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POLICY REVIEW COMMITTEE MEETING  
August 7, 1979

Time and Place: 11:00 a.m. - 12:45 p.m., White House  
Situation Room

Subject: M-X Basing (U)

Participants:

State

Secretary Vance  
R. Bartholomew, Dir., Bureau  
of Politico-Military Aff.

OSTP

Ben Huberman

White House

Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Landon Butler

OSD

Secretary Brown (Chairman)  
W. Perry, Dir. Defense  
Research & Engineering  
G. Schneider, Dep. Dir.,  
SALT Task Force

NSC

Fritz Ermarth

JCS

General Jones  
LTG J. Pustay, Asst. to  
Chairman, JCS

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30-Sep-2015

DCI

Adm. Stansfield Turner  
R. Bowie, Dir., National  
Foreign Intelligence  
H. Stoertz, NIO for  
Strategic Programs

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ACDA

Spurgeon Keeny  
Barry Blechman, Asst. Dir.

OMB

John White, Dep. Dir.

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### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The PRC met to review issues pertaining to the basing of M-X in the horizontal shelter/road mobile configuration, particularly survivability, verifiability, and the schedule for completing a recommendation for the President. Principals had been previously briefed on the basing concept. ~~let~~

#### Survivability

DOD presented analyses of varying levels of Soviet ICBM threats to the M-X deployment and US responses. These analyses indicated that US responses, at a minimum, could enforce exhaustion of the Soviet ICBM arsenal by expanding the number of shelters as the assessed number of Soviet RVs grew. Discussion highlighted uncertainty as to the time and magnitude of Soviet threats to M-X's shelters. It was pointed out that likely Soviet attack plans would not pit all Soviet ICBMs against M-X targets, hence M-X survivability levels would be respectable. DOD was tasked to:

- Reconcile survivability calculations with official NIE data.
- Examine incentives for the Soviets to abrogate SALT II before 1985 to increase their ability to cover M-X shelters.
- Develop US response options to severe Soviet threats additional to shelter expansion, e.g., ABM defenses and acceleration of other programs. ~~let~~

#### Verifiability

It was agreed that the US horizontal shelter scheme would be verifiable by the Soviets although more technical analysis was needed. However, it was judged likely that the Soviets would challenge the verifiability of the US plan to put political pressure on us or to relieve themselves of the need to take care to assure verifiability on their side. The major concern was that the Soviets might surreptitiously

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insert a lighter, more mobile, and concealable missile into a multiple-aim-point system. It was agreed that the DCI would thoroughly examine this issue in the next several weeks. (S)

Schedule to Decision

It was agreed that the horizontal shelter / road mobile basing scheme presented by DOD is the preferred mode for deploying M-X. The above issues and certain cost issues will be further studied over the next few weeks. Before Labor Day a final recommendation will be submitted to the President, and the NSC could meet on it early in September. (S)

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