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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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June 4, 1971

National Security Study Memorandum 128

TO:

The Secretary of State
The Secretary of Defense

The Director of Central Intelligence

The Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT:

Review of Nuclear Test Ban Policy

The President has directed a review of United States policy with respect to underground nuclear testing.

This review should include separate analyses in the areas listed below. In each case an evaluation should be made of comprehensive test ban, threshold test ban, quota test ban and moratorium options.

- 1. Verification possibilities: taking into account estimated capabilities of present, currently planned and possible future seismic systems; history of past system performance versus expectations; probable capabilities of other national means alone and, as appropriate, the added capabilities provided by on-site inspection or on-site automatic seismic stations.
- 2. The effects on U.S. nuclear weapons development: including impact on meeting current and anticipated weapons needs and requirements; impact on nuclear weapons laboratories and possible conversion programs; and savings, if any, taking into account verification requirements.
- 3. Estimated effects on Soviet weapons development: including potential gains from clandestine testing.
- 4. Political and other factors: including value in controlling further proliferation of nuclear weapons, and effects on both U.S.-Soviet relations and U.S. relations with allied nuclear powers.

NSC Declassification/Release Instructions on File.

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Impact on U.S. and Soviet Peaceful Nuclear Explosion programs: including domestic and international consequences of restricting or prohibiting such explosions; possible ways of accommodating Plowshare applications; and the possibilities of utilizing PNE's for evasion of a test ban.

This study should be prepared under the direction of the Verification Panel which, for the purpose of this study, will include a representative of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The study should be ready for consideration by the NSC by August 15, 1971.

In view of the sensitivity of this memorandum, distribution should be restricted to those persons essential to the completion of the study.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Director, Office of Science and Technology
The Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff