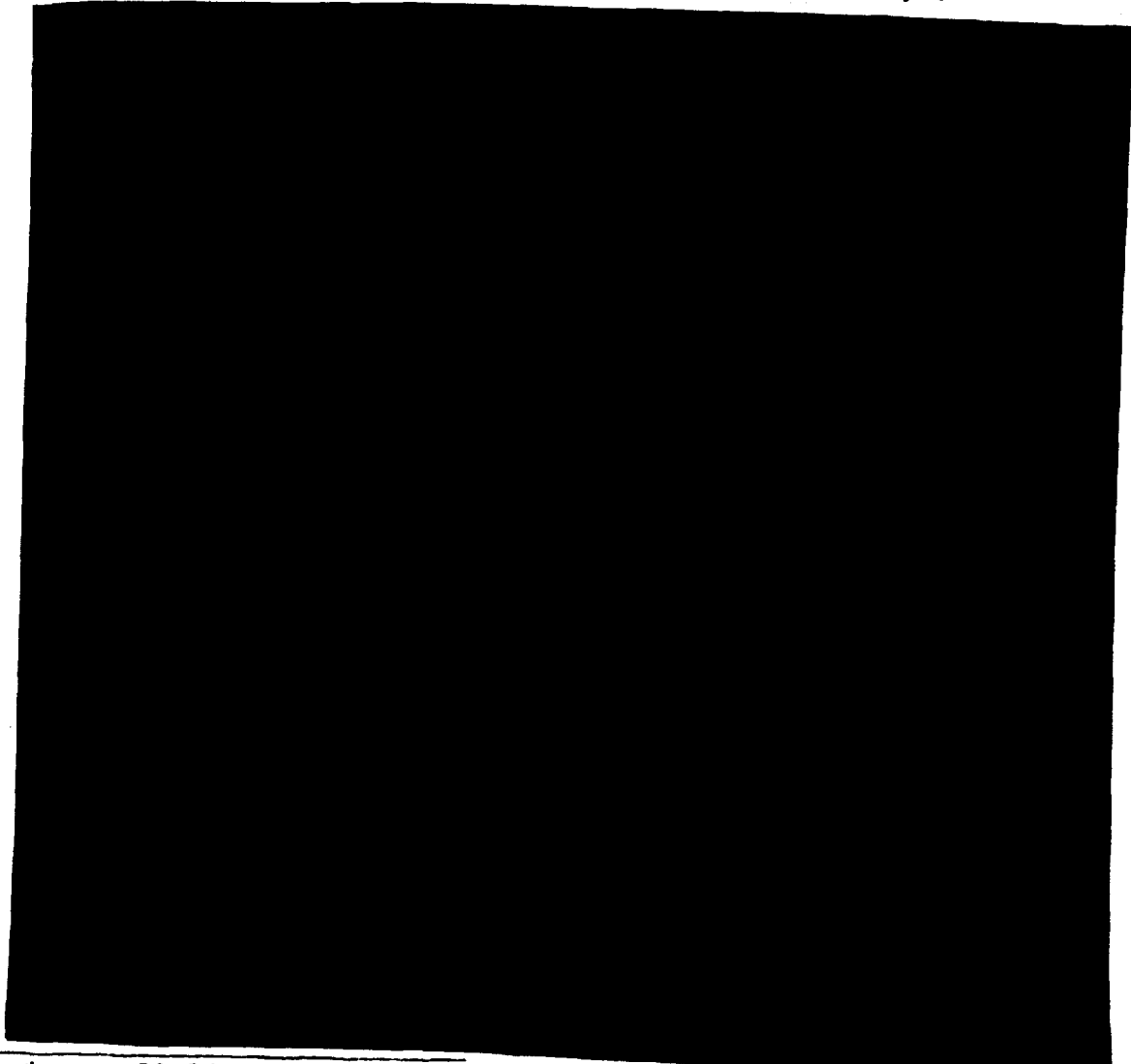
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of pursuing this objective is discussed in Section 7c. If warfare
has reached a level where control of escalation becomes meaningless,



selves and allies. Targeting priorities to pursue this objective are
discussed in Section 7b. **

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* pp. 20-25
** pp. 17-20
*** pp. 3-4

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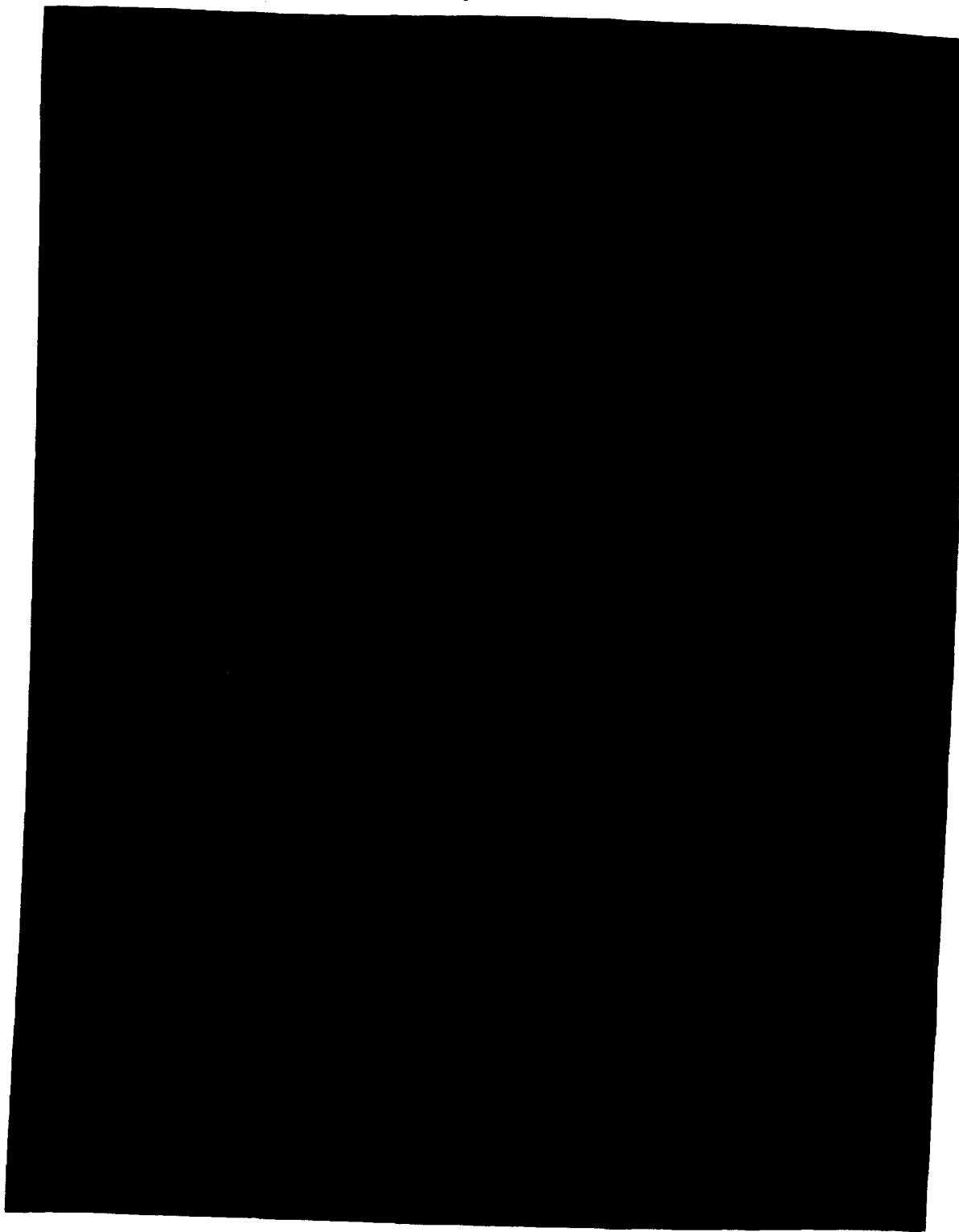
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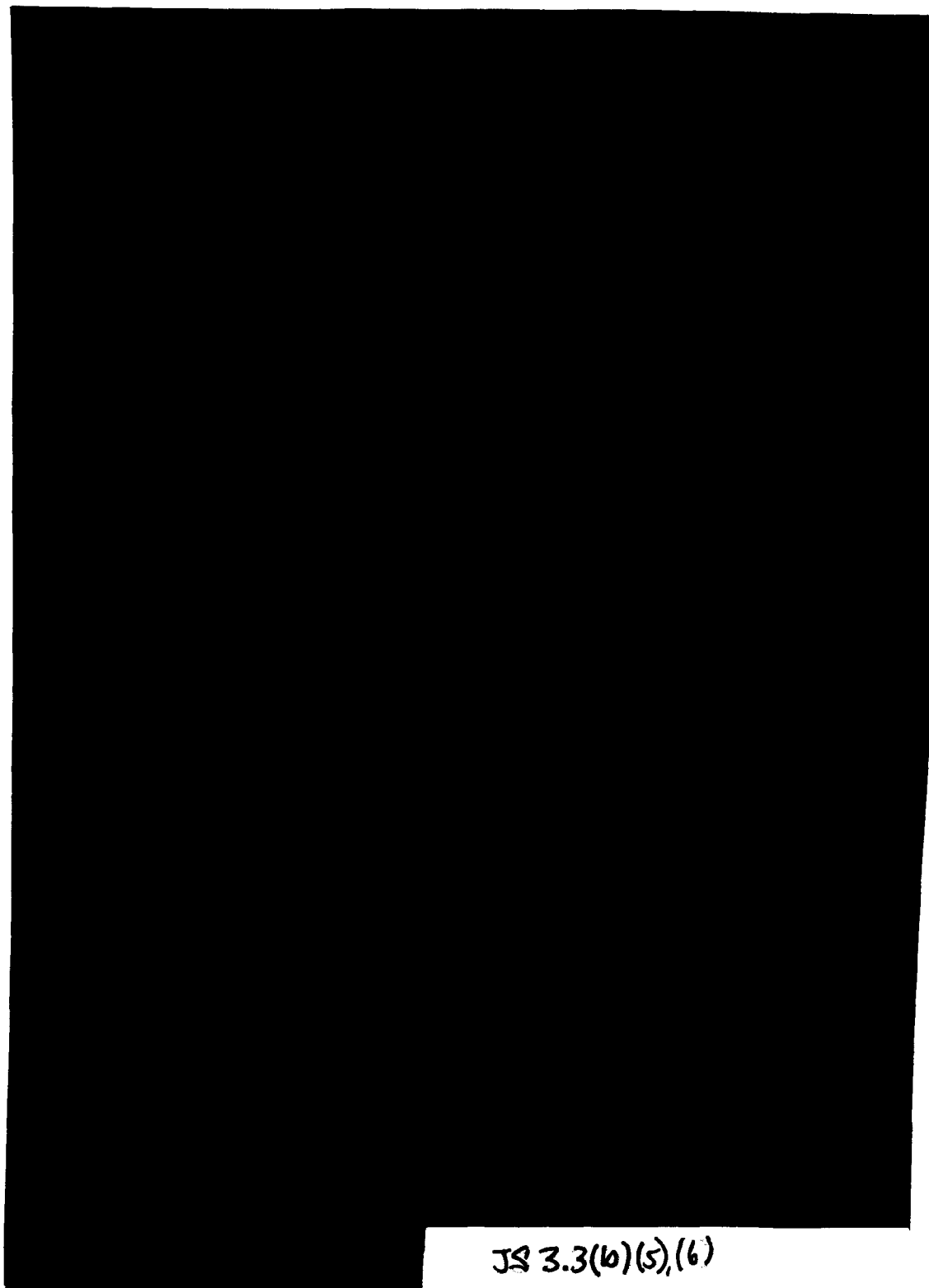
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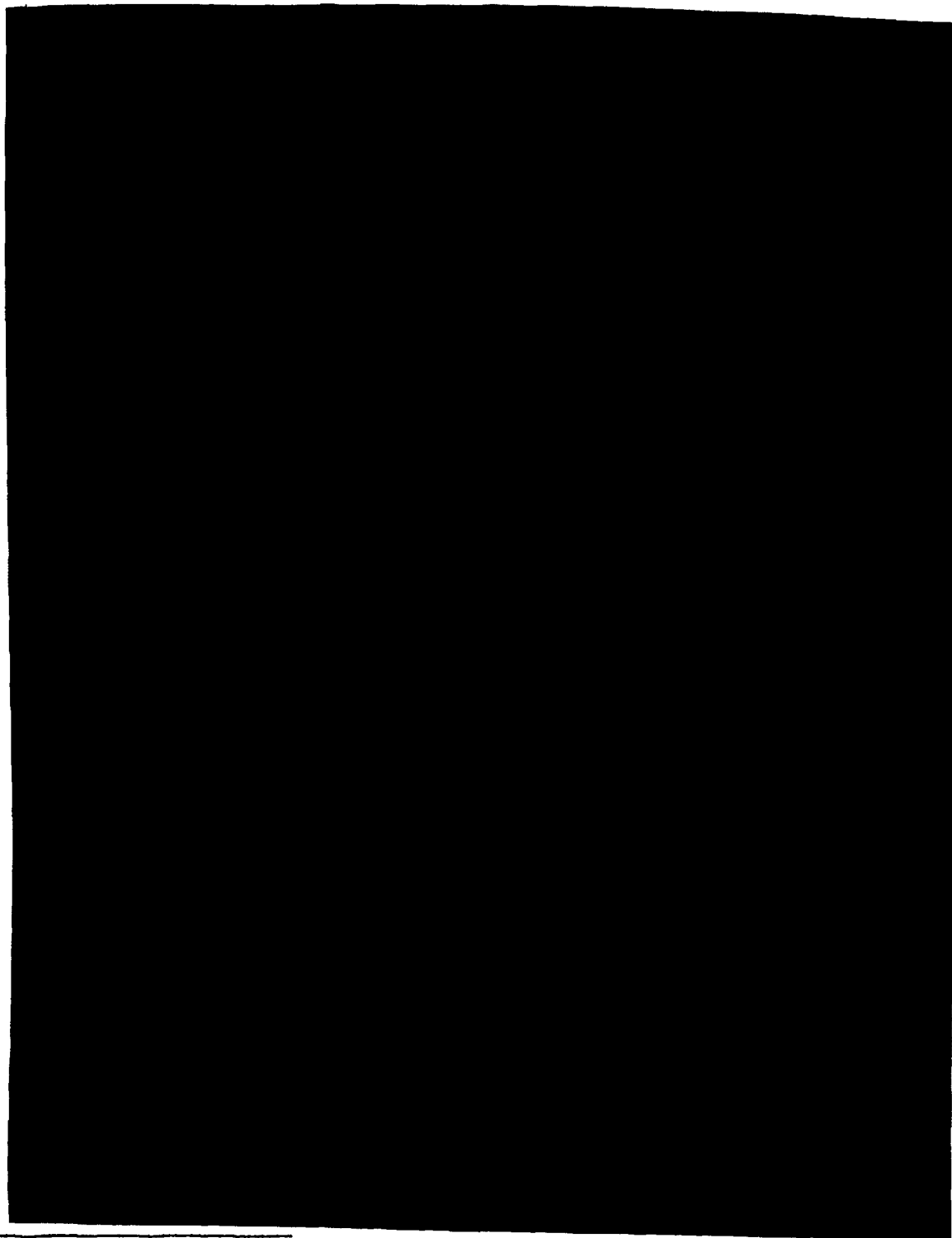
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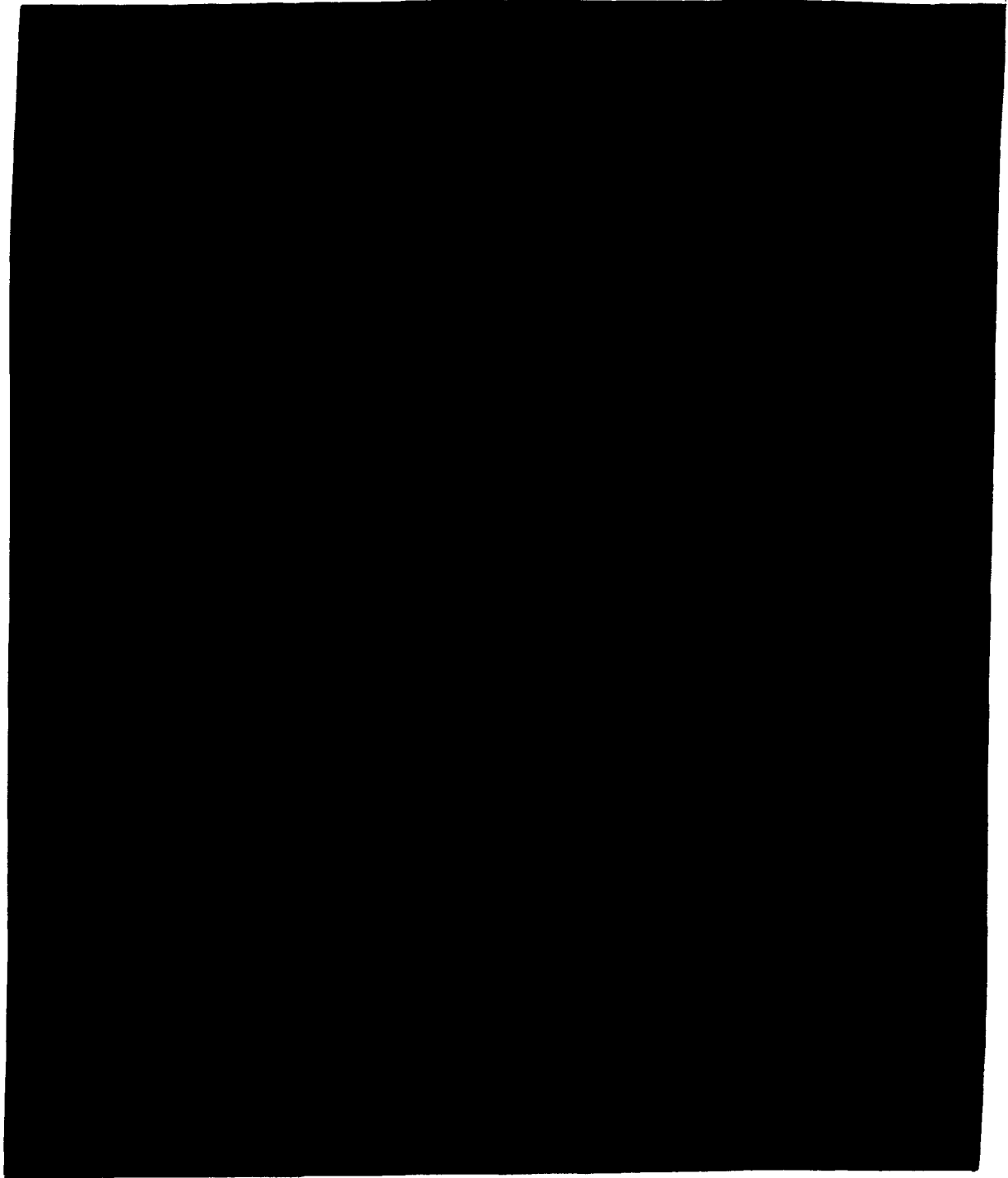
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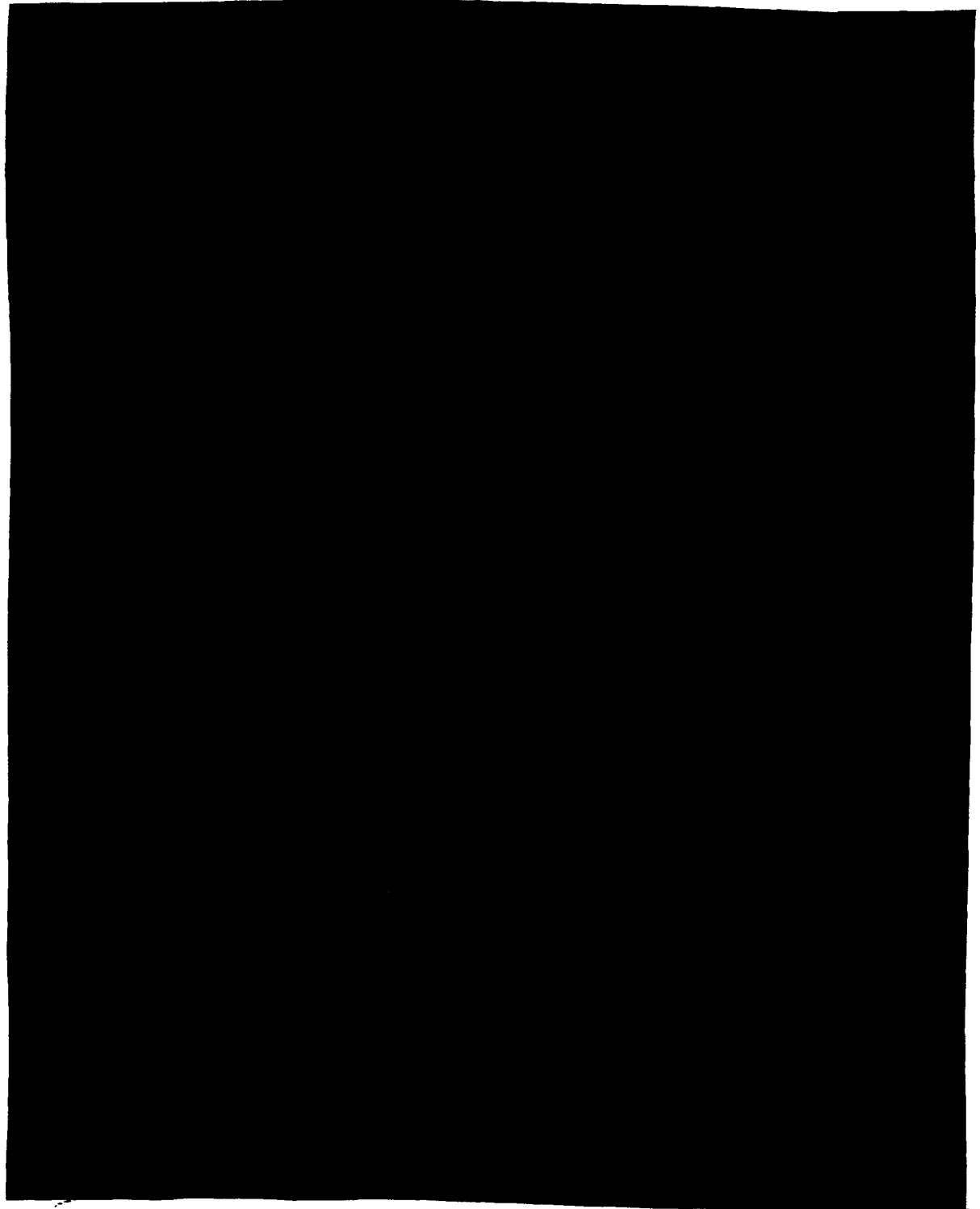
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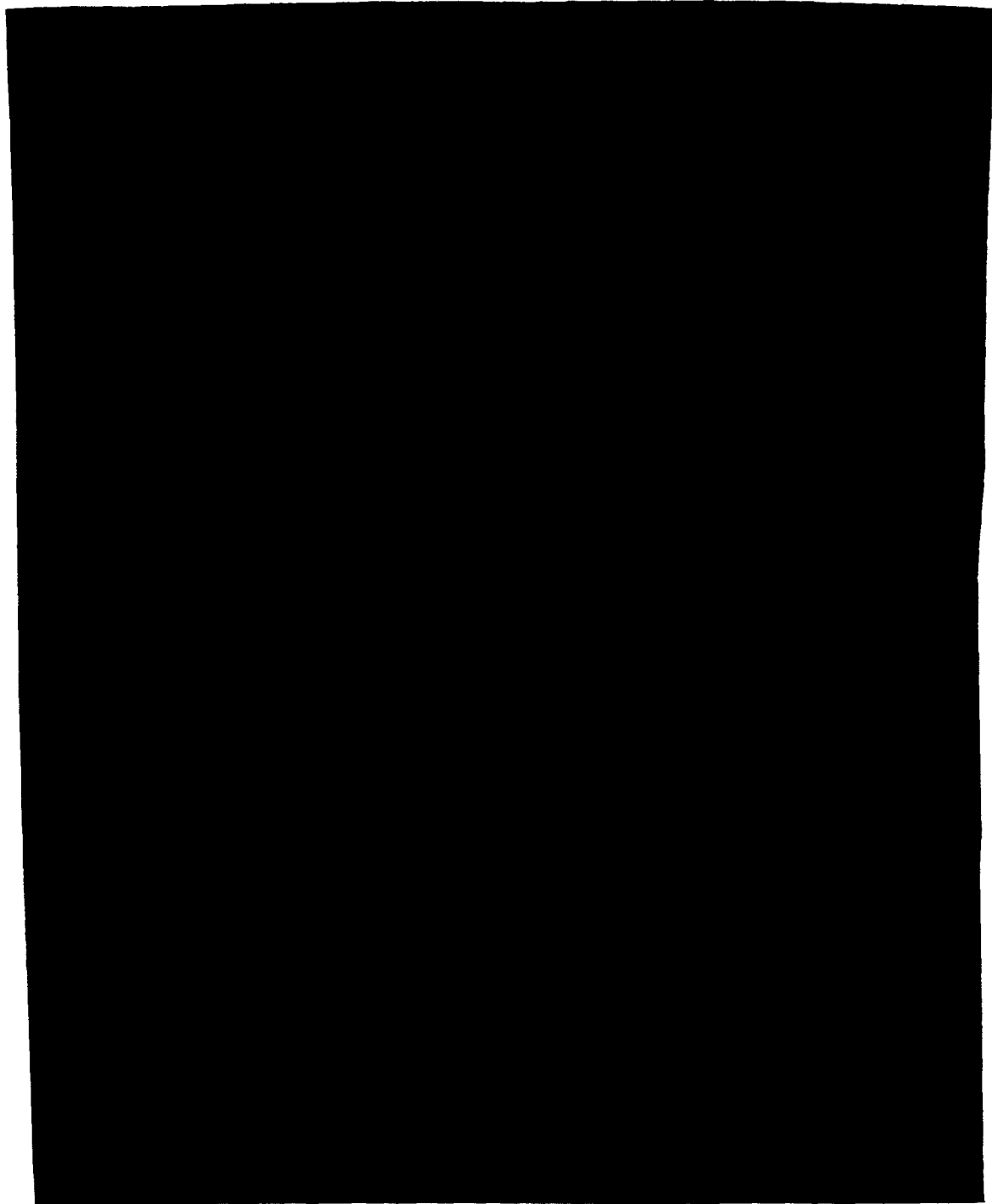
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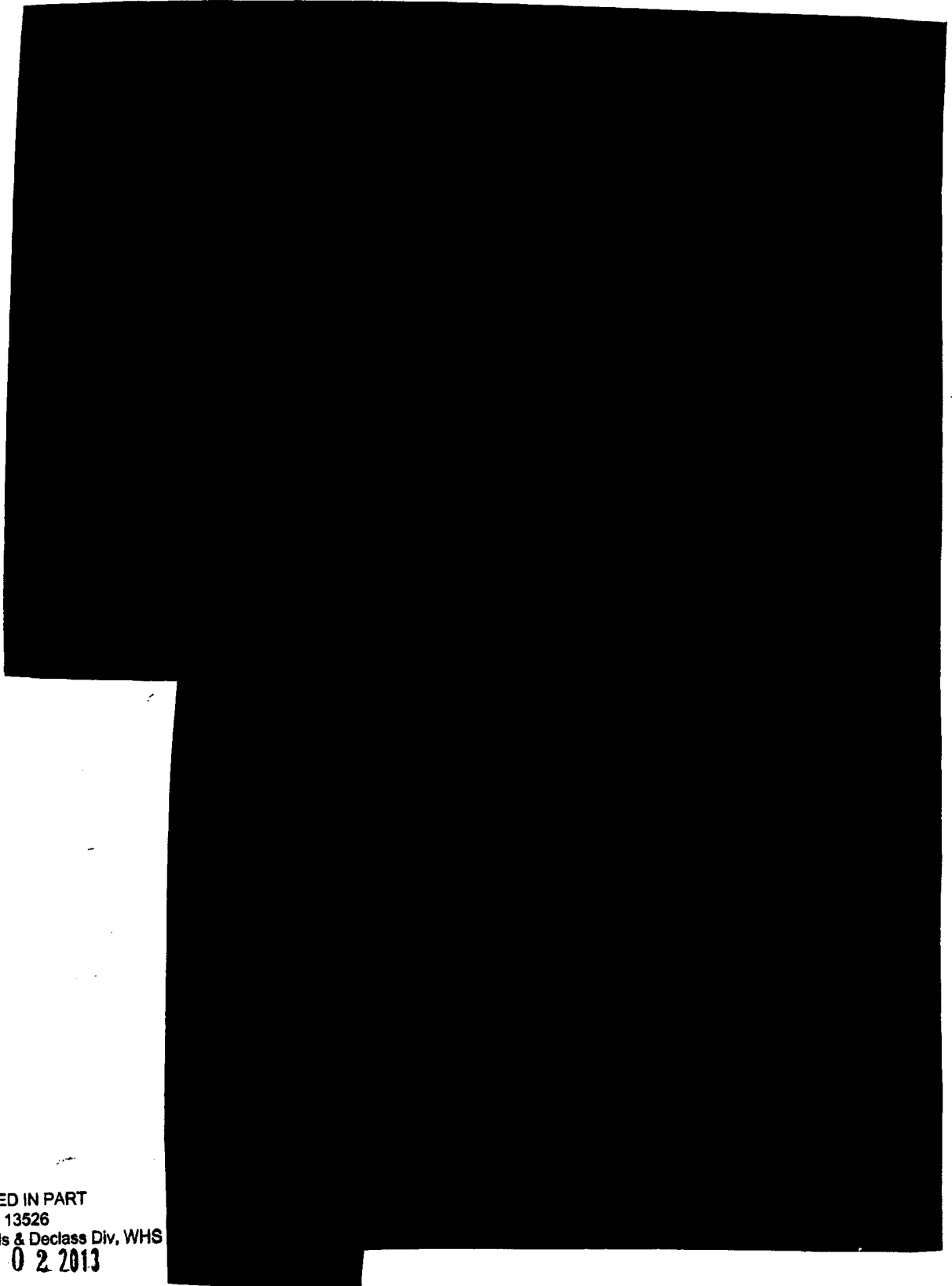
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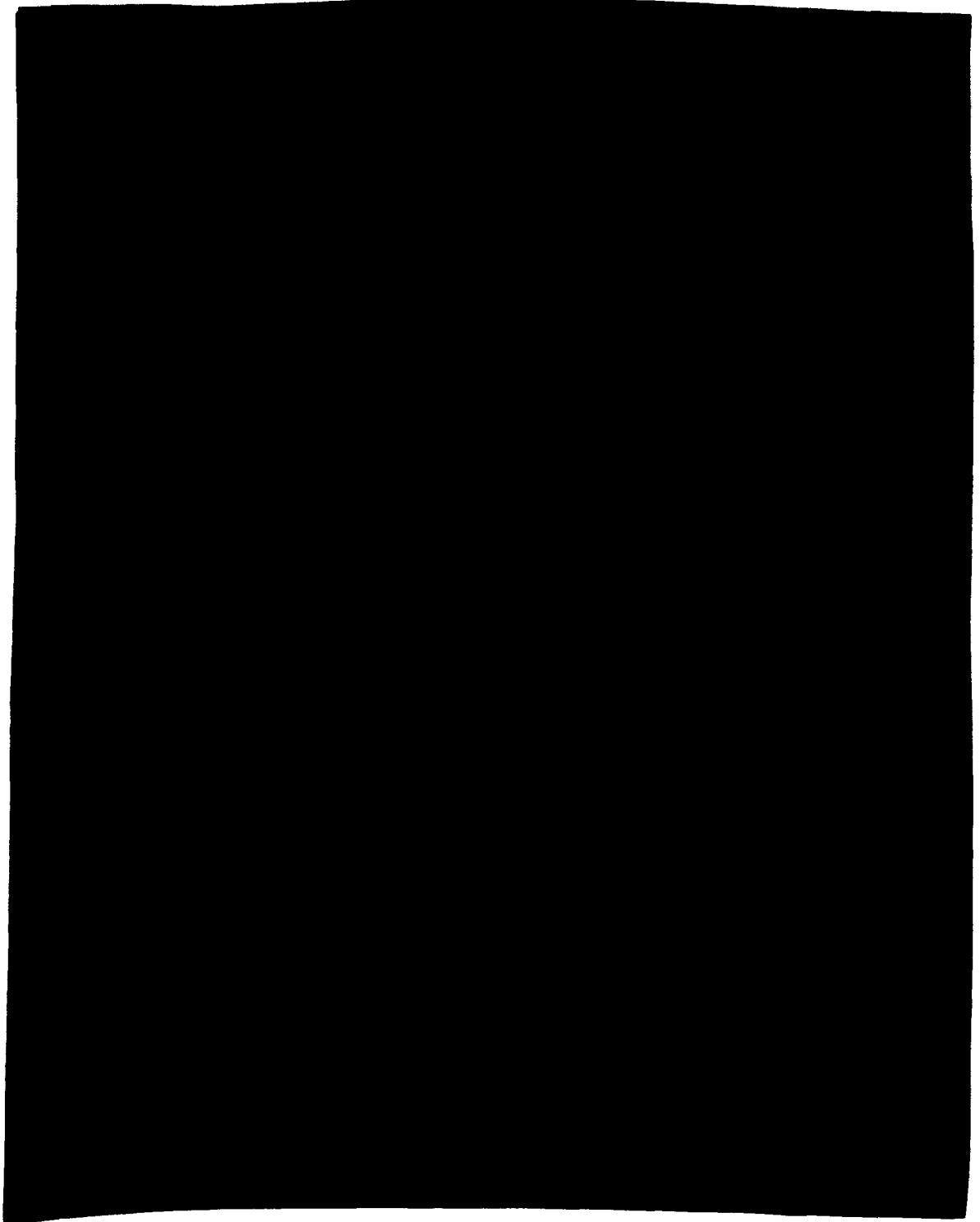
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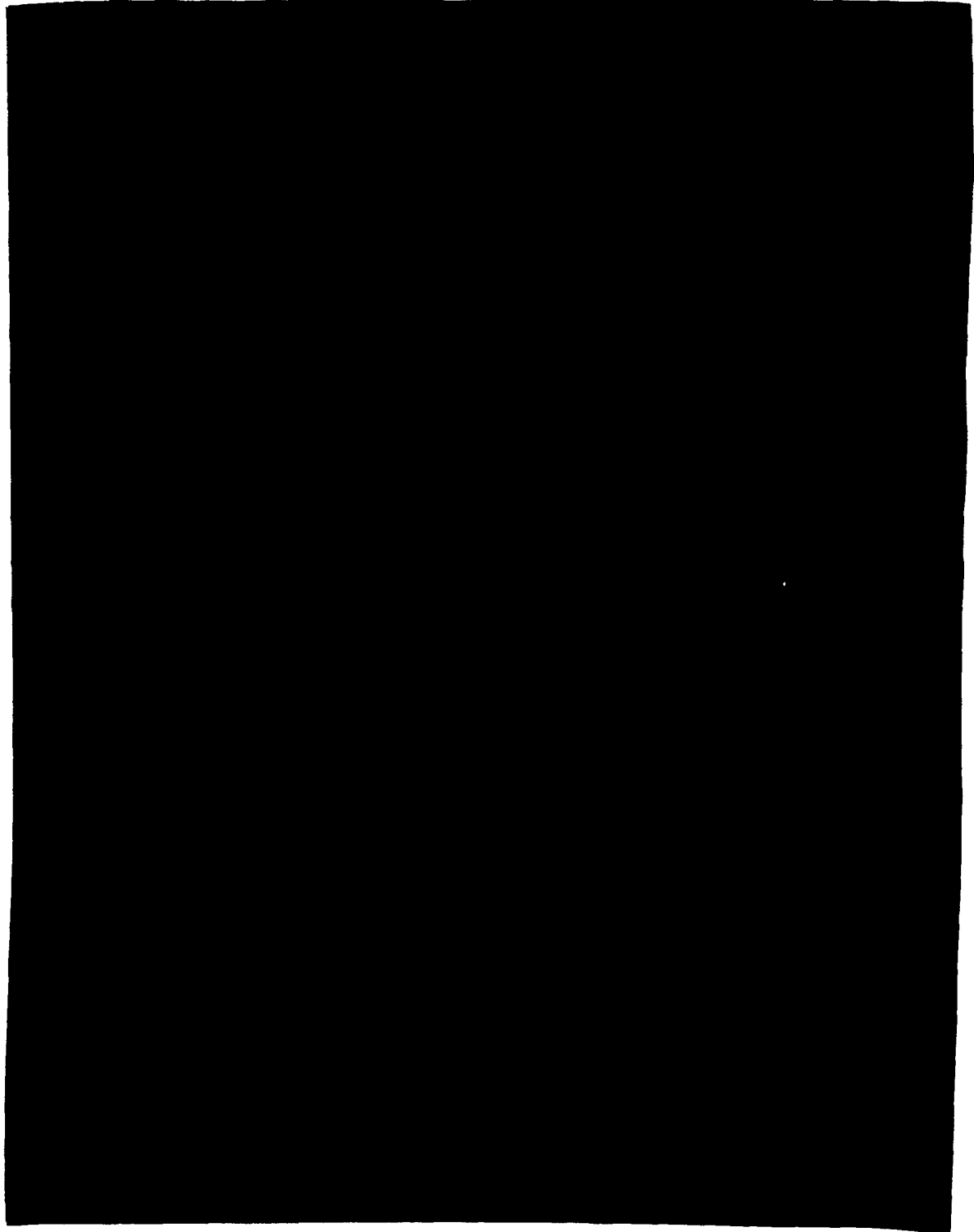
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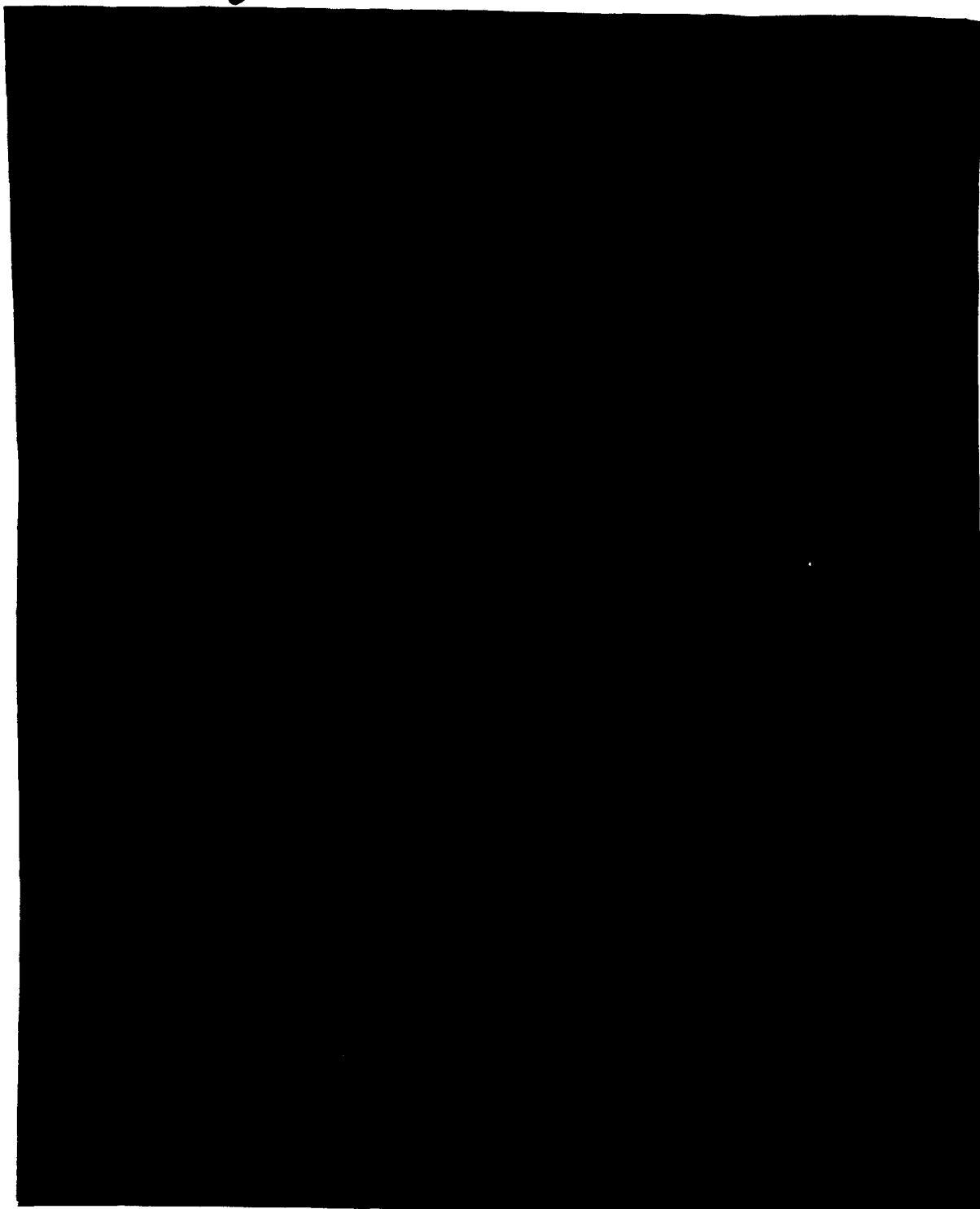
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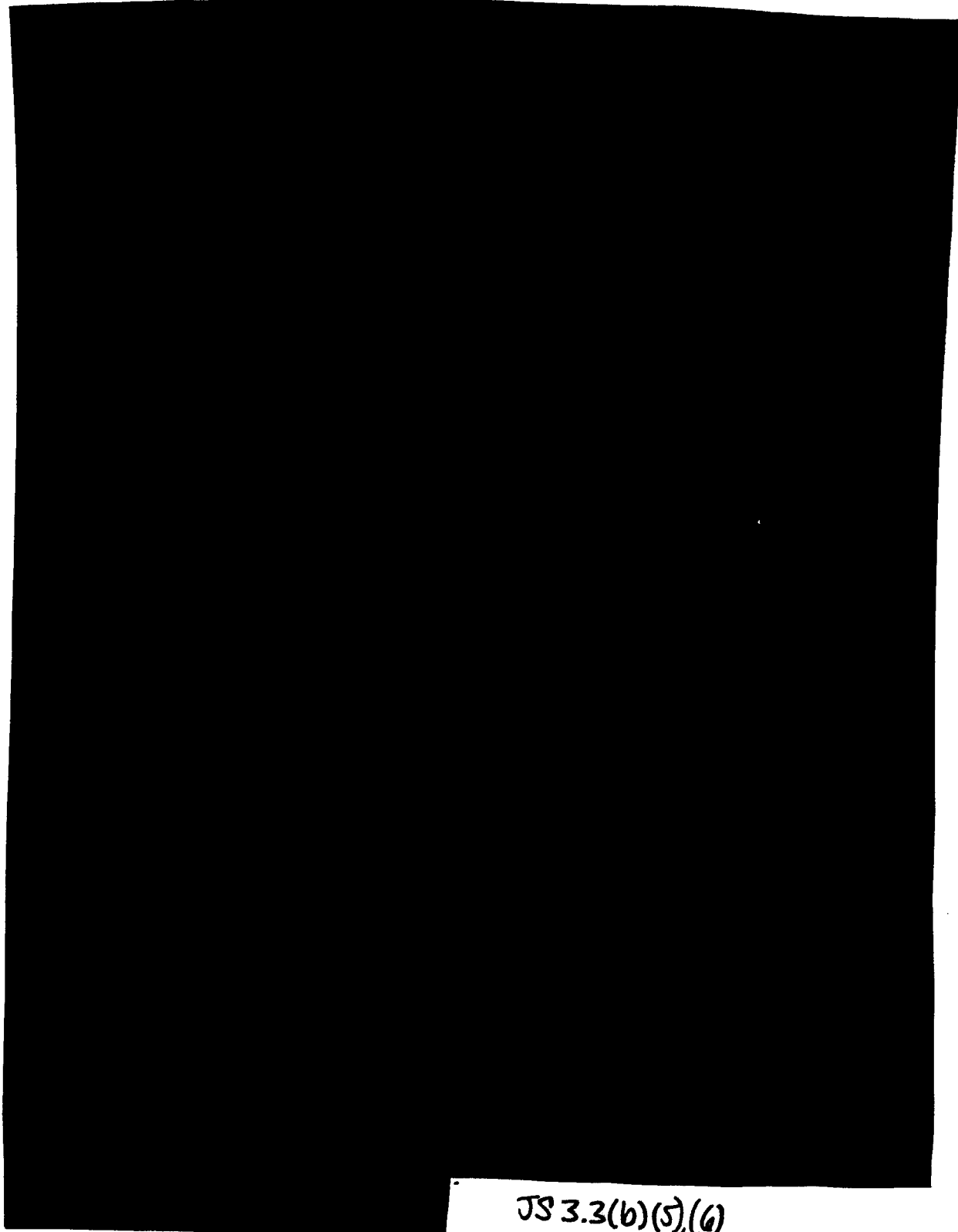
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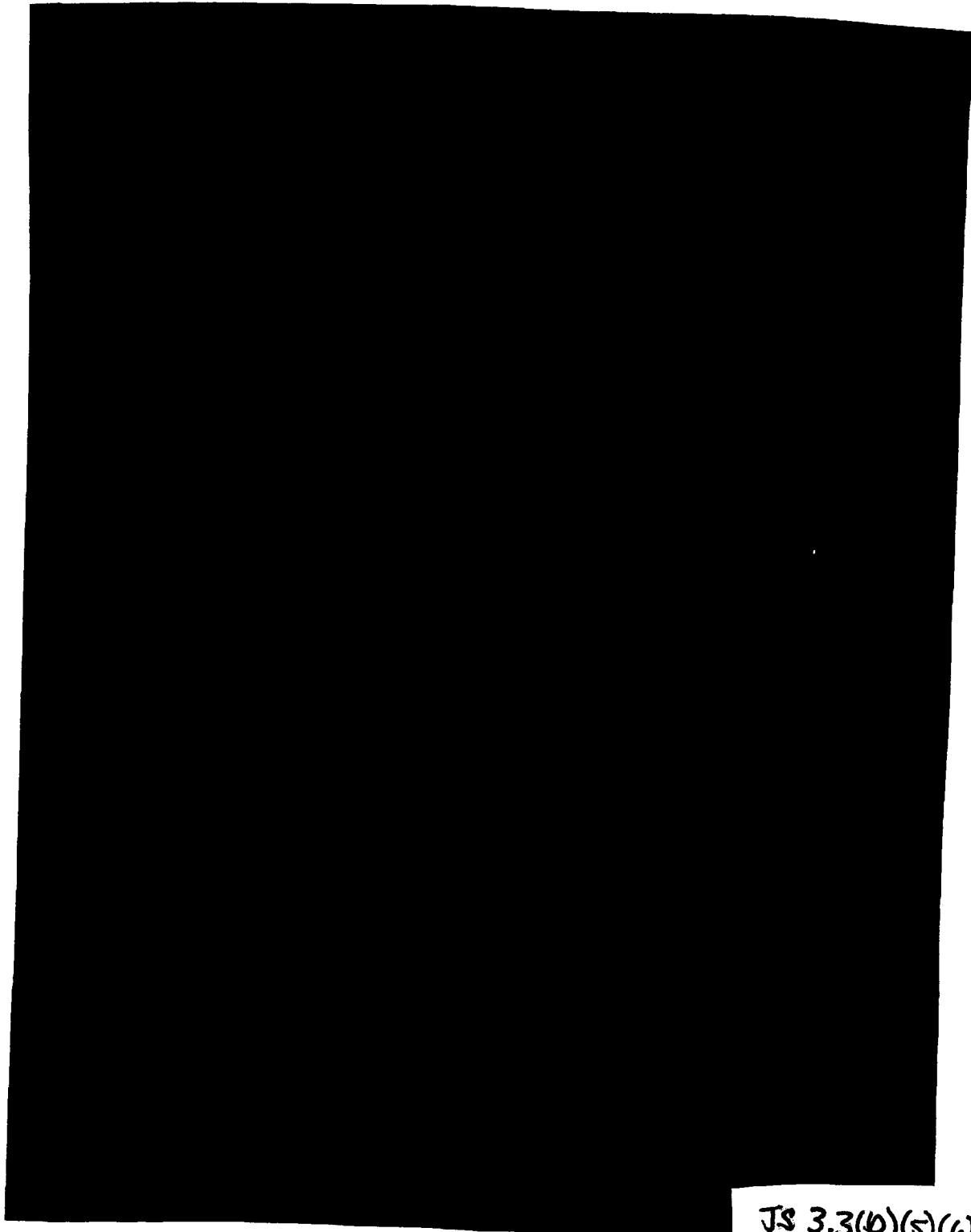
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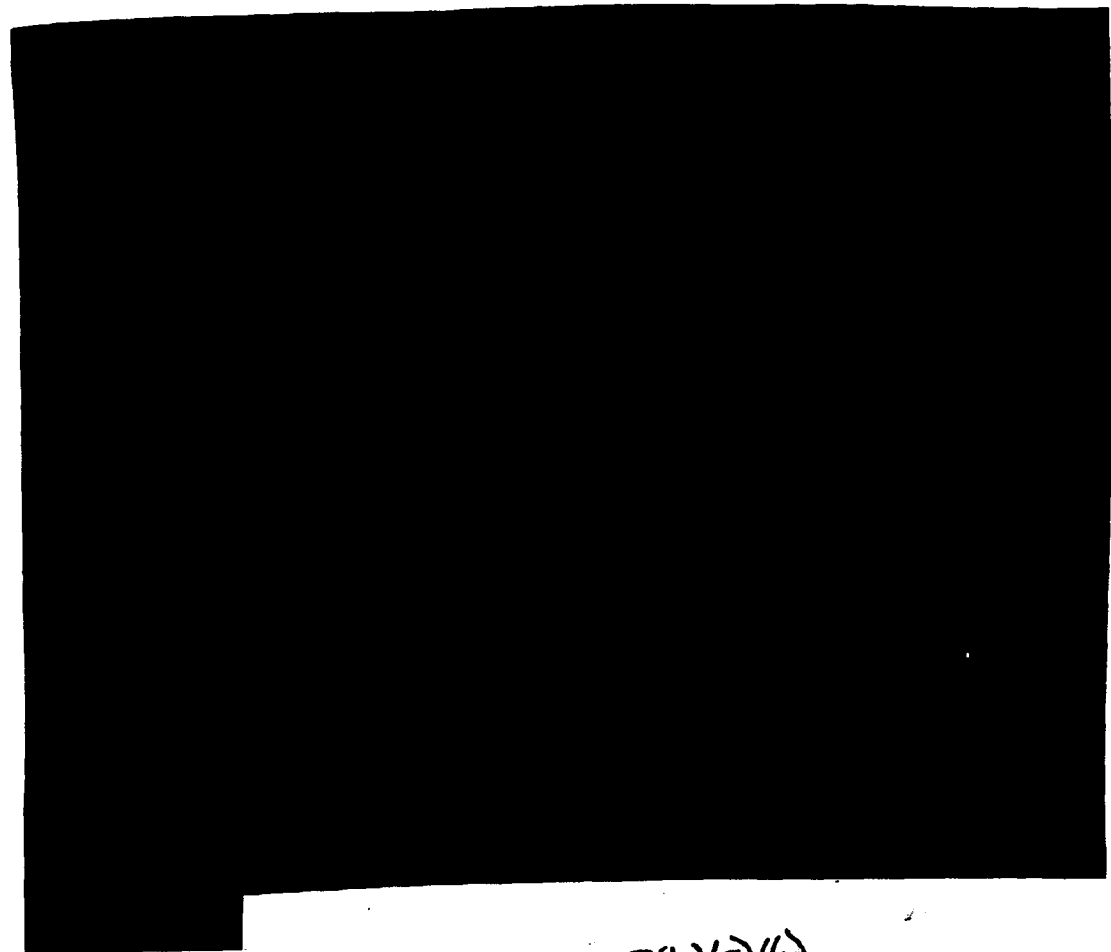
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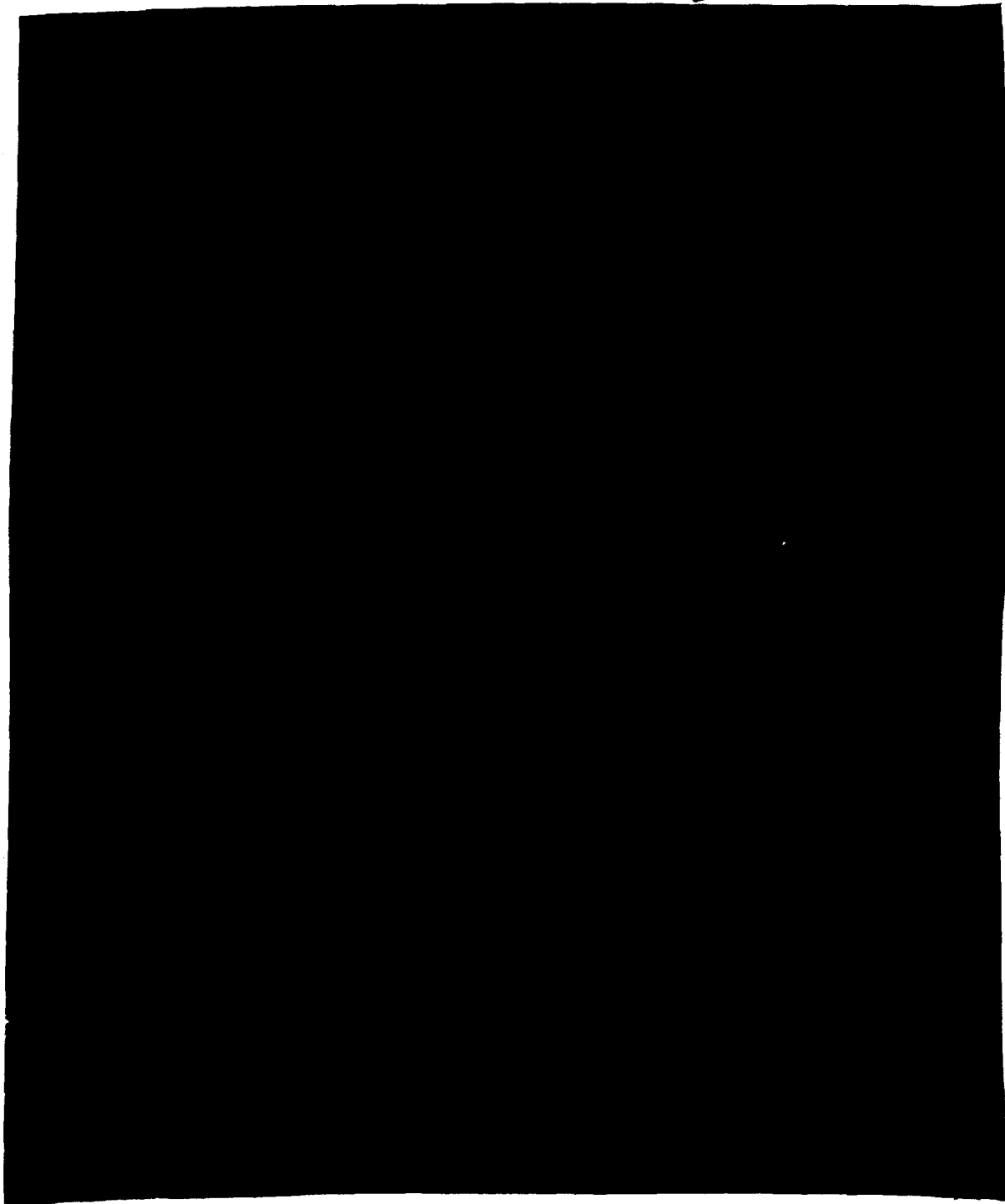
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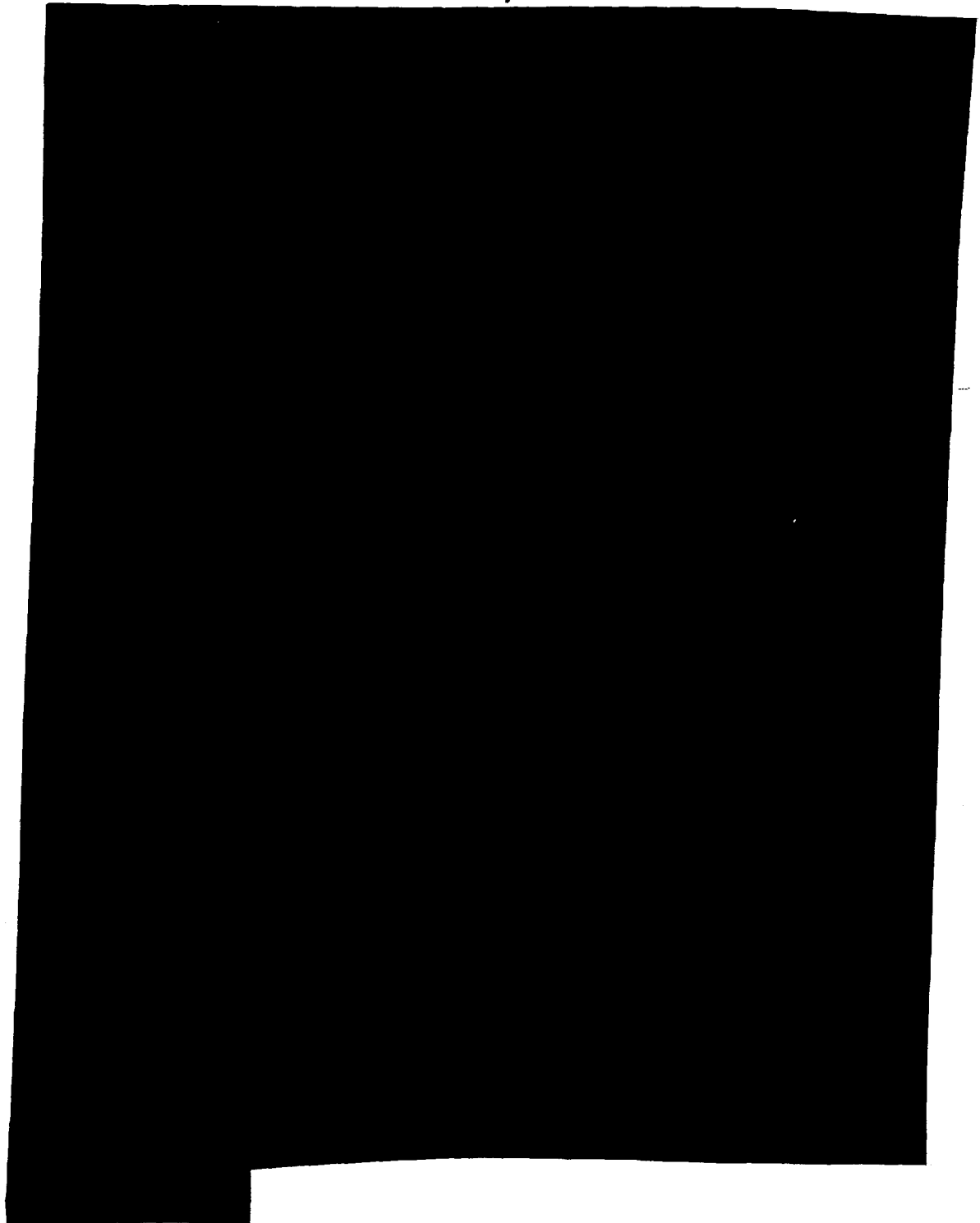
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OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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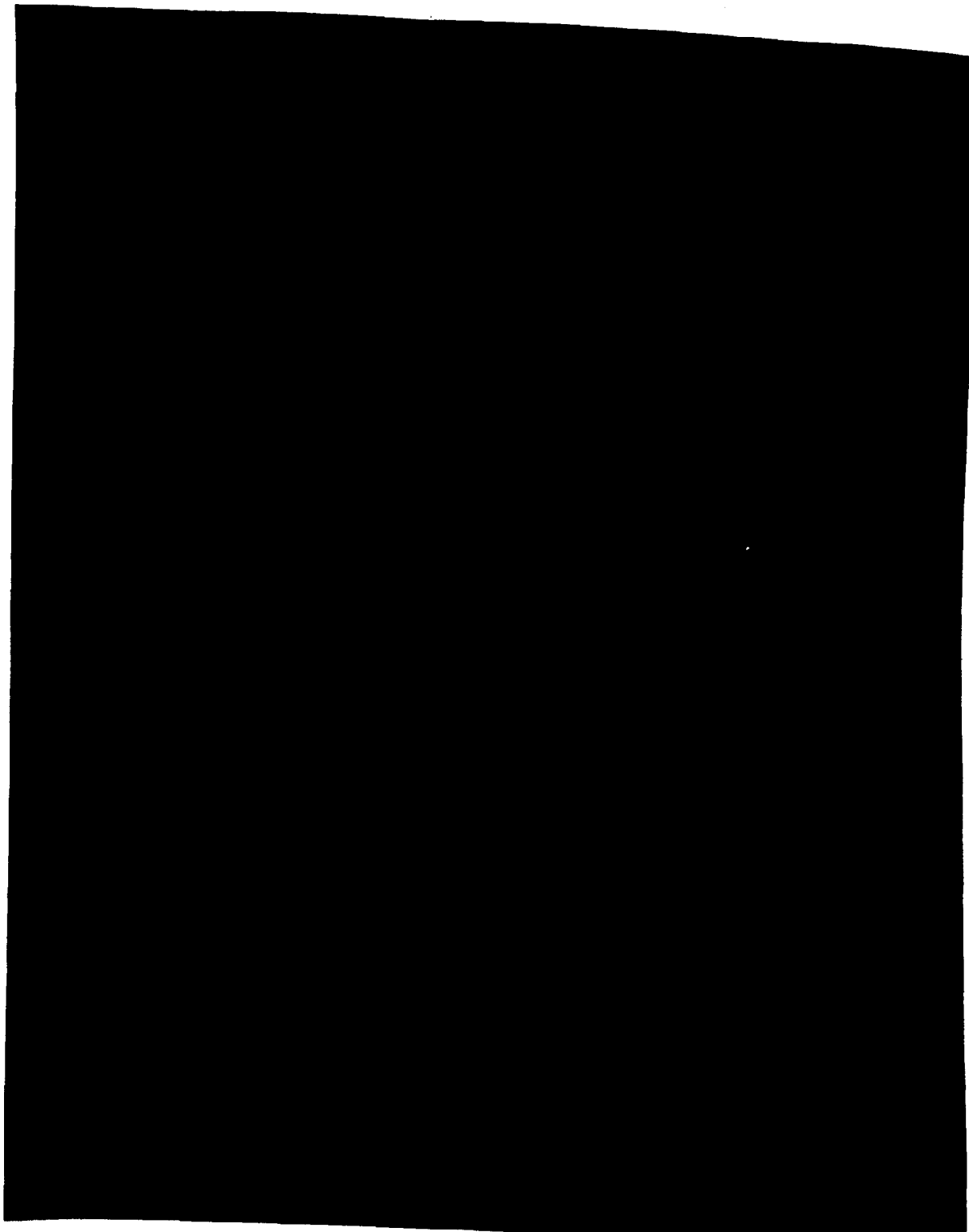
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OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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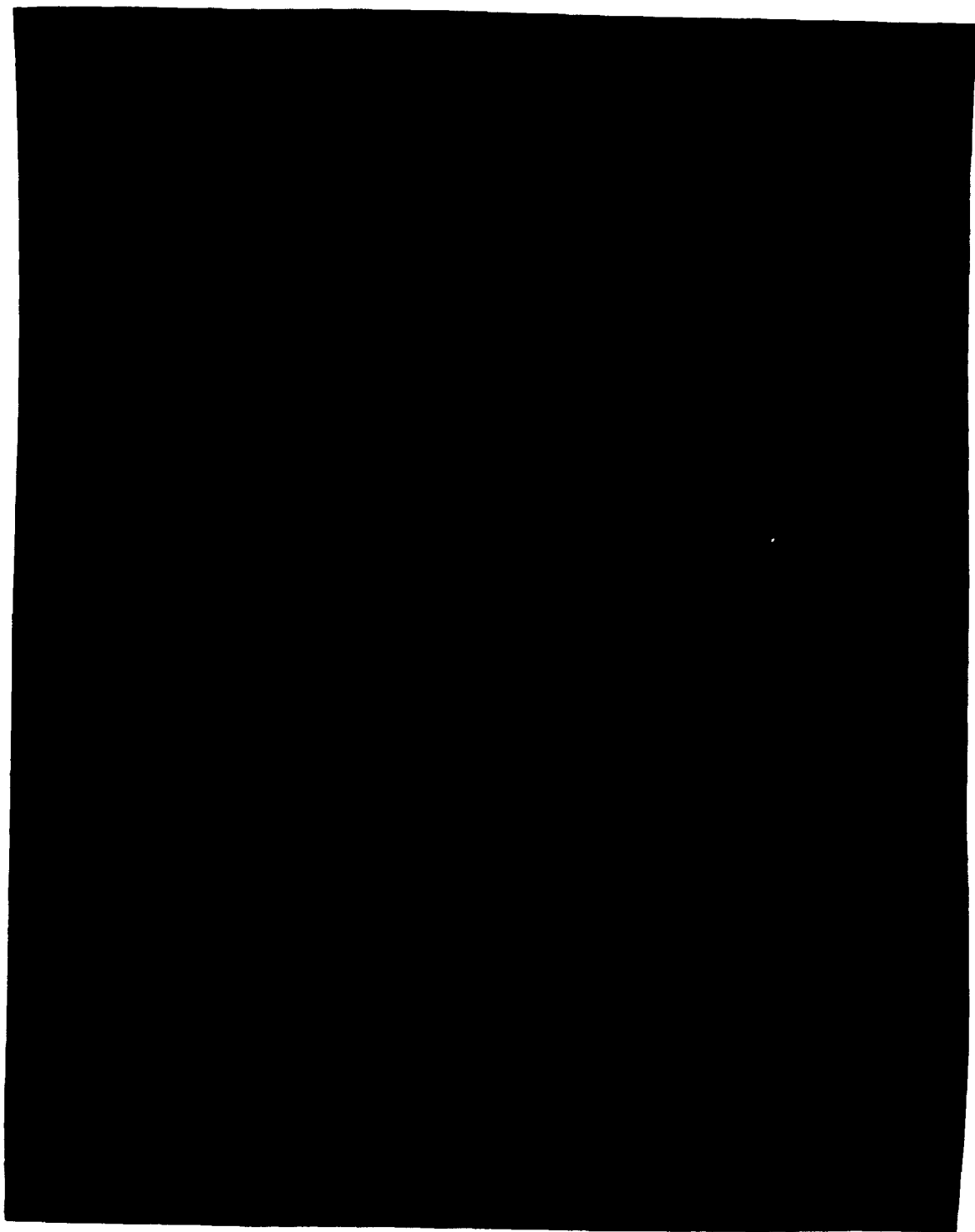
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OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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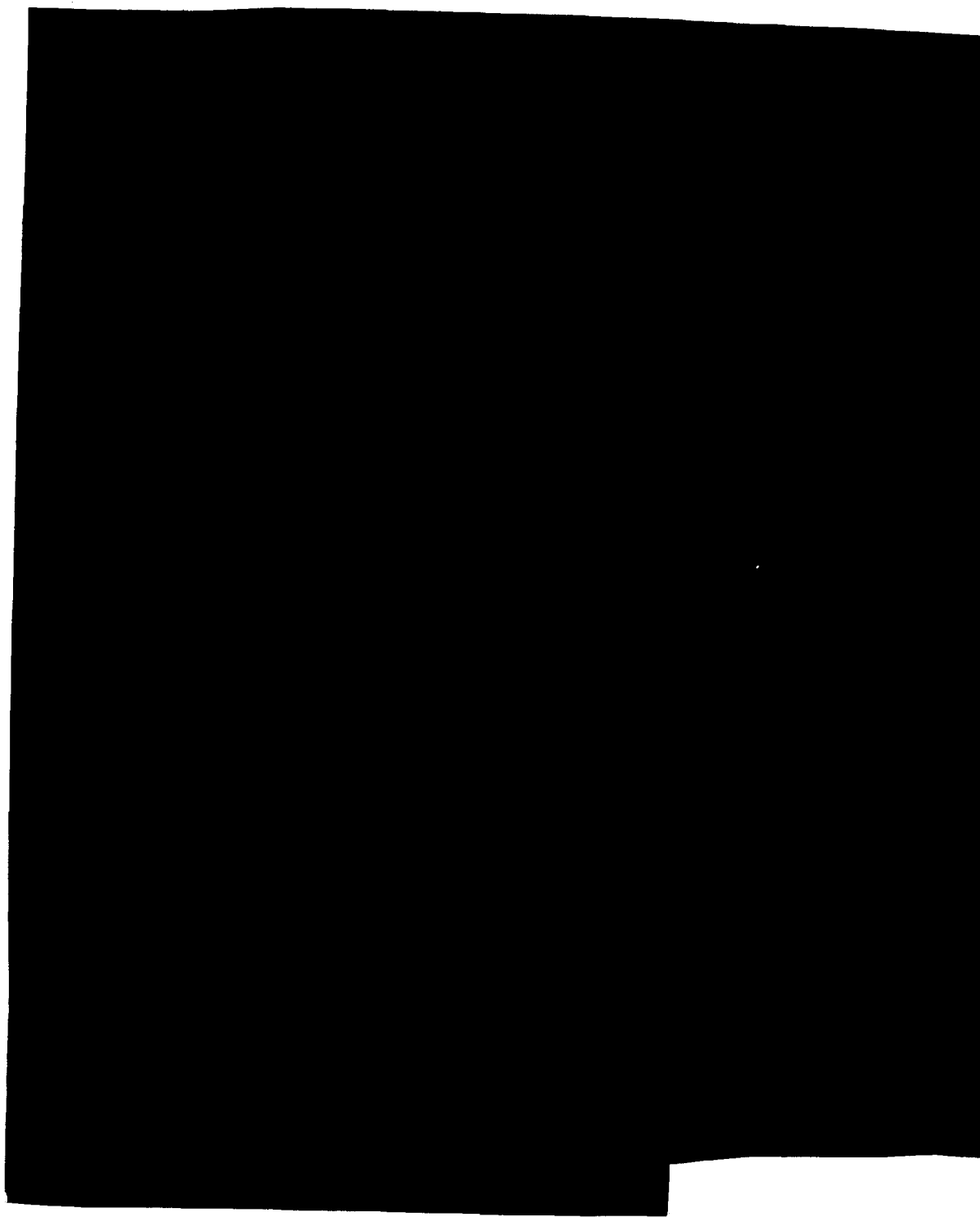


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OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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7

JS 3.3(b)(6)



OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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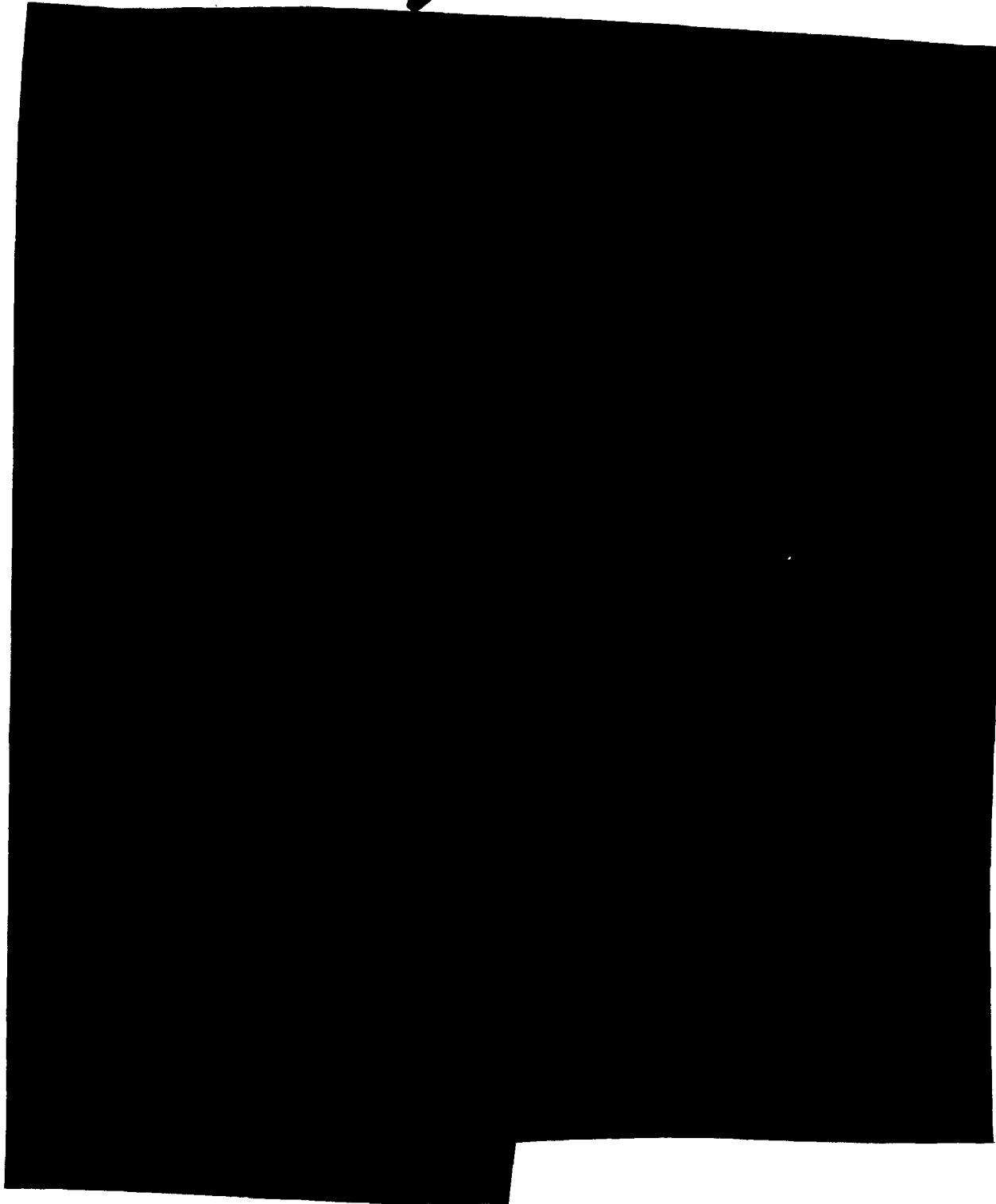
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JS 3.3(b)(5)

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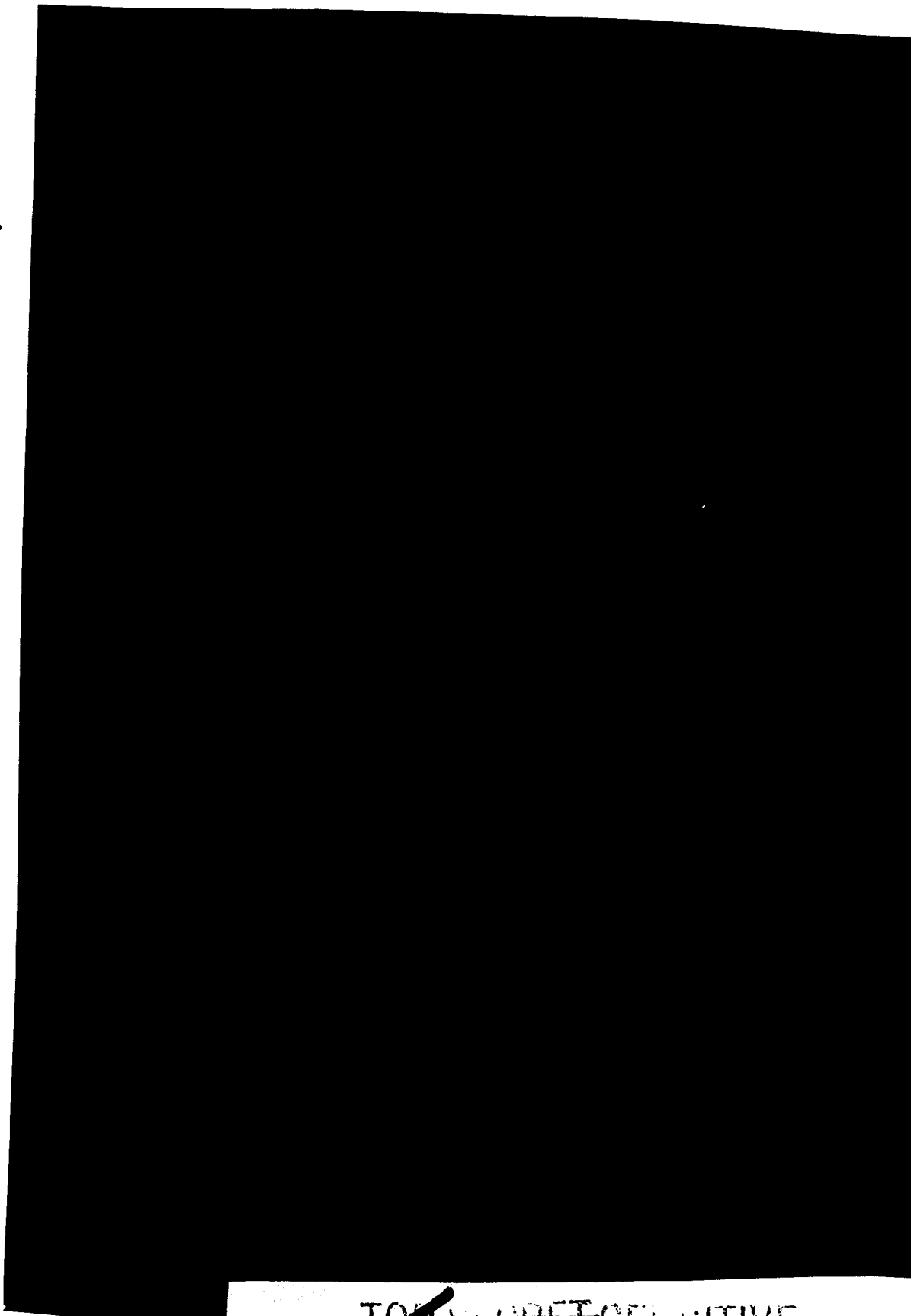
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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)



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IS 3.3(b)(5),(6)

OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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JS 3.3(b)(5),(6)

OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

JS 3.3(b)(6)

JS 3.3(b)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)

JS 3.3(b)(6)

JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(6)

JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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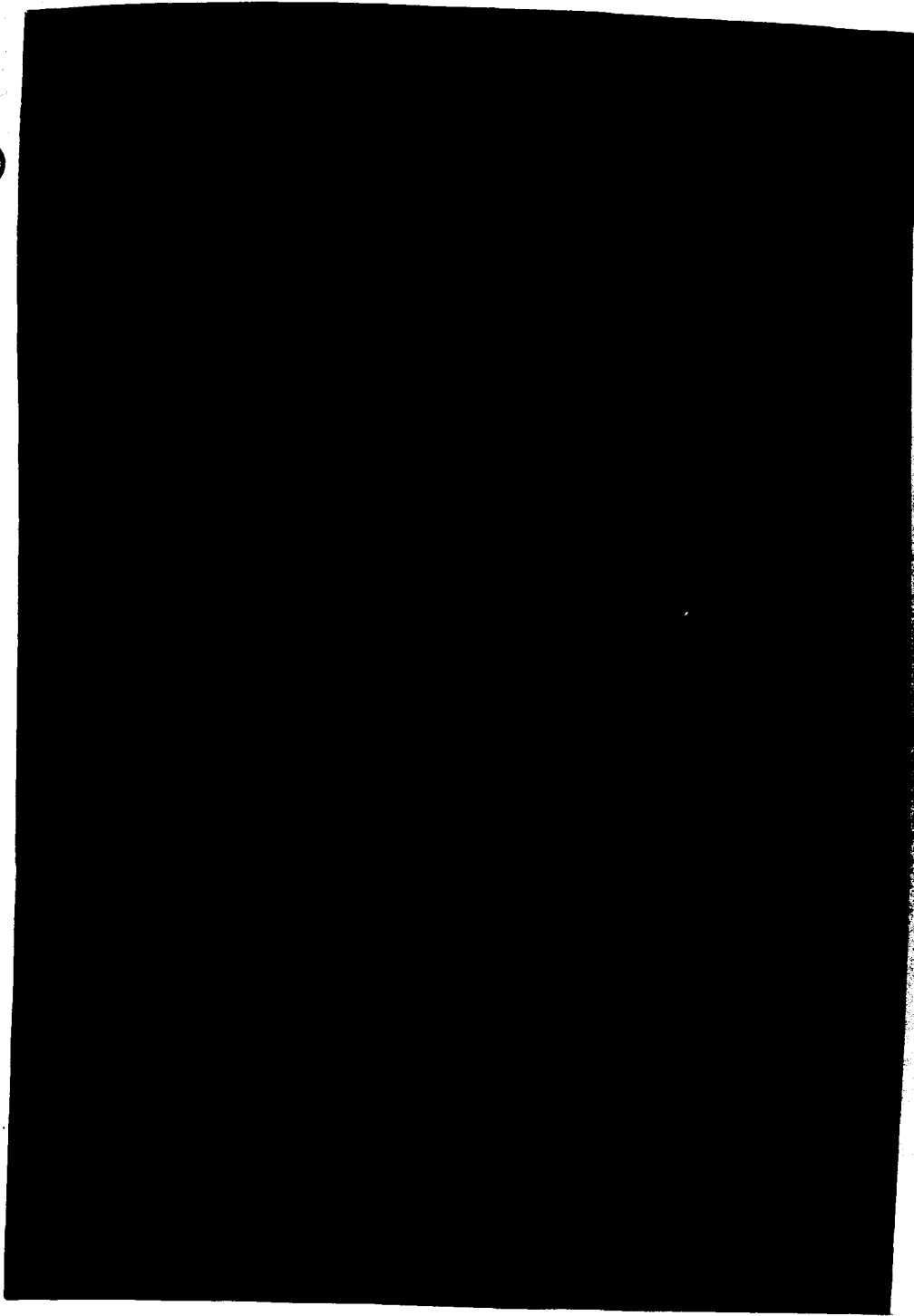
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JS 3.3(b)(5)



JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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JG 3.3(b)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(6)

JS 3.3(b)(5)

JS 3.3(b)(5)

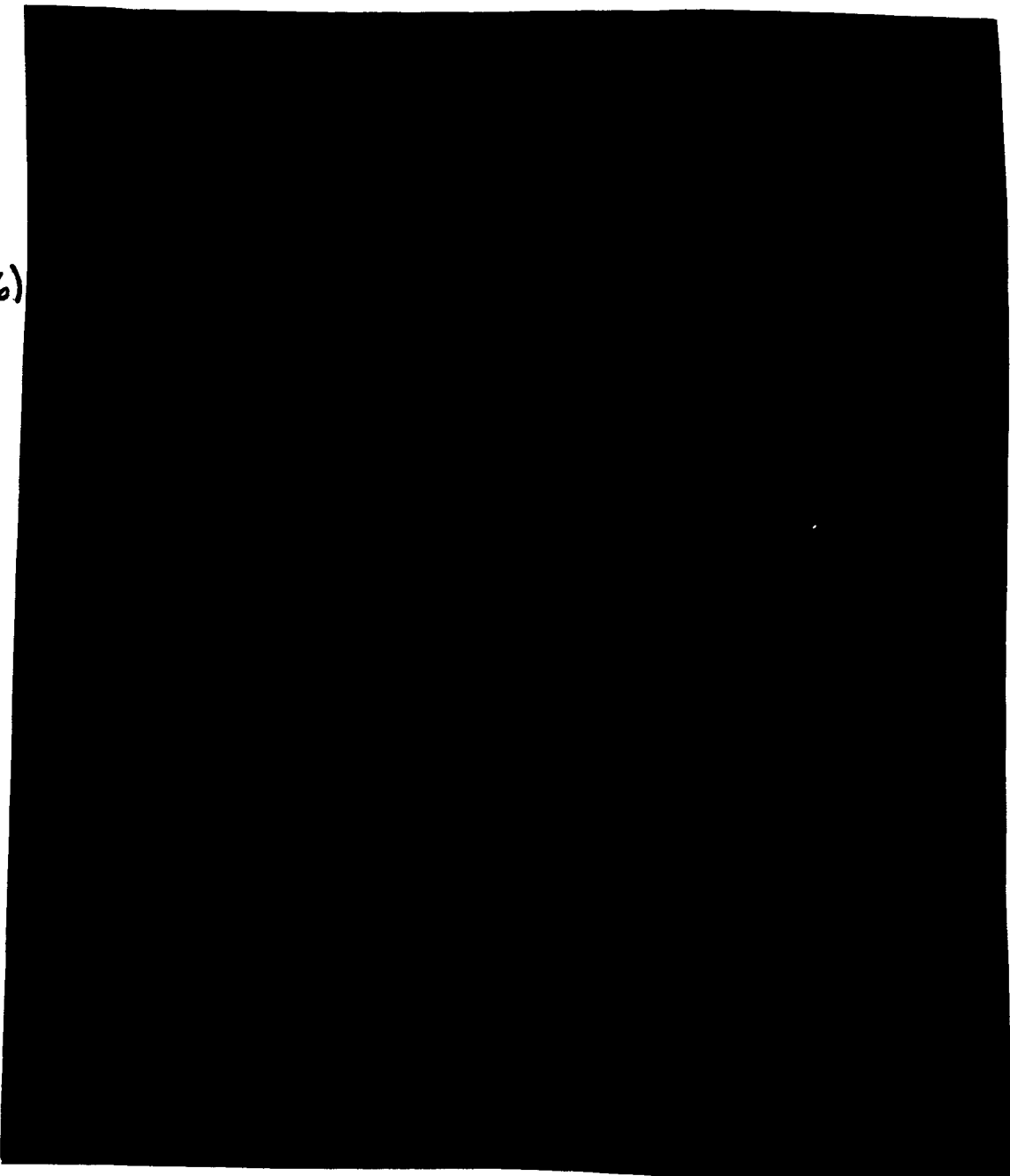
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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)



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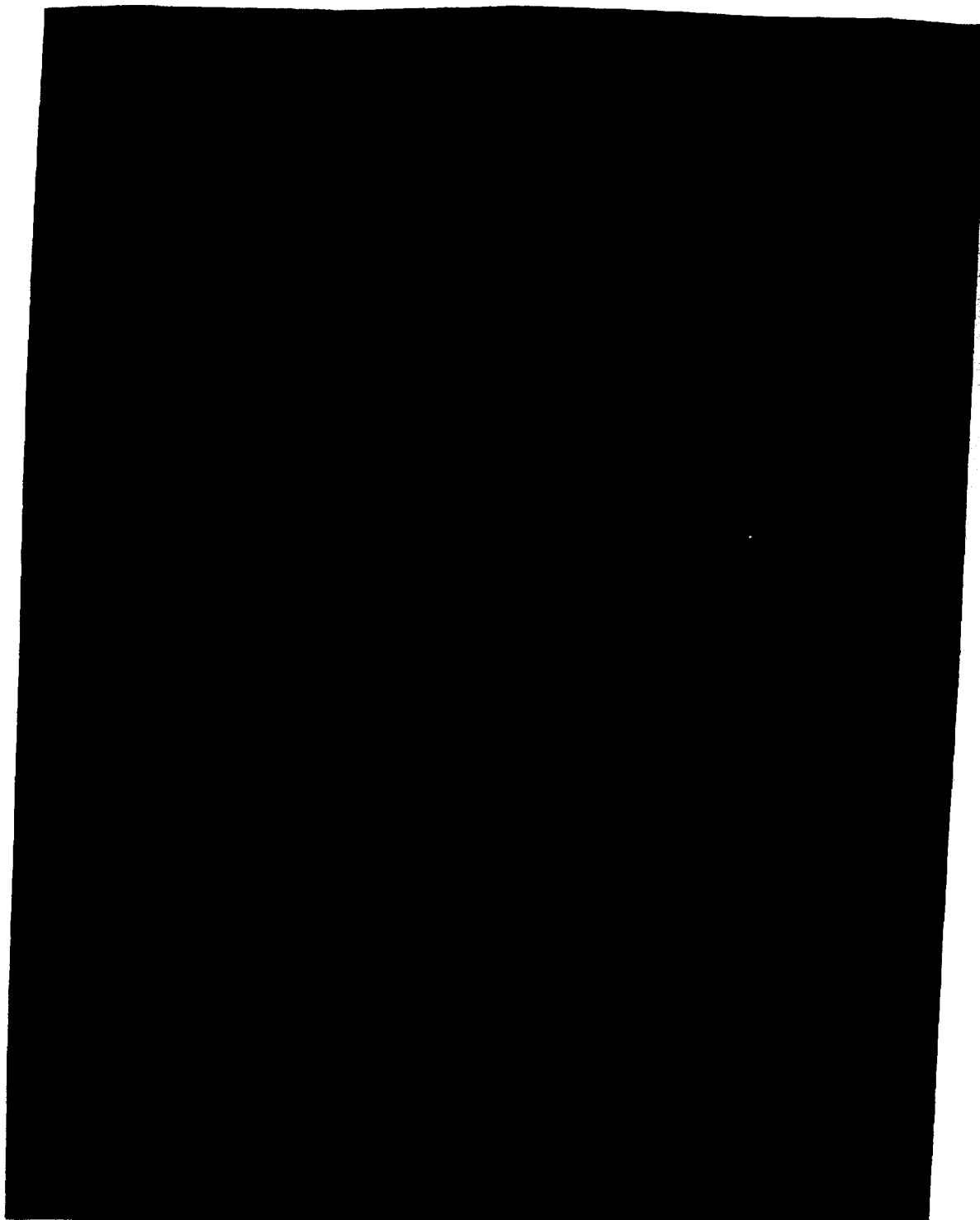
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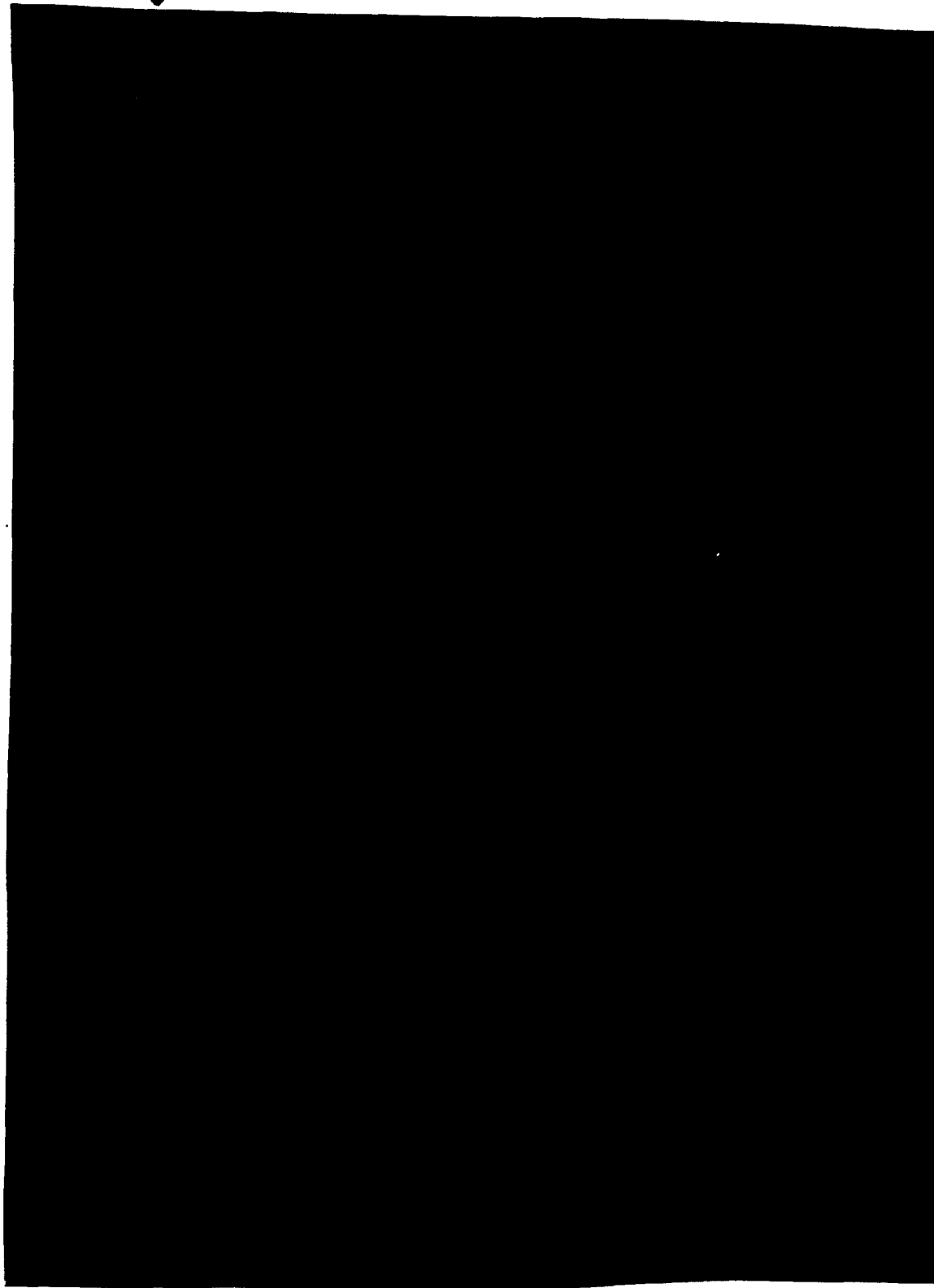
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JS 3.3(b)(5),(6)

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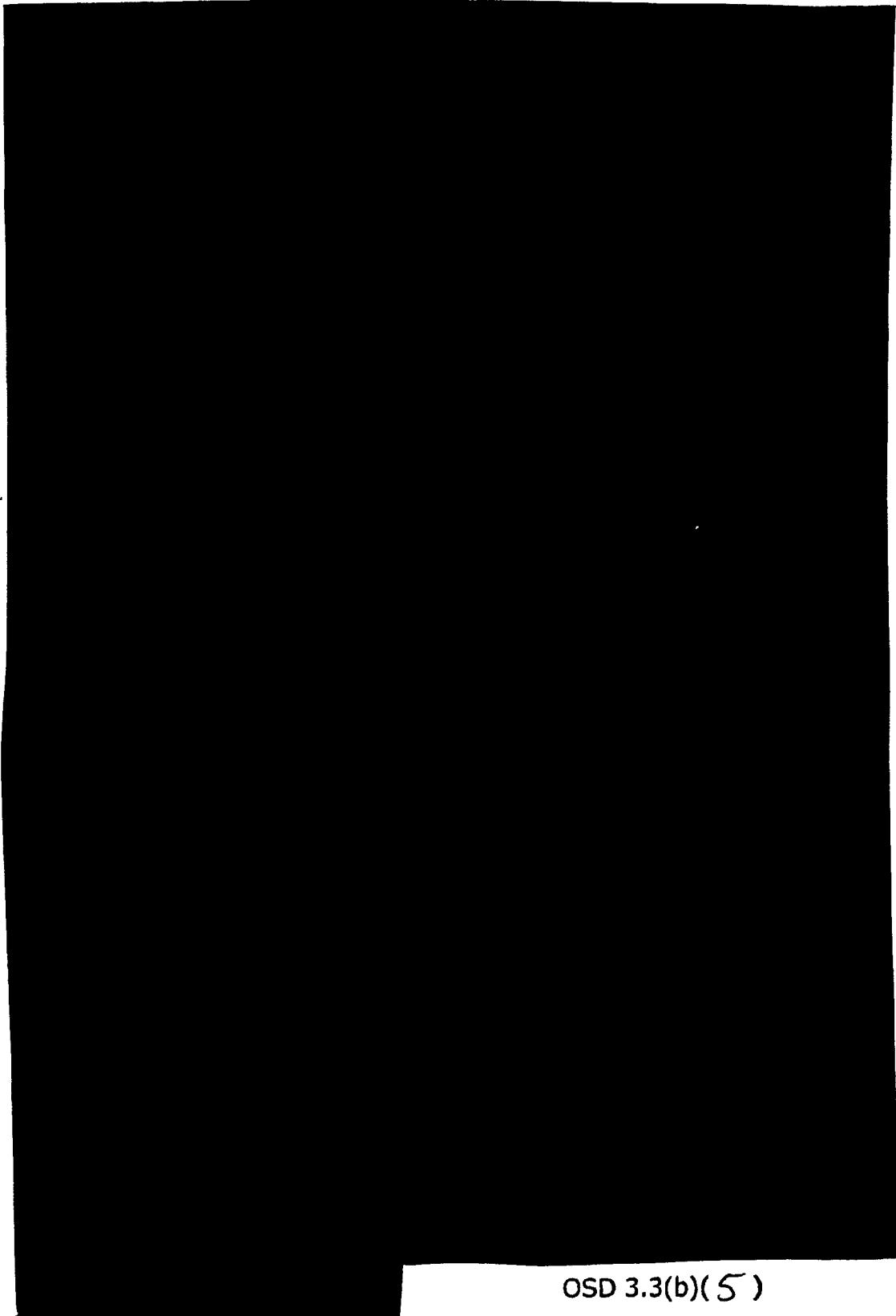
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JS 3.3(b)(5)



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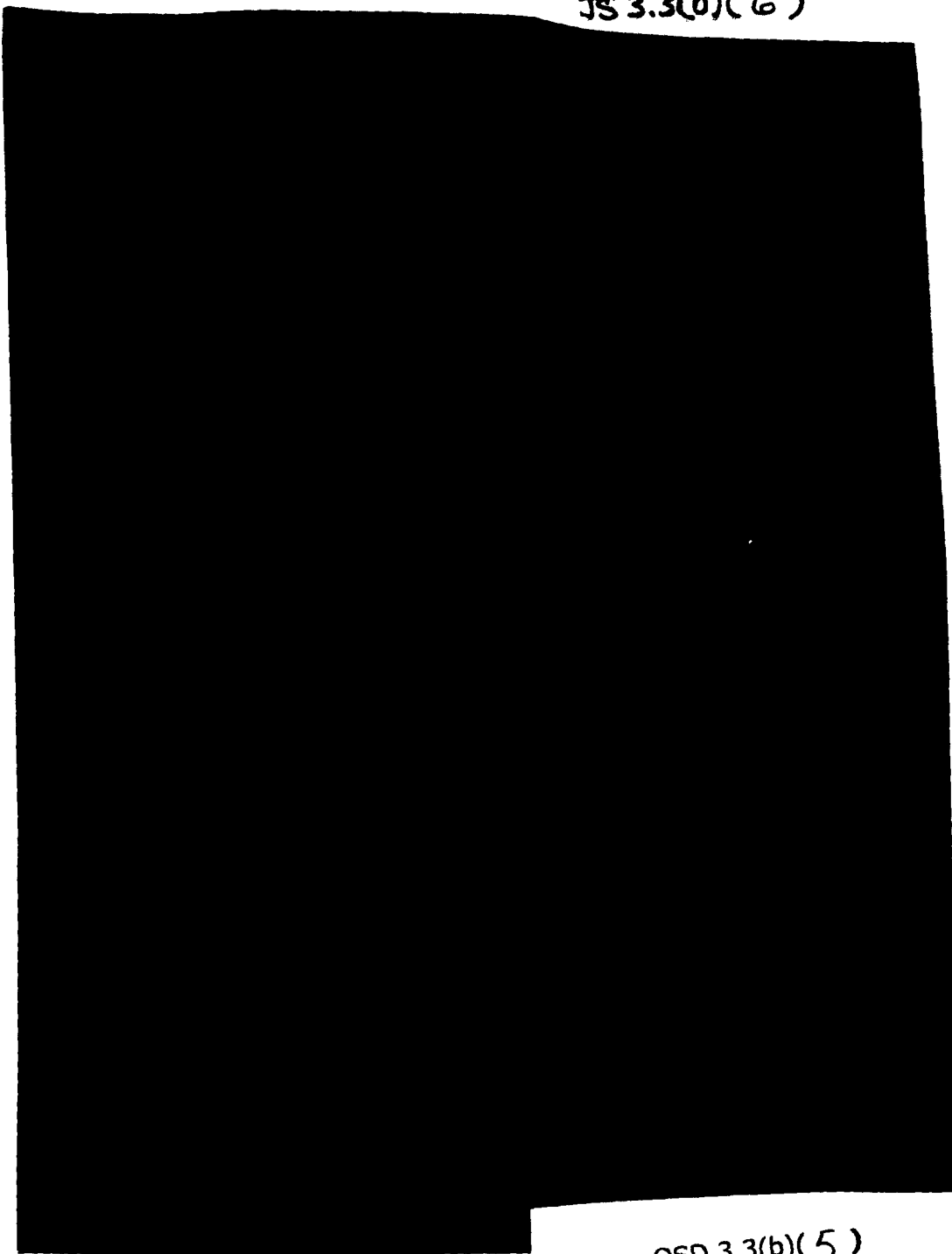
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JS 3.3(b)(6)



OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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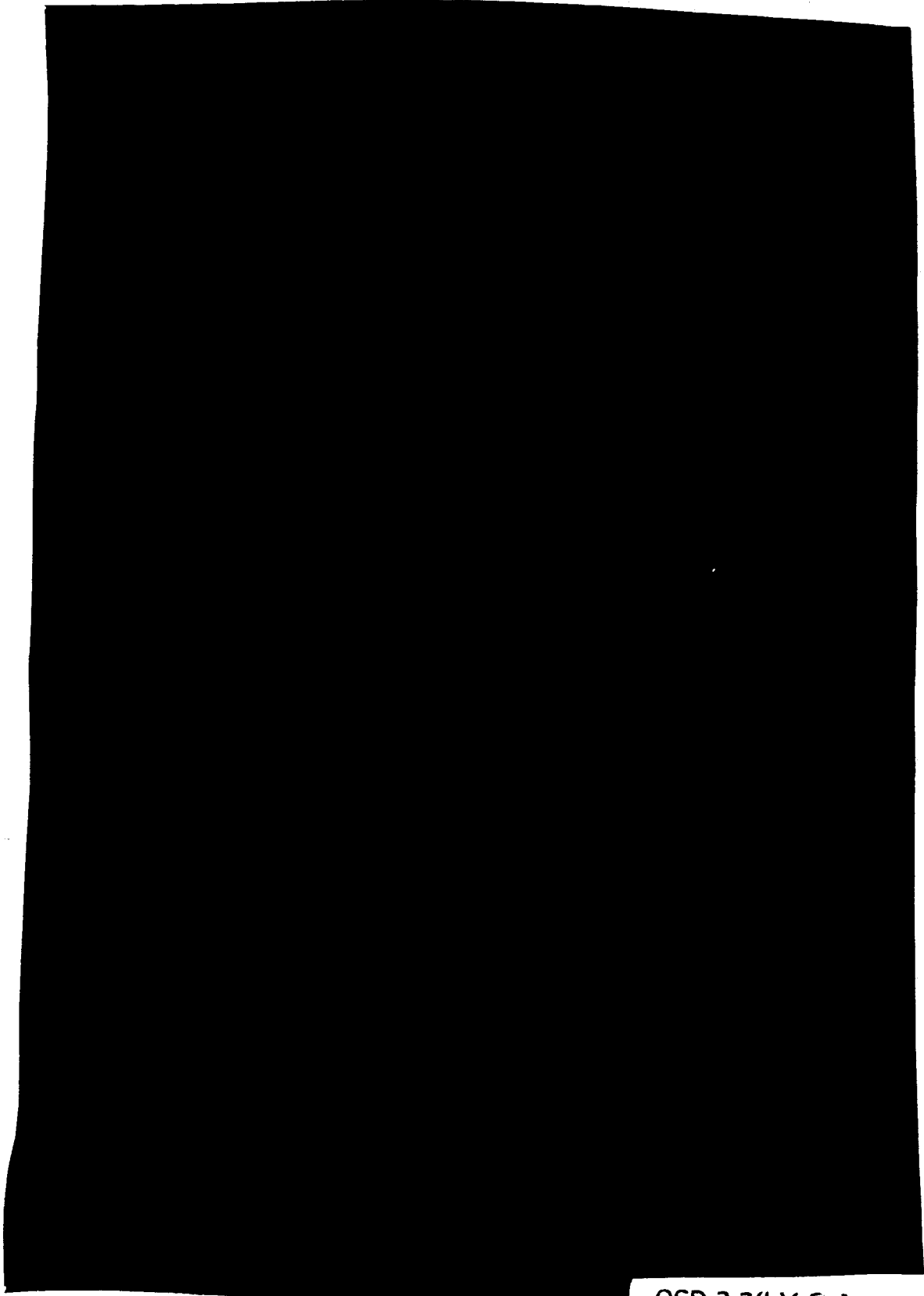
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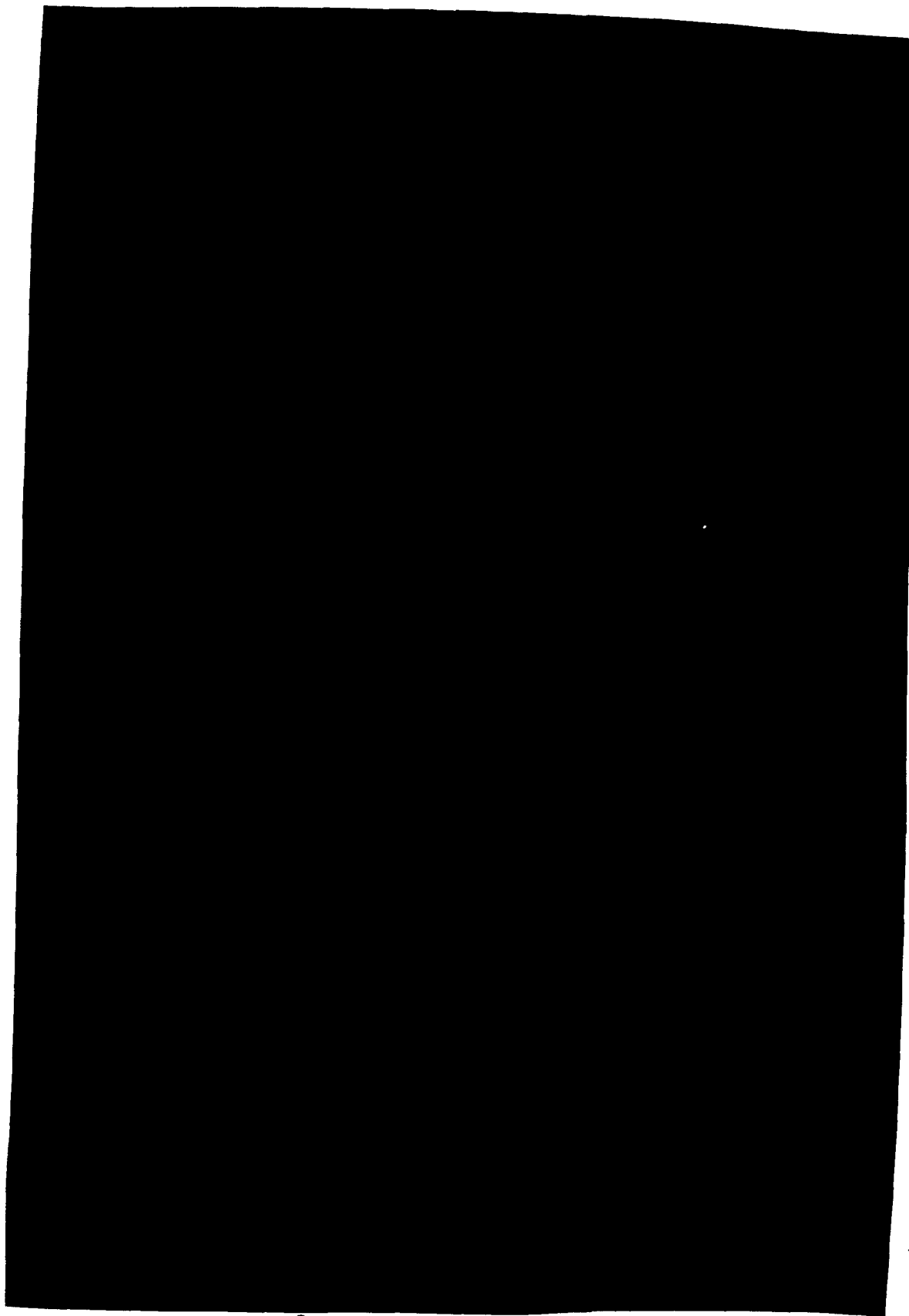
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JS 3.3(b)(5)

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OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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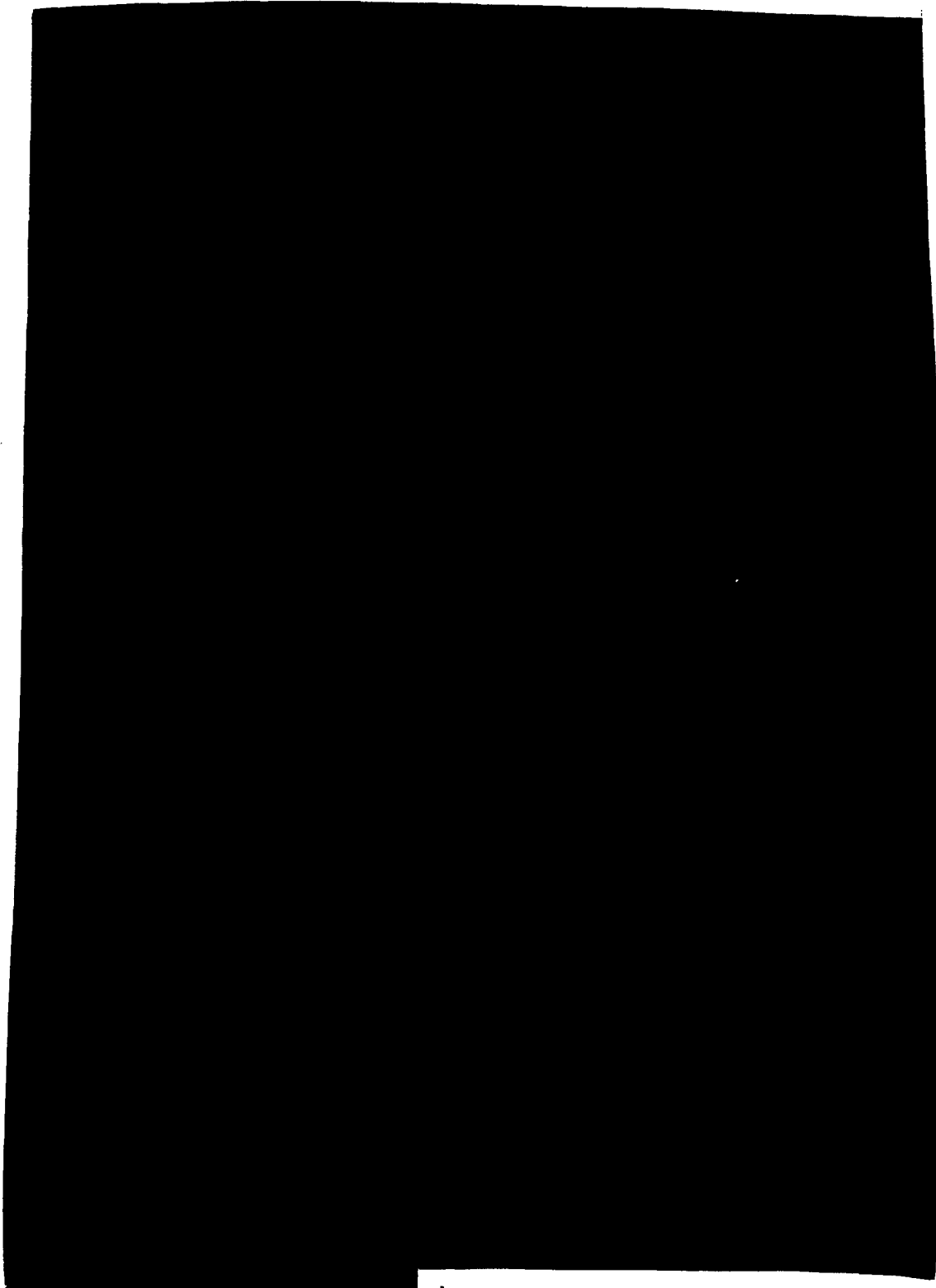
JS 3.3(b)(5)
OSD 3.3(b)(5)

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OSD 3.3(b)(5)
JS 3.3(b)(5),(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)(6)

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JS 3.3(b)(5)

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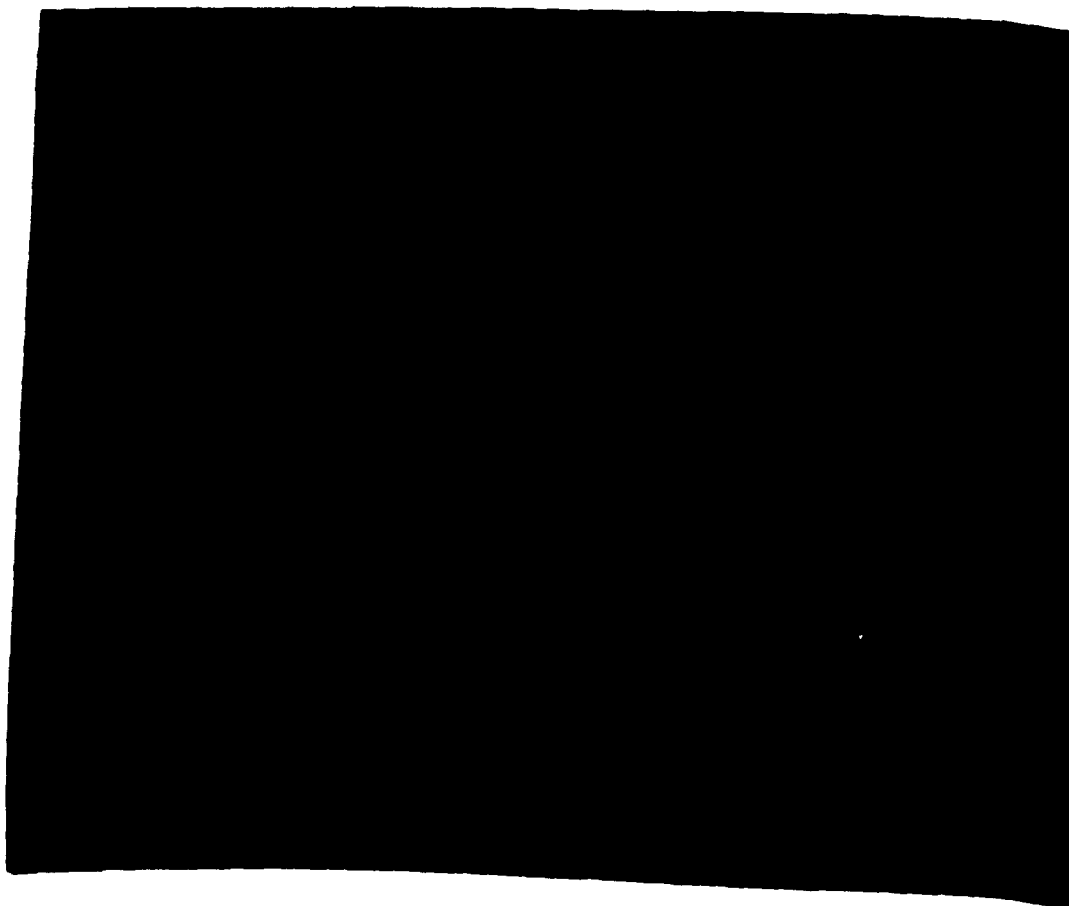
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