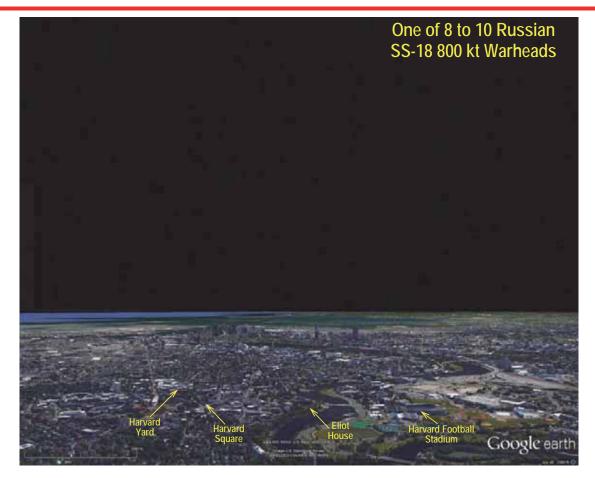


How the US Nuclear Weapons Modernization Program Is Increasing the Chances of Accidental Nuclear War with Russia

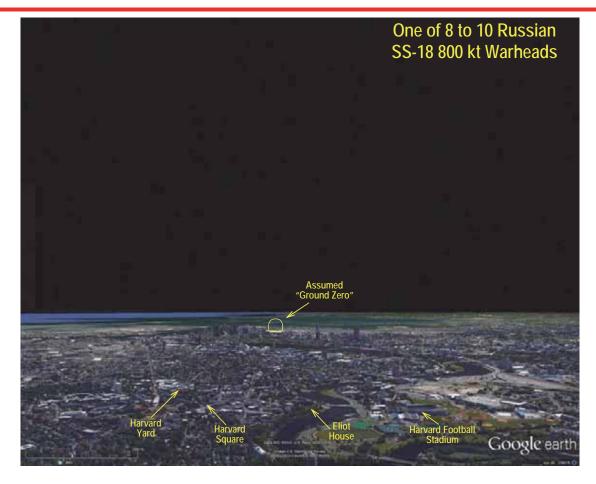
Theodore A. Postol Professor Emeritus of Science, Technology, and National Security Policy Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology e-mail: <u>postol@mit.edu</u>

Harvard College Peace Action February 25, 2016

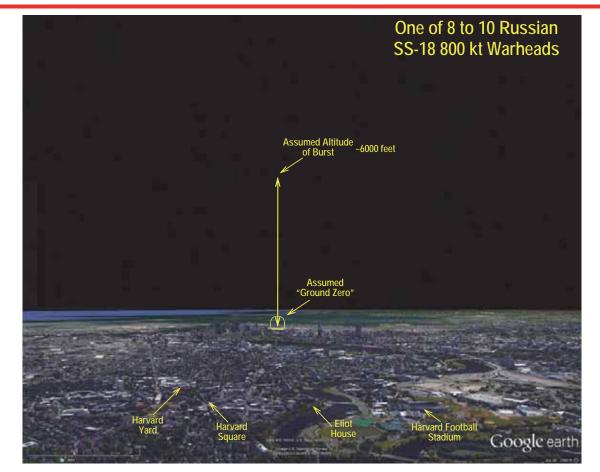
Boston Downtown Skyline Viewed from Nearly Above the Harvard University Campus



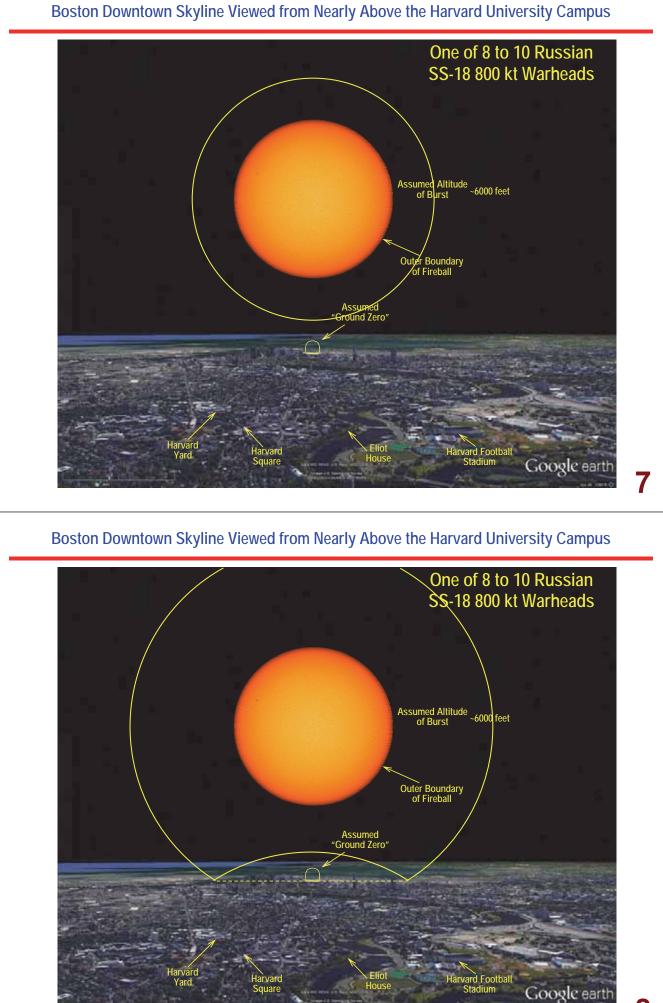


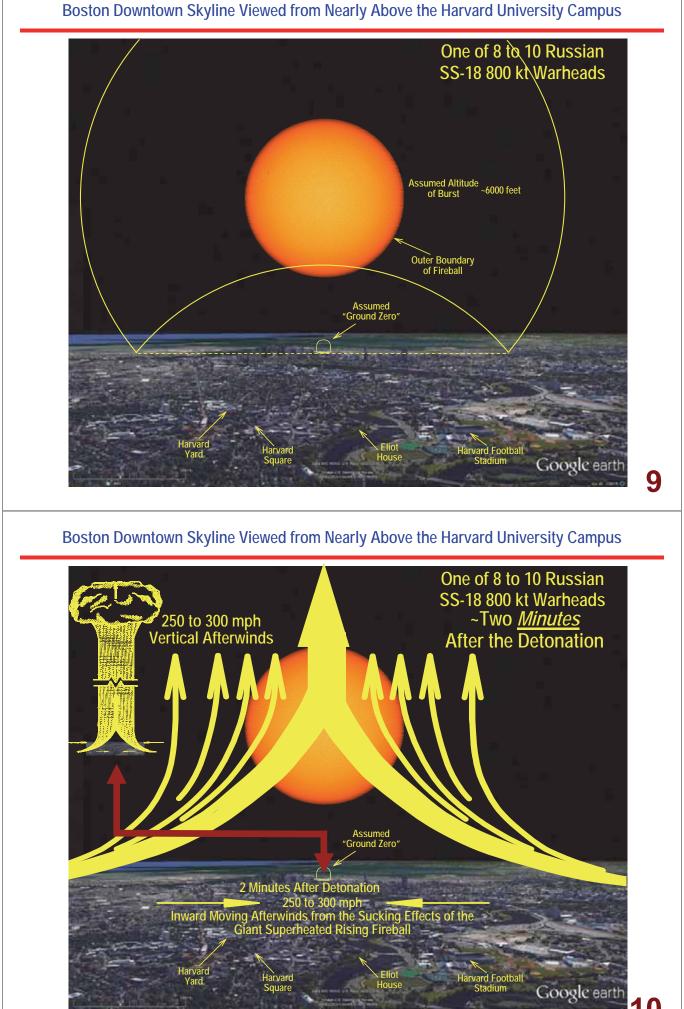


Boston Downtown Skyline Viewed from Nearly Above the Harvard University Campus

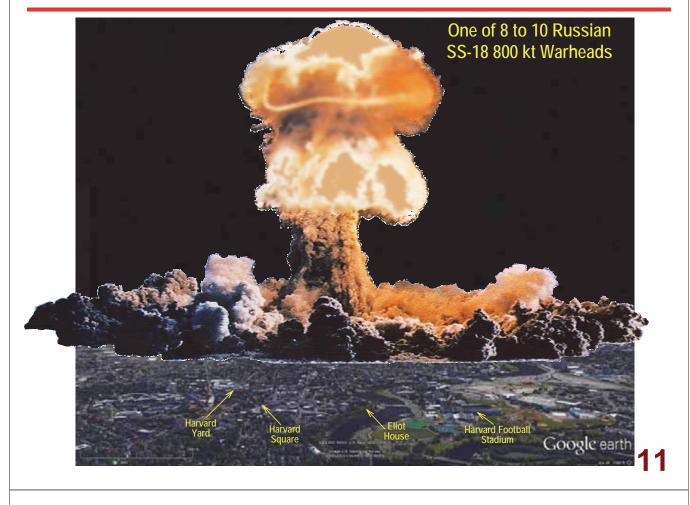


Boston Downtown Skyline Viewed from Nearly Above the Harvard University Campus One of 8 to 10 Russian SS-18 800 kt Warheads Assumed Altitude of Burst ~6000 feet Outer Boundary of Fireball Assumed "Ground Zero" Harvard Football Stadium larvard Square Google earth 5 Boston Downtown Skyline Viewed from Nearly Above the Harvard University Campus One of 8 to 10 Russian SS-18 800 kt Warheads Assumed Altitude of Burst ~6000 feet Outer Boundary of Fireball Assumed "Ground Zero" Harvard Football Stadium rvard Google earth





Boston Downtown Skyline Viewed from Nearly Above the Harvard University Campus



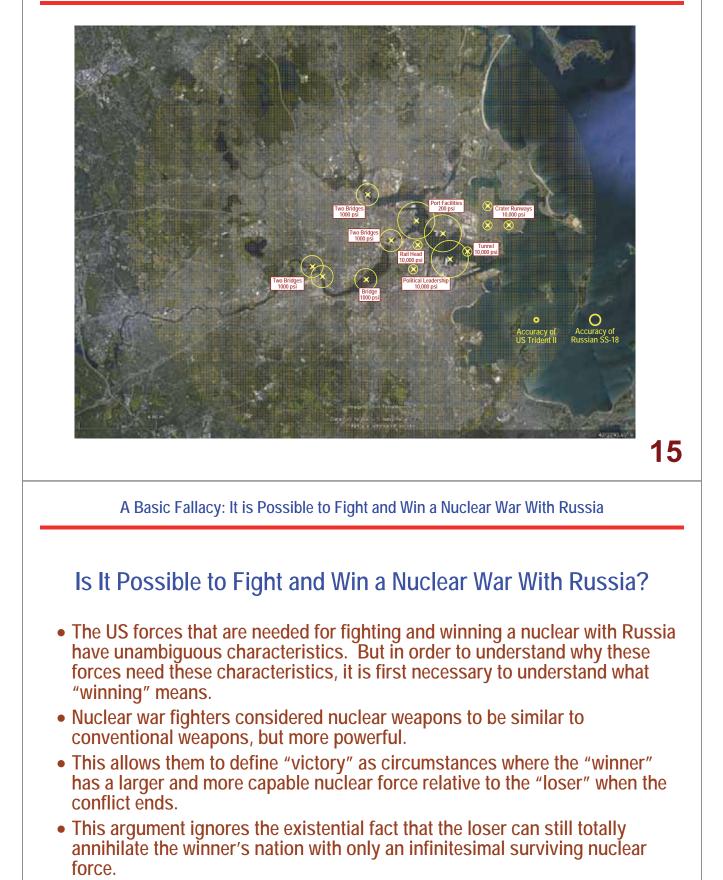
Boston Area Potentially Subject to Damage from a Single SS-18 800 kt Warhead



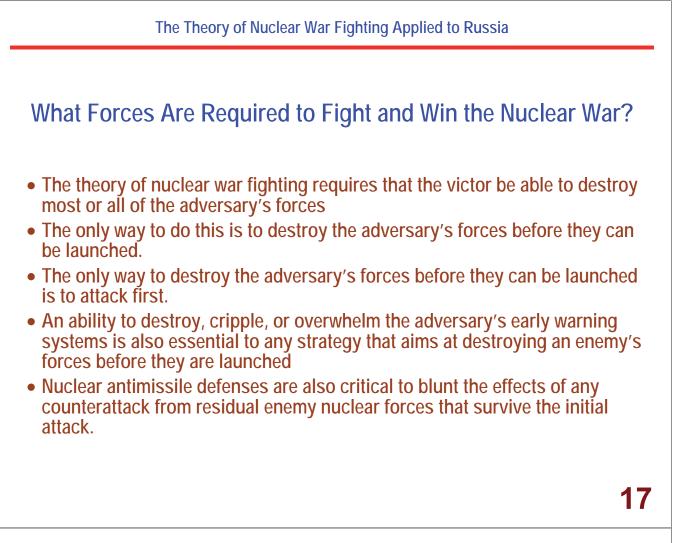




Warfighting Plan: SS-18 Warheads Against "Urban-Industrial" Targets in Boston



• It also ignores the fact that the secondary consequences of nuclear attacks would certainly be disastrous for the nations of the northern hemisphere and would also result in massive losses of life elsewhere on the planet.



The Russian Situation and Its Experience with the United States

Circumstances Relevant to Nuclear War Against Russia

- Early warning system has no space-based component.
- Russia has substantial nuclear forces and fixed ground-based missile silos that can now be destroyed by the US submarine launched ballistic missiles (and US ICBMs as well).
- Nuclear arms reductions with the United States will only increase Russia's vulnerabilities to a US nuclear first-strike.
- Russians remember that the US has repeatedly not been helpful in providing for Russian early warning.
- The US supported the Latvian government when it demanded that Russia close down a new early warning radar that was covering major attack orders from United States.
- The US is now drastically increasing the ability of all its submarine-launched ballistic missile warheads to destroy Russian silo-based forces and command centers. These improvements will free up many US nuclear weapons that would have otherwise been dedicated to that mission.
- The US relentless and irrational preoccupation with global missile defenses is seen by the Russians as yet another US program aimed at reducing Russia's ability to retaliate after a US nuclear first-strike.
- The Russian analysis of US modernization programs and behavior can only lead them to conclude that the United States is trying to create an option to fight and win a nuclear war against Russia.
- The US nuclear weapons modernization program is unambiguously oriented toward achieving these goals.

Potential Consequences

- The Russians have no space-based satellite early warning systems to alert them to the launch of US nuclear-armed ballistic missiles from the ocean.
- The Russians may be in the process of trying to reconstitute a primitive and limited spacebased system that could with some reliability observe the launch of US land-based missiles.
- However, the most capable ballistic missile systems are now on submarines, which have warheads of much higher killing power and can be launched from unmonitored locations in the ocean.
- Since the US has been improving its capability to preemptively attack Russia, the only choice the Russians have is to streamline their decision-making capabilities.
- Because the Russians cannot see over the curved-earth horizon with space-based satellite sensors, they can only depend on line-of-sight radars.
- This means there warning time could be a short as 10 to 15 minutes.
- The only way to guarantee the ability to launched before Russian forces are destroyed by a preemptive US attack this if some method of pre-delegated launch authority is put in place.
- The response times of the streamlined launch authority are by necessity very short.
- The time-pressure to take actions can, in crisis, greatly increase the chances of an accidental launch Russian central strategic nuclear forces.
- Thus, the US Nuclear Weapons Modernization Program is pushing the Russians to take actions that could, in a crisis, lead to a massive accident that could well destroy most of the countries in the northern hemisphere.

19



Some Technical and Political Factors That Will Impact the Stability of Future Nuclear Forces

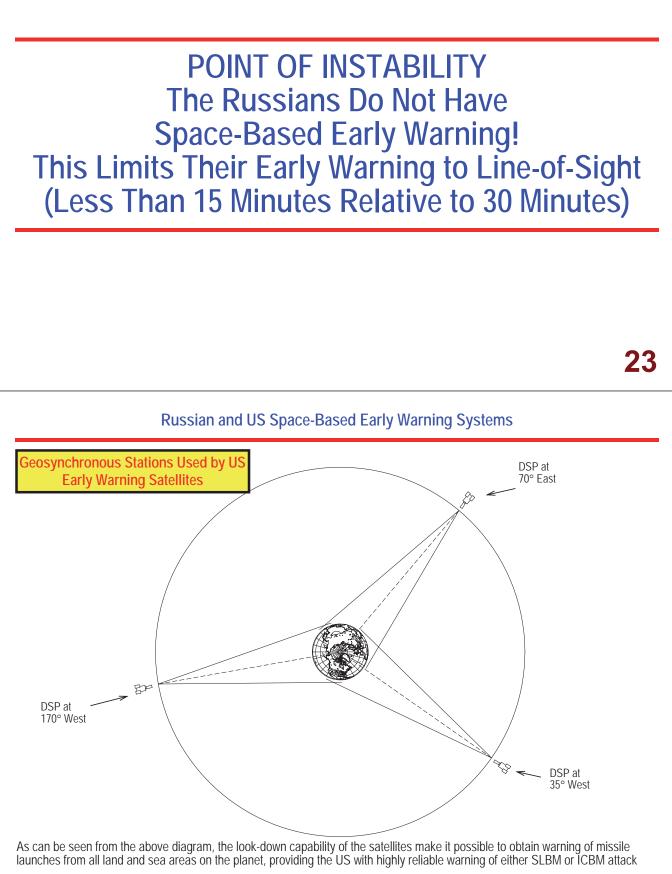
Theodore A. Postol Professor Emeritus of Science, Technology, and National Security Policy Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Voice: 617 253-8077; FAX: 617 258-5750; e-mail: <u>postol@mit.edu</u>

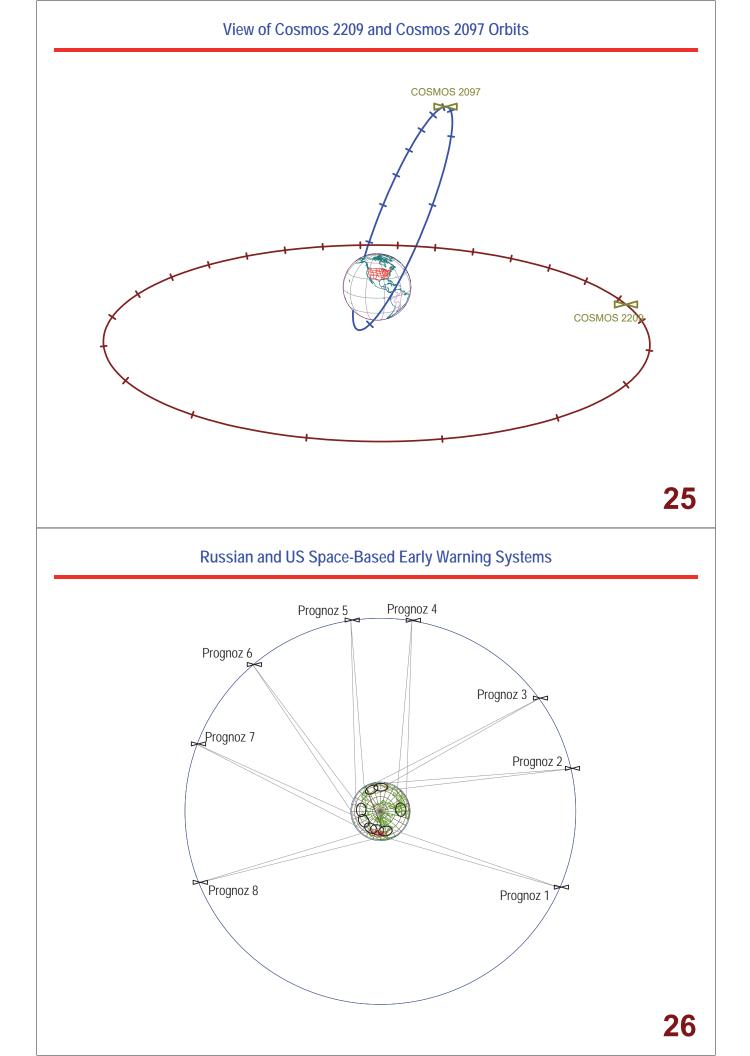
> The Ploughshares Fund December 8, 2015

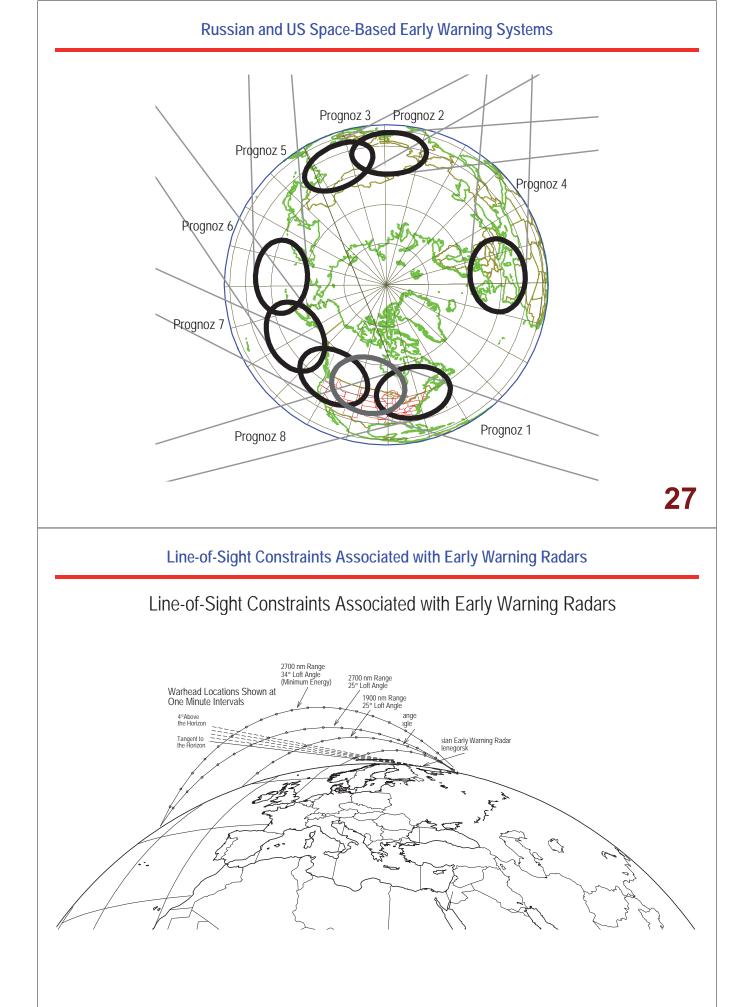
- 1. There are NO Foreseeable ICBM Threats from Iran or North Korea.
- 2. There is NO Foreseeable Nuclear Threat from Iran to Western Europe
- 3. If US missile-defense activities continue, they will almost certainly block deep nuclear reductions.
- 4. Since the pursuit of missile defenses has little or no relationship to the capabilities or promise of these systems, diminishing these programs will require a political change in the culture of "running away from the problem" in the Democratic Party.
- 5. Russia does not have the technology to build a viable space-based infrared early warning system. This means that Russia has no early warning against SLBM attacks.
- 6. It also means that Russia has half as much early warning time (~15 minutes or less) as the US.
- 7. The US is tripling its hard target kill per warhead, greatly increasing the threat to Russia's nuclear forces.
- 8. This also means that the hard target killing power of US forces will increase even if there are deep numerical reductions in US forces.
- 9. The continuing heavy reliance by Russia and the US on fixed land-based ICBMs will result in basically vulnerable fixed silo-based forces in both Russia and the US.
- 10. Russian reliance on land mobile missiles could well increase crisis instability due to the need for timely decisions to disperse the forces for survivability.
- 11. As long as Russia continues to rely heavily on land-mobile and fixed silo-based ICBMs, it will have a very substantial vulnerability to a short-warning attack from the United States.
- 12. The extreme vulnerability of Russian VHF early warning radars to high-altitude nuclear explosions, in combination with Russia's lack of space-based early warning and its dependence on timely dispersal of mobile ICBMs, will present serious stability problems for future Russian and US nuclear forces.

Technical and Political Factors That Will Impact the Stability of Future Nuclear Forces

- 13. The introduction of new weapons like the "Advanced Hypersonic Weapon" will create enormous stresses on both Russian and possibly US early warning systems. US space-based infrared satellites will be able to detect the launch of a Russian hypersonic glide weapon and may alsol be able to track such weapons in the glide phase as well. This latter possibility needs to be studied, as it could seriously contribute to othe destabilizing developments as well.
- 14. Continued NATO actions, like lying about the true circumstances associated with the Turkish shoot down of a Russian Sukhoi 24 over Syria, will further increase Russian concerns about Western intentions towards Russia in future crises. In the case of the Turkish shoot down, it is clear that the role of Turkey and the US in the incident has not been forthrightly explained. It is imperative that NATO and the West develop a clear strategy of being forthright about such incidents when they occur.







The Russian Experience with the False Alert of January 25, 1995

Estimated Time Needed to Carry Out Nuclear Launch-Operations No Matter What Response Is Chosen

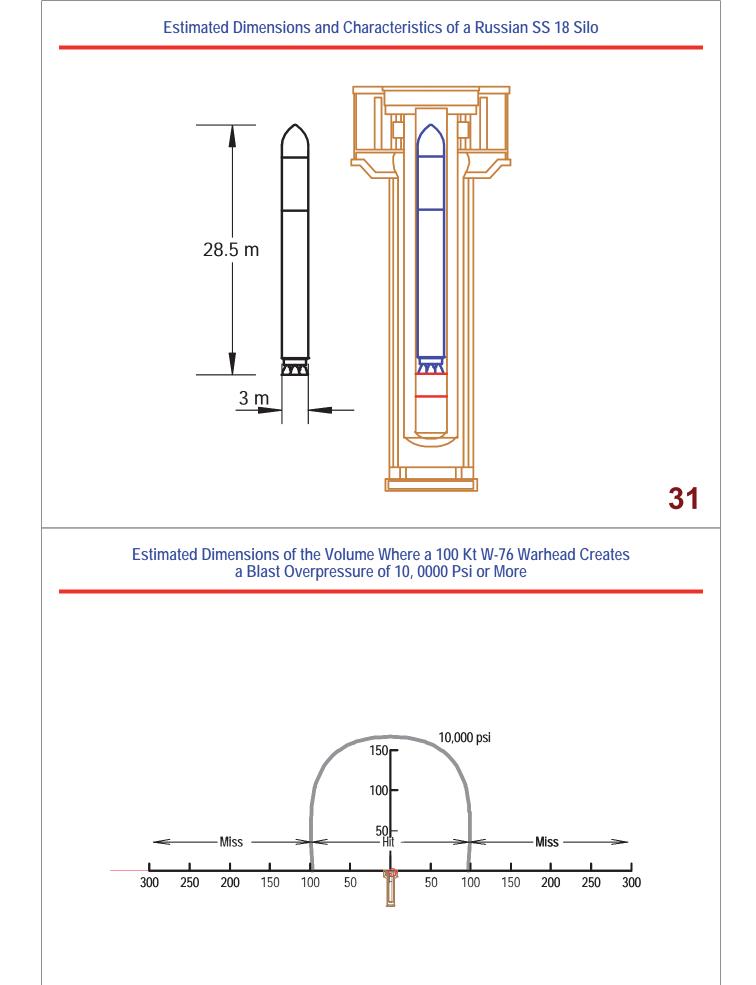
Time Needed to Carry Out Basic Nuclear Weapons Launch-Operations

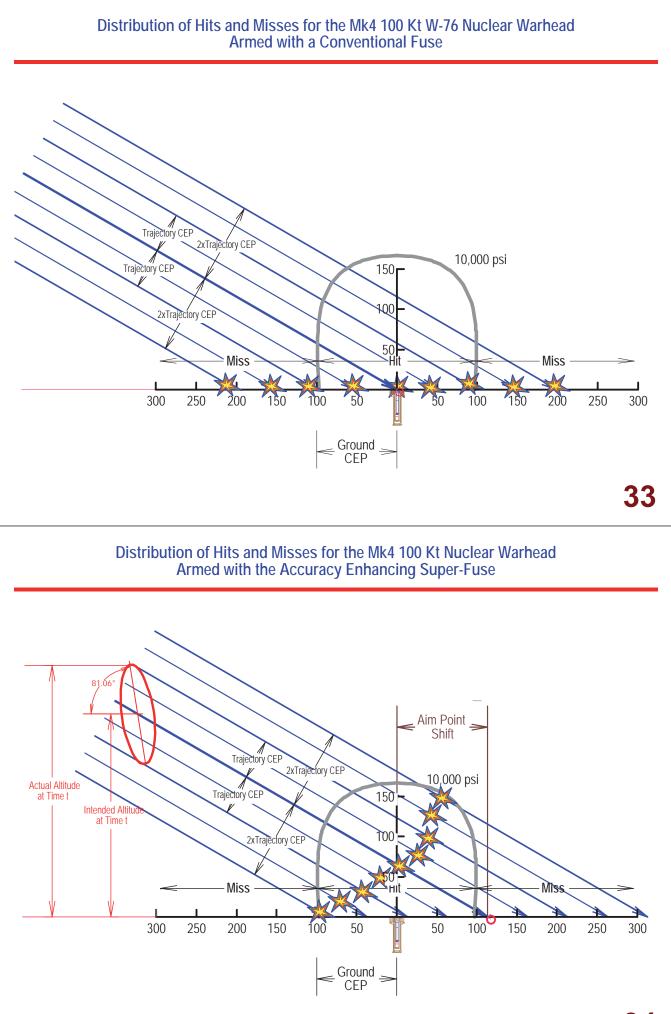
Time for attacking missiles to rise over the horizon into the line-of-sight of early warning radars	1 minute
Time for radars to detect, track, and characterize detected targets, and to estimate the size and direction of motion of targets	1 minute
Military and civil command conference to determine response	1 to 3 minutes
Time for command and unit elements of silo-based forces to encode, transmit, receive, decode, and authenticate a launch order	2 to 4 minute
Time for missile crews to go through full launch procedures	1 to 3 minutes
Time for launched missile to reach a safe distance from its launch-silo	1 minute
Total time consumed in unavoidable and essential operations	7 to 13 minutes

If a short time-line attack is attempted against Russia, a Russian response aimed at launching silo-based missiles before nuclear weapons detonate on them would require time for several technical operations. Time would also be needed by political leadership to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch the silo-based missile force. The amount of time available for decision-makers to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch silo-based missile silo-based nuclear forces is the difference between the time it takes for warheads to arrive at targets and the time needed to carry out operations no matter what response is chosen.

29

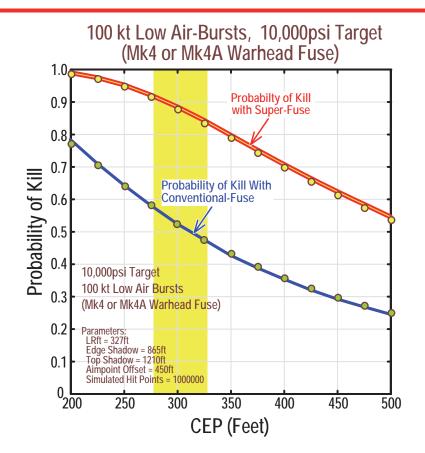
POINT OF INSTABILITY US is Dramatically Increasing Its Hard Target Capabilities



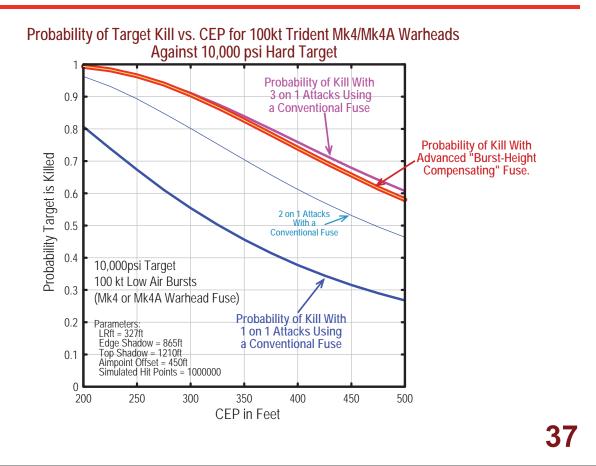


POINT OF INSTABILITY Essentially All US SLBM Warheads Will Have a Very High Probability of Kill Against the Hardest Russian Silo-Based ICBMs

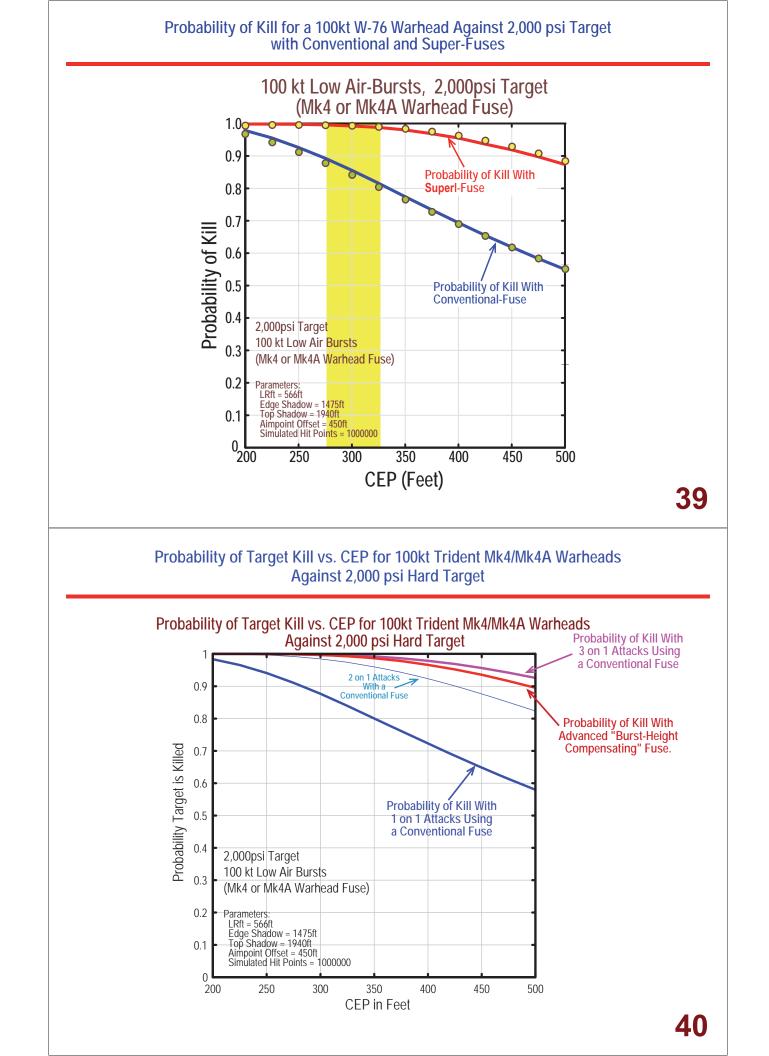
Probability of Kill for a 100kt W-76 Warhead Against 10,000 psi Target with Conventional and Super-Fuses

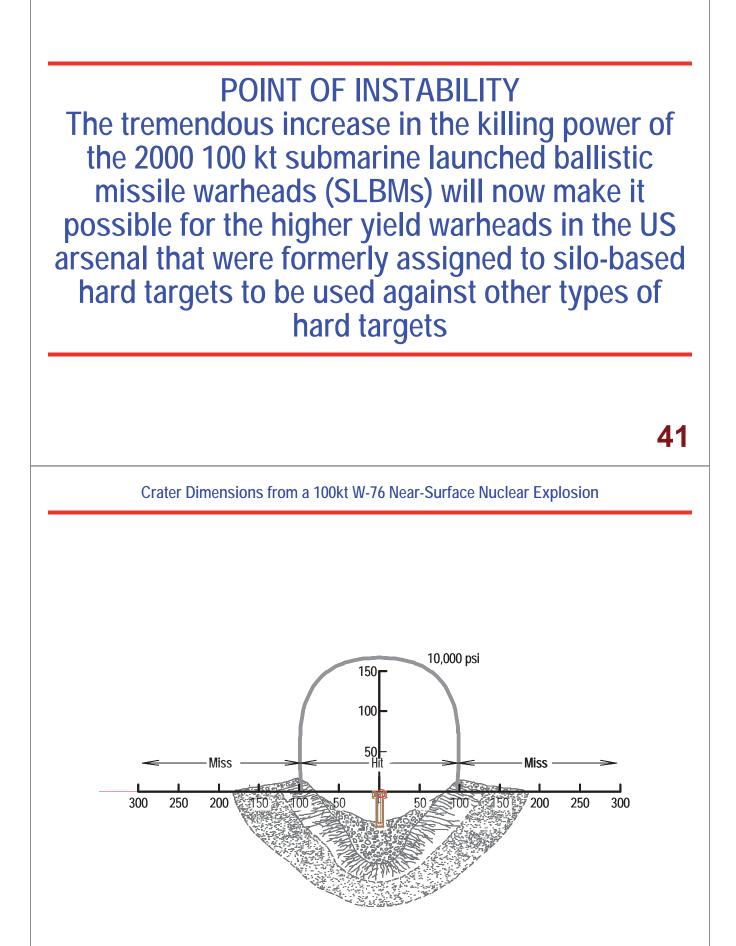


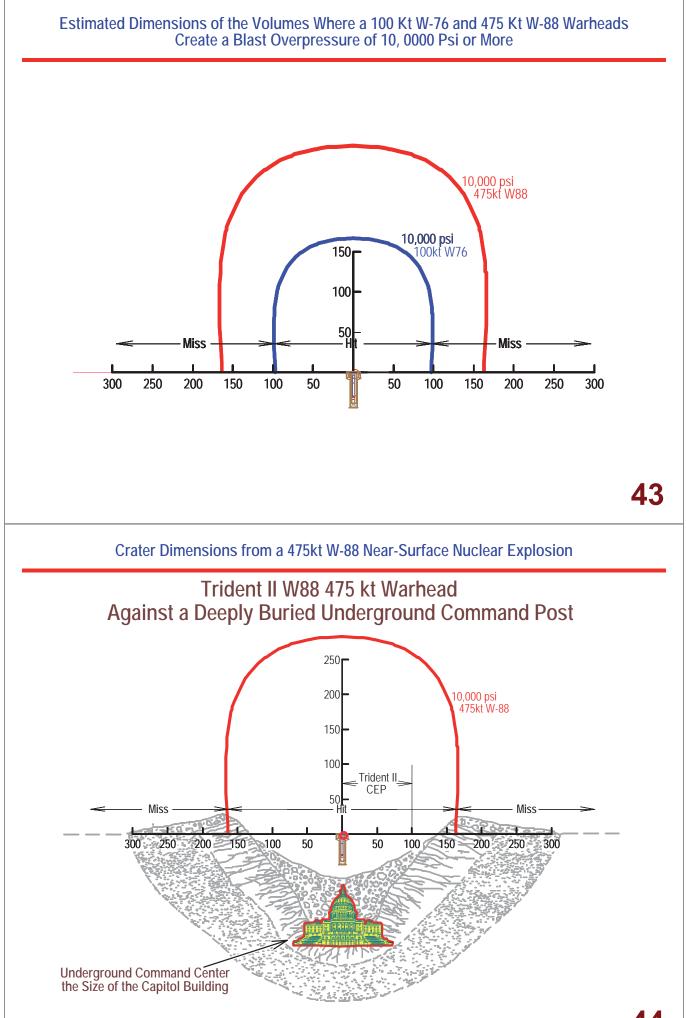


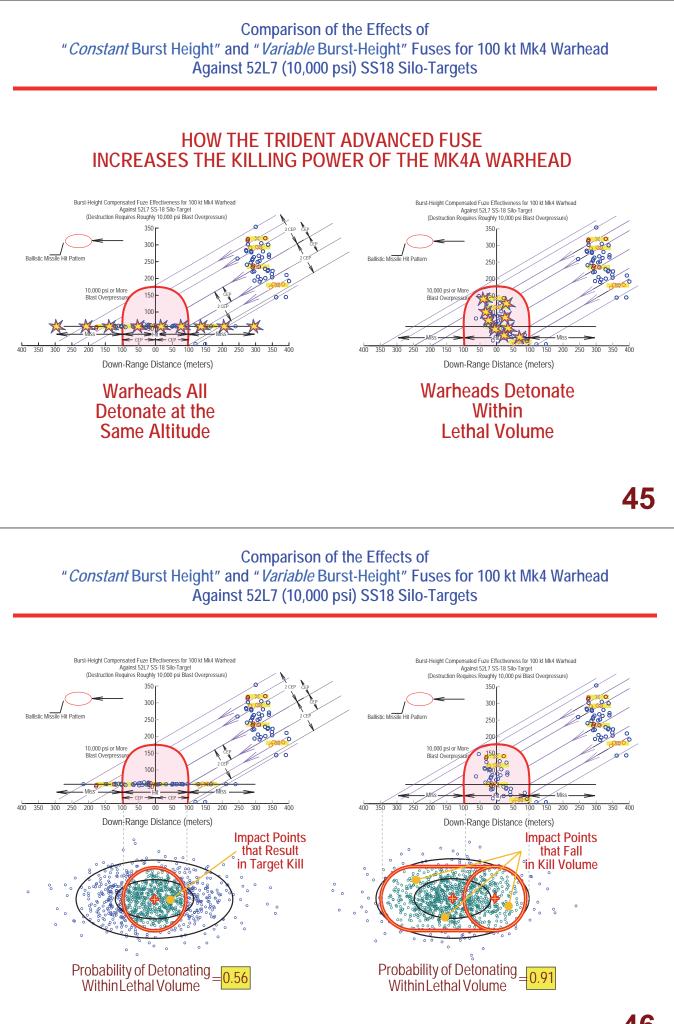


POINT OF INSTABILITY The US Treats the Hardest Russian ICBMs as Hard to the Effects of a 10,000 psi Blast The Russians Assess The Hardness of Their ICBMs to be Less Than 2,000 psi Blast

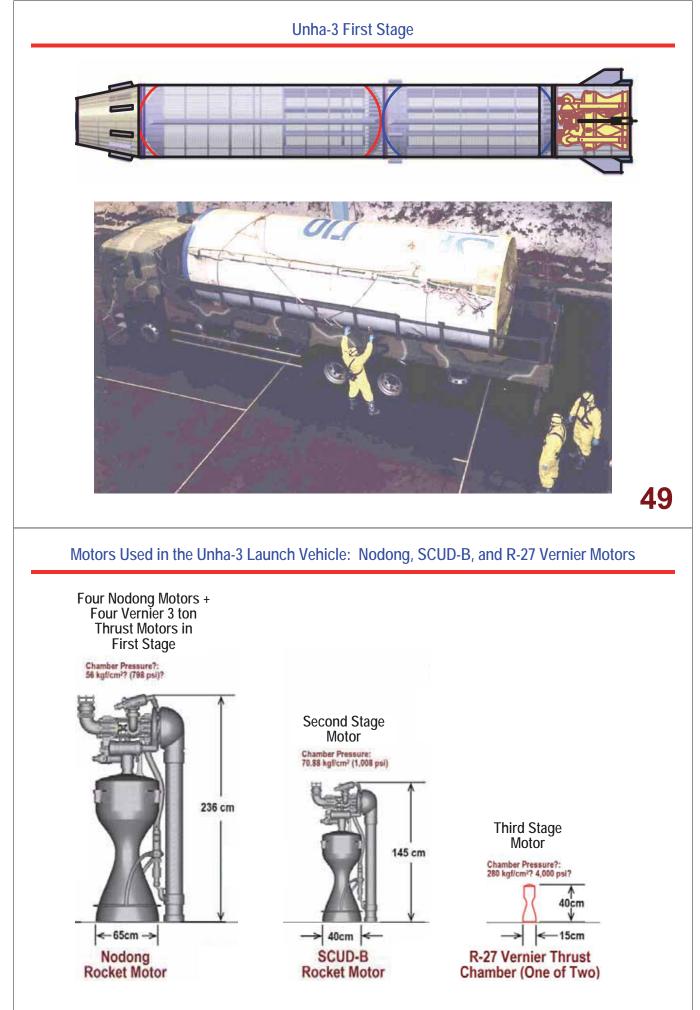


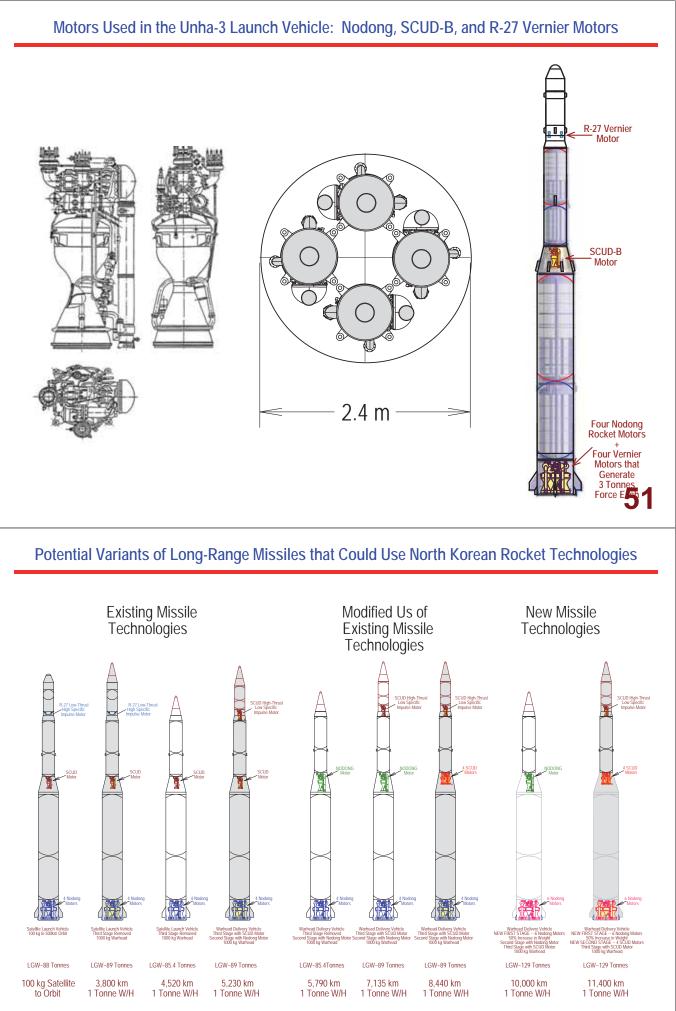




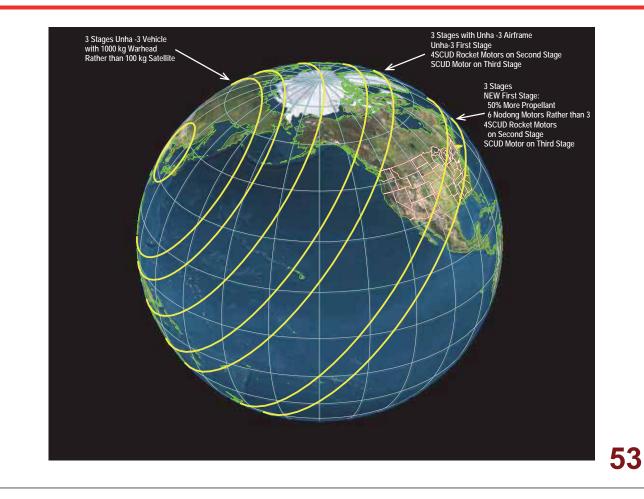








Range Contours for Variants of Long-Range Missiles that Could Use North Korean Rocket Technologies



Unha-3 Characteristics Derived by *Markus Schiller* and *Robert Schmucker* Following the December 12, 2013 Launch of a 100 Kg Satellite by North Korea

Unha-3 Characteristics

Stage 1

4 Nodong and 4 Control Engines Thrust at Sea Level = 120 tonnes Burn Time=120 seconds Used Propellant=62.6 tonnes Launch Mass=71.3 tonnes Structure Factor (With No Residual Fuel)=0.122 Structure Factor (Including 4% Residual Fuel)=0.0869 I_{SP} = 120,000/(62,600/120) = 230 sec (sea level) Used Propellant = (62,600×2.2) = 137,970 lbs Fuel

Diameter of Nodong Engine \approx Hence, I_{SP} vacuum \approx 250 sec

Stage 2

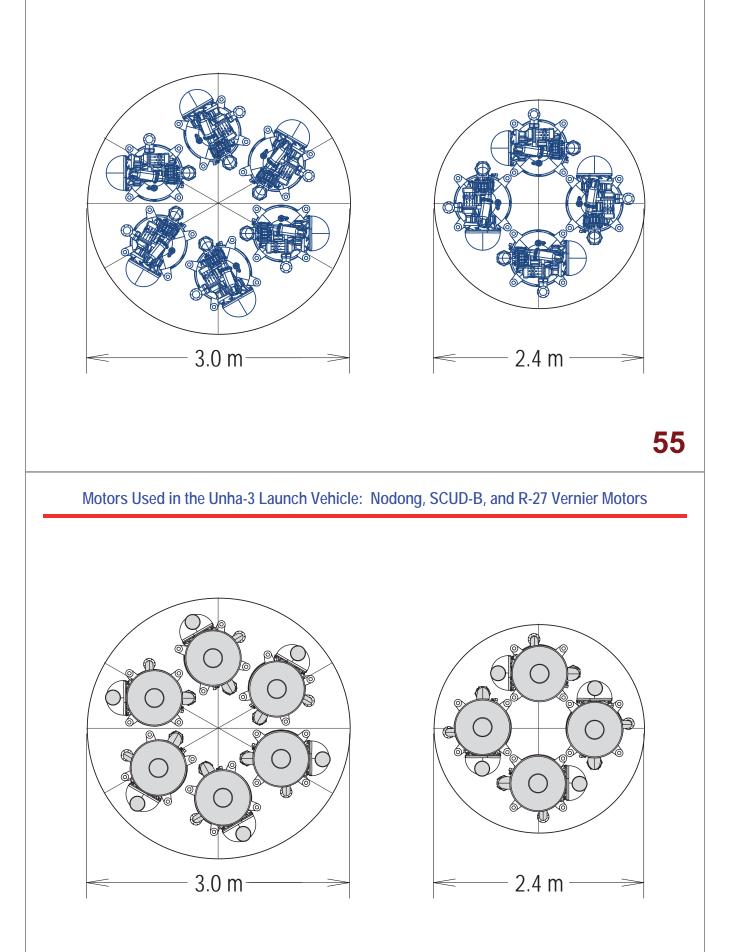
SCÚD-B Engine Thrust in Vacuum = 14.5 tonnes Burn Time=200 seconds Used Propellant=11.6 tonnes Launch Mass=13.1 tonnes Effective Structure Factor (With Only Used Fuel) = 0.1145 Structure Factor (Including 4% Residual Fuel) = 0.0791 I_{SP} = 14.5/(11.6/200) = 250 sec (vacuum) Used Propellant = (11,600×2.2) = 25,752 lbs Fuel

Stage 3

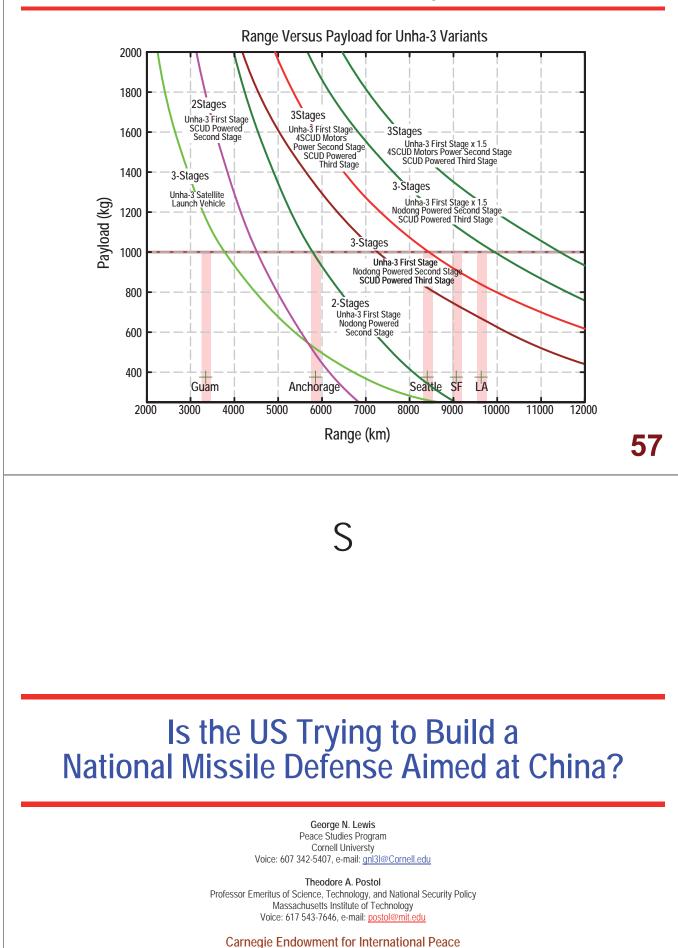
2 NTO-UDMH Burning Engines Thrust in Vacuum = 2.9 tonnes Burn Time=260 seconds Used Propellant=2.6 tonnes Launch Mass=3.3 tonnes (Including 100 kg Payload) Launch Mass=3.2 tonnes (Excluding 100 kg Payload) Effective Structure Factor (With Only Used Fuel and 100 -150 kg Payload *Excluded*)=0.22 I_{SP} = 2900/(2600/260) = 290 sec (vacuum) Used Propellant = (2600×2.2) = 5730 lbs Fuel

Launch Gross Weight = 71.3+13.1+3.3=87.7 tonnes

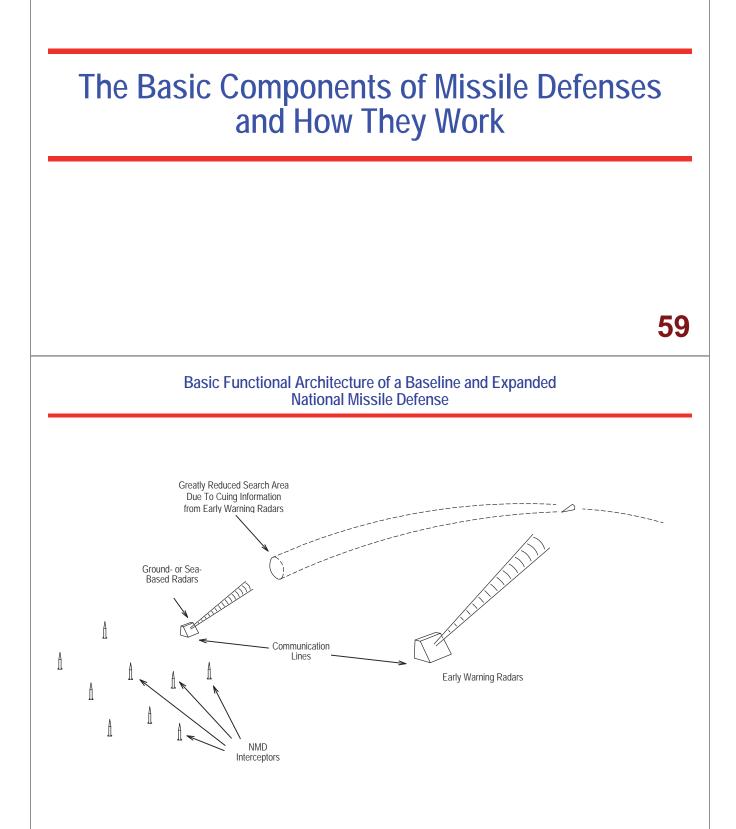


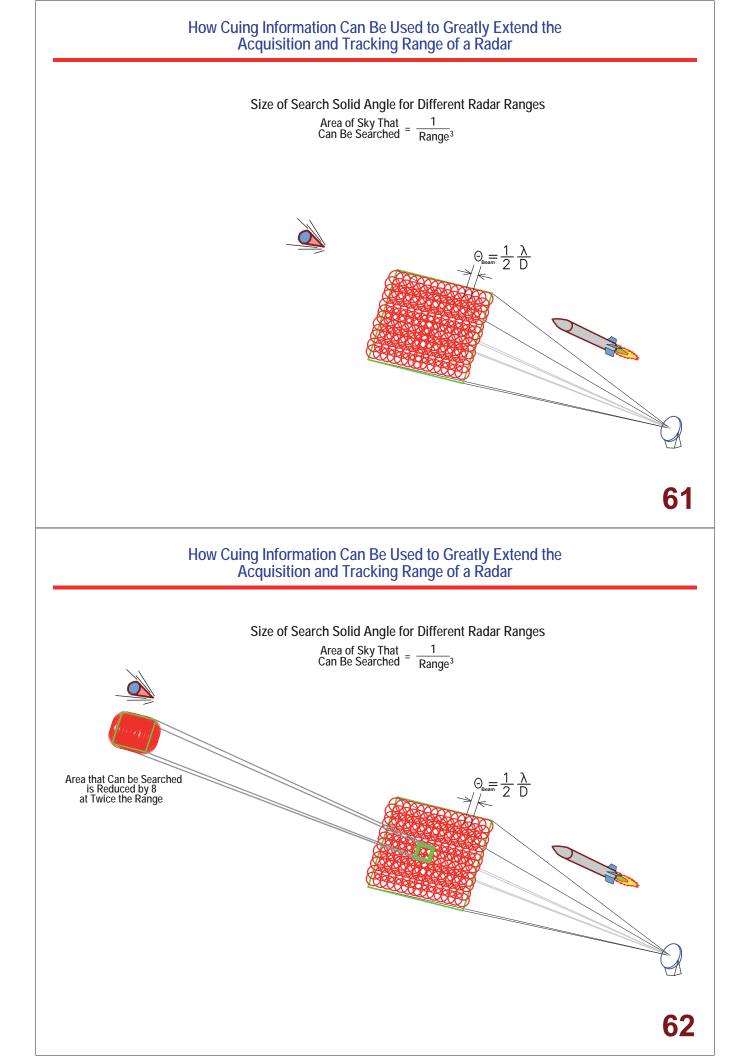


Range versus Payload for Variants of Long-Range Missiles that Could Use North Korean Rocket Technologies



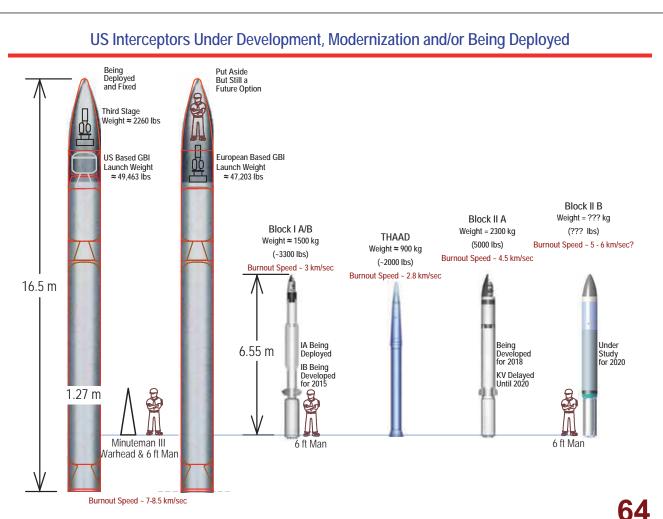
October 15, 2015







Interceptors



The AN/TPY-2 Radar A Marvel of Radar Technology That Is Still Not up to the Job of Reliable Discrimination

The AN/TPY-2 Radar – Marvel of Radar Technology That Is Still Not up to the Job

Assumed Characteristics of the AN/TPY2 Radar

Average Power = 81,000 Watts; Antenna Gain = 116,092; Antenna Effective Area = 7.49 m²; System Losses = 6.3; System Temperature = 406 °K;



Has the US Properly Informed an Important Ally in Northeast Asia? (South Korea)

The US State Department and Military, and the Primary Contractor, Raytheon, Have Not Explained to the South Korean Government and Public the Difference between the FBM and TM Radar Modes

- Terminal Mode (TM) radar only has a range of about 500 km
- Forward-based Mode (FBM) radar has a range of between 1500 and 2000 km
- FBM mode has NO utility against short range North Korean ballistic missiles but poses a threat to Chinese ICBMs that would fly north of South Korea towards the United States.
- FBM mode could be used as an integral part of the US national missile defense

The US State Department and Military, and the Primary Contractor, Raytheon, Have Not Explained to the South Korean Government and Public the Difference between the FBM and TM Radar Modes

Questions Asked by Numerous Individuals from the South Korean Government, by Journalists, and South Korean Technical Experts.

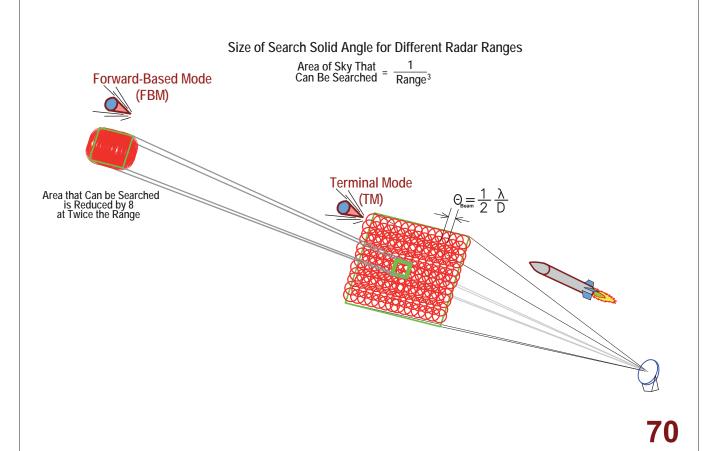
- The details of this radar are totally unknown to South Koreans, and even the experts in South Korea.
- If the U.S. officials' assertions were to be correct, in other words, if only the TM mode is possible when it is deployed in South Korea, what would be the radars detection range?
- If only the TM mode is possible in South Korea, why are the Chinese so upset about this radar?
- There are some reports that the configuration of the TM mode could be rapidly changed to the FBM mode in an emergency or due an independent decision made by the United States, could this be true?
- It is known that two AN/TPY-2 radars are operating in the FBM mode and have been already deployed in Japan.

Many people believe that these radars might be serving as adjuncts in support of the U.S. GMD system for protecting the U.S. mainland from the launch of a North Korean ICBM.

Considering the role of those two radars in Northeast Asia, what role might the THAAD with AN/TPY-2 in South Korea be playing in the U.S. government's broader BMD strategy?

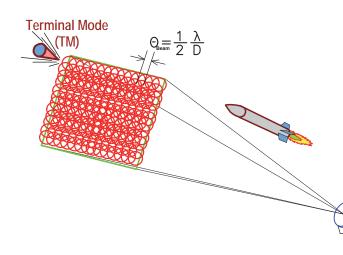
69

The US State Department and Military, and the Primary Contractor, Raytheon, Have Not Explained to the South Korean Government and Public the Difference between the FBM and TM Radar Modes



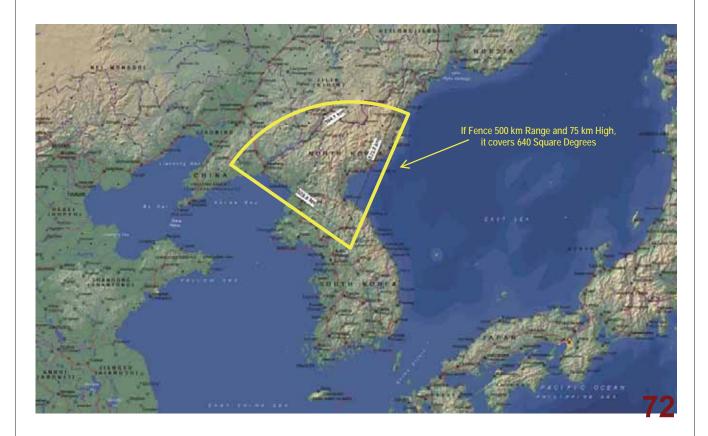
We Found That Terminal Mode, Which Assumes No Cuing Information, Would Need to Search an Azimuth of About 76° and an Elevation of 8.5° – 640 Square Degrees to a Range of Roughly 500 Km to Set up a Defense-Surveillance Fence against North Korean Ballistic Missiles

Size of Search Solid Angle for Different Radar Ranges Area of Sky That Can Be Searched = $\frac{1}{Range^3}$

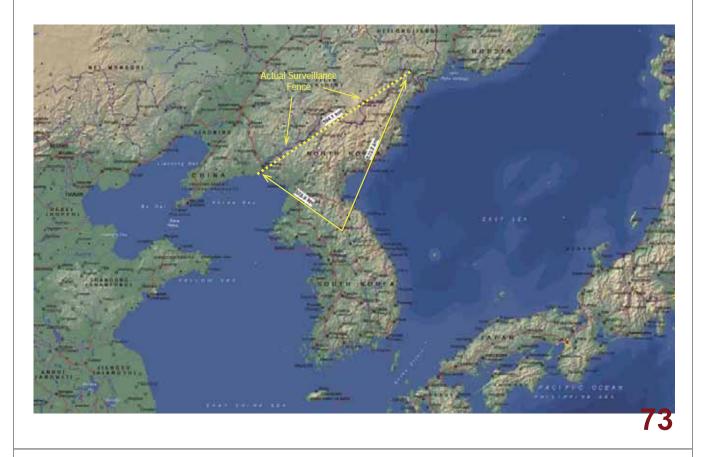


71

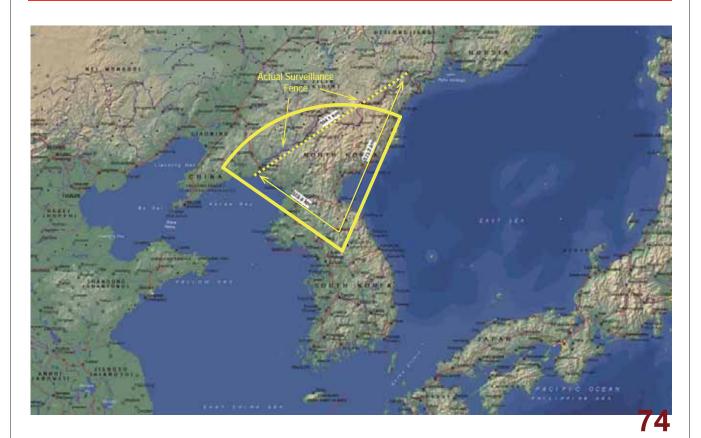
We Found That Terminal Mode, Which Assumes No Cuing Information, Would Need to Search an Azimuth of About 76° and an Elevation of 8.5° – 640 Square Degrees to a Range of Roughly 500 Km to Set up a Defense-Surveillance Fence against North Korean Ballistic Missiles



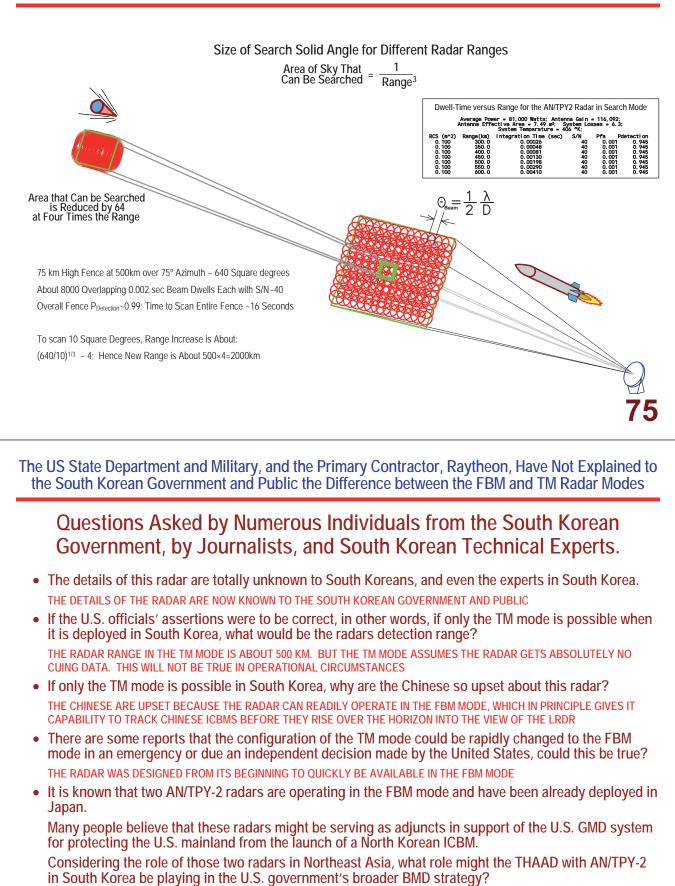
We Found That Terminal Mode, Which Assumes No Cuing Information, Would Need to Search an Azimuth of About 76° and an Elevation of 8.5° – 640 Square Degrees to a Range of Roughly 500 Km to Set up a Defense-Surveillance Fence against North Korean Ballistic Missiles



We Found That Terminal Mode, Which Assumes No Cuing Information, Would Need to Search an Azimuth of About 76° and an Elevation of 8.5° – 640 Square Degrees to a Range of Roughly 500 Km to Set up a Defense-Surveillance Fence against North Korean Ballistic Missiles

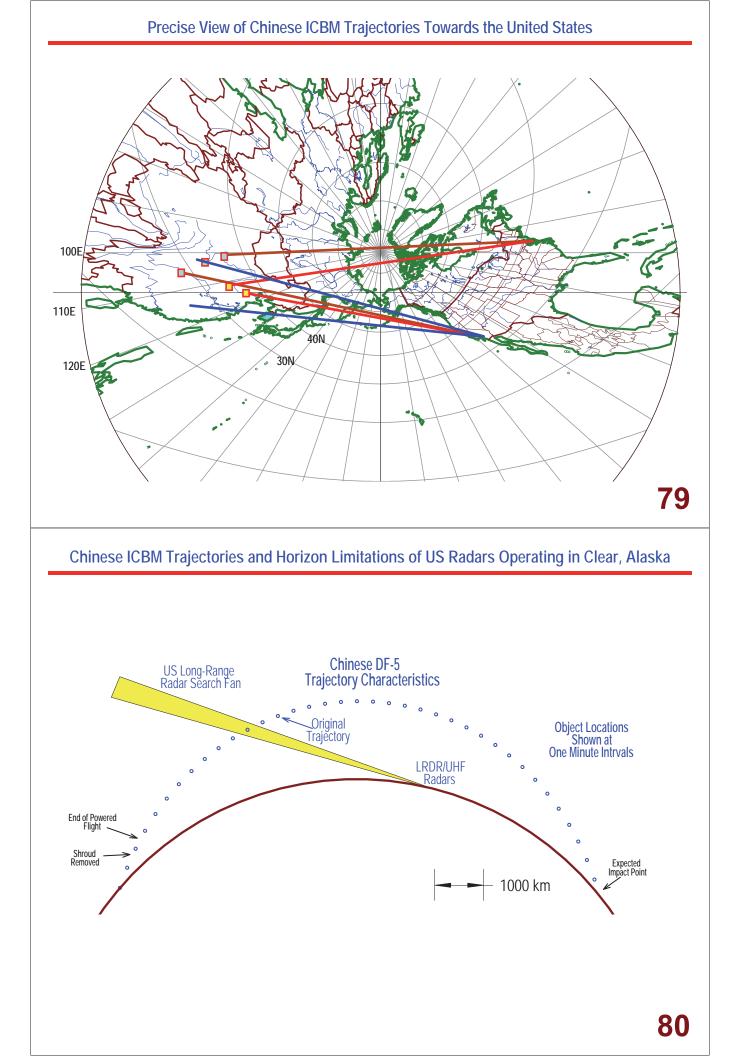


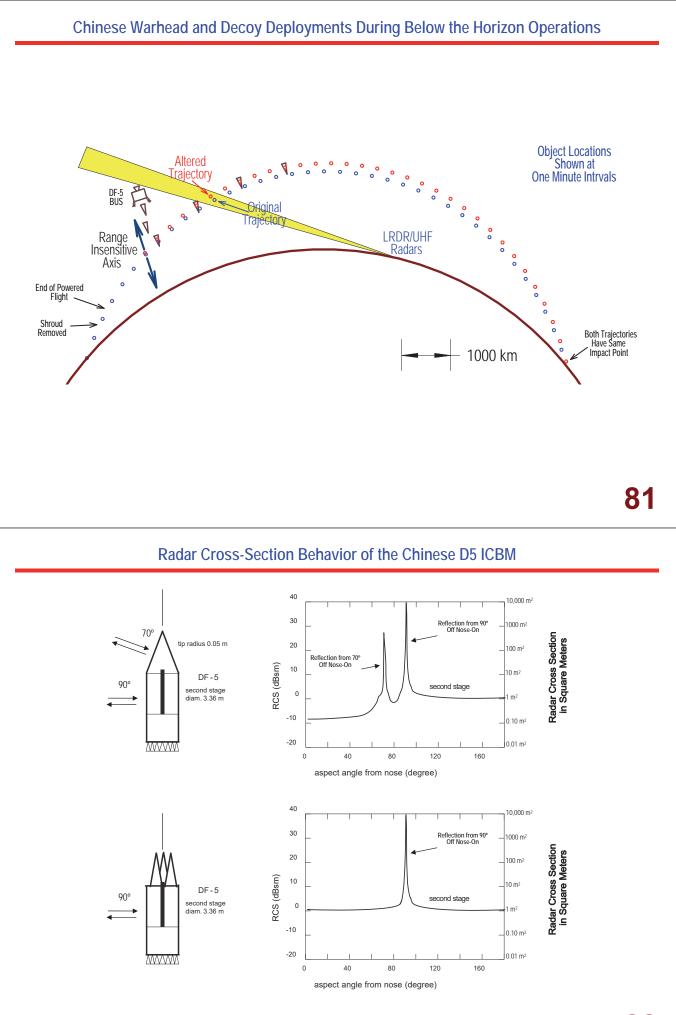
W however, the only difference between TM mode and FBM mode is simply what the software tells the radar to do. If the radar is programmed to search 10 square degrees at maximum range it has the resources to search at a range of roughly 2000 km! The information needed to verify this FACT is shown below



THE AN/TPY-2 RADAR IS VASTLY MORE CAPABLE THAN REQUIRED FOR MANAGING ENGAGEMENTS AGAINST RELATIVELY SHORT RANGE NORTH KOREAN MISSILES. HOWEVER, IT IS WELL-SUITED TO PROVIDE EARLY TRACKING DATA FOR A US NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE.

What Role Could an AN/TPY-2 Radar in South Korea Play As a US National Missile Defense System Aimed at China? 77 Qualitative View of Chinese ICBM Trajectories Towards the United States **New S-Band LRDR** Long Range Discrimination Radar AN/TPY-2 Radar South Korea Kyotango, Japan AN/TPY-2 Shariki, Japan AN/TPY-2





AN/TPY-2 Radar Ranges for Chinese ICBMs That Have *Not* Deployed Their Shrouds

by Redar at Clear Long Range Discrimination Radar New S-Band LRDR NOTE: Now S-Band, rather than X-Band Long Range Discrimination Radar Range Resolution now ~ 0.5 meters rather than 0.15 meters! nao 83 AN/TPY-2 Radar Ranges for Chinese ICBMs That Have Deployed Their Shrouds AN/TPY-2 radar Ranges for targets with radar cross-section of about 1 m² Long Range Discrimination Radar **New S-Band LRDR** NOTE: Now S-Band, rather than X-Band Long Range Discrimination Radar Range Resolution now ~ 0.5 meters rather than 0.15 meters!

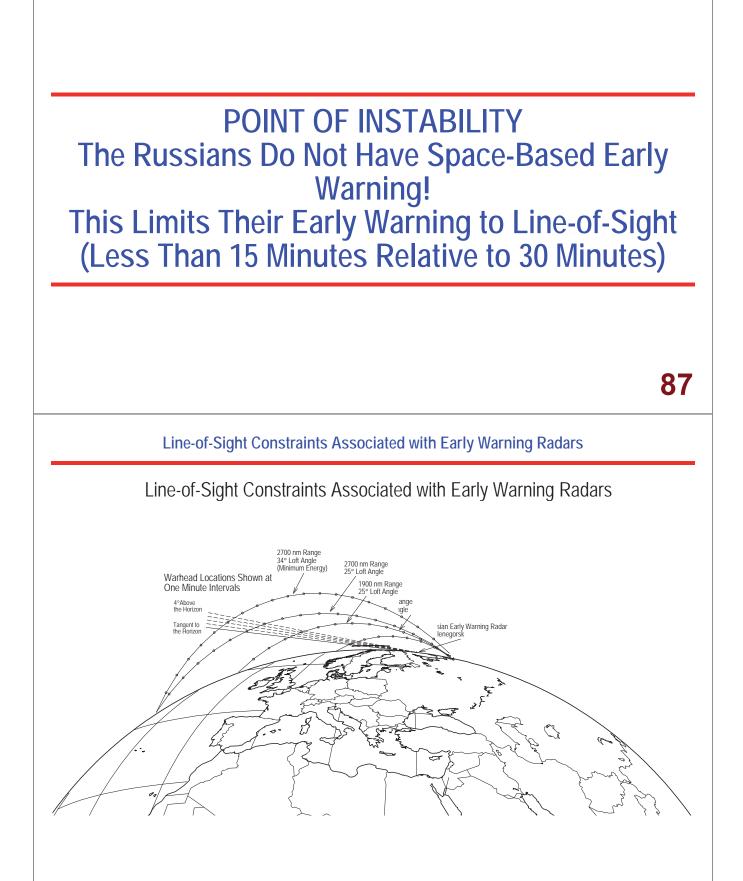
AN/TPY-2 radar Ranges for targets with radar cross-section between 0.05 and 0.3 m²

Why Is the Deployment of the AN/TPY-2 Radar to South Korea of Importance to the Security of Northeast Asia and Why It Is Dealing with the Wrong Threat? (1 of 2 Slides)

- 1. The Chinese have legitimate concerns that the AN/TPY-2 radar will be capable of providing early tracking and discrimination data to the long-range discrimination radar (LRDR) that is now being built in Clear, Alaska.
- 2. Claims made by the US that this is not true, are technically false, and can easily be verified by both government and independent analysts in China, South Korea, Japan and the US. Such overtly false claims by US diplomats undermine confidence with our allies that the United States can be relied upon.
- 3. In spite of the capabilities of the AN/TPY-2 radar, any tracking and discrimination data obtained from it will be easily rendered useless by simple Chinese countermeasures. However, the appearance that the United States might be trying to take advantage of this radar deployment for US national missile defense will have significant implications for US diplomatic relations with South Korea and China.
- 4. There is significant domestic pressure in South Korea against accepting this radar. The sitting government, however, has indicated that it considers the THAAD defense system and the radar of potential use to South Korea for defending against North Korean ballistic missiles.
- 5. The Chinese are trying to pressure the South Koreans into not accepting the AN/TPY-2 radar.
- 6. China is now South Korea's largest trading partner.
- 7. South Koreans may conclude that by not being forthright, the US is misleading South Korea and putting South Korea into a direct confrontation with China.
- 8. The Chinese may conclude that the US is attempting to mislead both South Korea and China about its true intentions to build a missile defense aimed at China.
- 9. If the South Koreans conclude that the United States has made false and misleading statements about an important matter related to their national security and their relationship with China, it will further undermine diplomatic trust between South Korea and the United States.
- 10. There are very serious technical questions about whether the THAAD missile defense system could be expected to perform any better than the South Korean Cheongung air and missile defense system.
- 11. There is a powerful domestic argument for South Korea to develop its own missile defense systems, in part because the costs would be much lower, and in part because the South Koreans would not be dependent on the unreliable word of US contractors and State Department officials.

Why Is the Deployment of the AN/TPY-2 Radar to South Korea of Importance to the Security of Northeast Asia and Why It Is Dealing with the Wrong Threat? (2 of 2 Slides)

- 12. A South Korean missile defense based on the Cheongung system would not perform well against North Korean ballistic missiles, but neither will the THAAD missile defense system.
- 13. The claim that the US is aiming its missile defense at North Korea is simply nonsense. The North Korean Unha-3 is a satellite launch vehicle and could never be modified to carry a 1 ton payload to the continental United States.
- 14. It would be possible for North Korea to build an ICBM based on the rocket technologies observed in the Unha-3. However this ICBM would have to weigh about 130 tons rather than the roughly 90 ton weight of the Unha-3. Developing such an ICBM could take 10 or 15 years, based on past rate of missile development seen in North Korea.
- 15. All of these points could be rendered irrelevant by a potentially serious new North Korean ballistic missile threat that appears to be being downplayed by the US Department of Defense.
- 16. This threat is the development of submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) by North Korea.
- 17. Frame by frame examination of video of a North Korean SLBM launch performed by Markus Schiller and Robert Schmucker shows clearly that North Korea may not yet have solved the problem of ejecting an SLBM from an underwater launch system and igniting the rocket motor once the rocket has been propelled above the water surface. These two tasks are perhaps the technically most challenging technical problems associated with developing and SLBM capability.
- 18. There is also not yet evidence that North Korea has been able to launch an SLBM from an actual submarine. But this next step would be relatively small if the ejection and rocket motor ignition problem is solved.
- 19. There is no answer to a diesel electric submarine armed with nuclear capable ballistic missiles. Antisubmarine warfare is completely inadequate against this threat, as are missile defenses.
- 20. This gigantic new threat, which may only be in a beginning phase, could signal the beginning of the development of a global nuclear threat from North Korea.
- 21. It is of the utmost importance that North Korea not develop a nuclear weapon that is compact and light enough to fly on a ballistic missile. All efforts must be made to stop this capability from being deployed.



The Russian Experience with the False Alert of January 25, 1995

Estimated Time Needed to Carry Out Nuclear Launch-Operations No Matter What Response Is Chosen

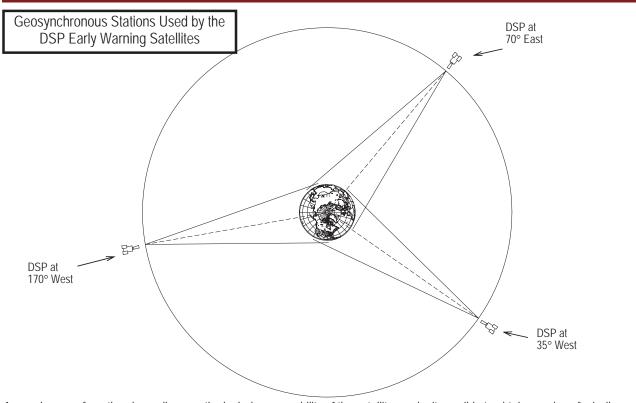
Time Needed to Carry Out Basic Nuclear Weapons Launch-Operations

Time for attacking missiles to rise over the horizon into the line-of-sight of early warning radars	1 minute
Time for radars to detect, track, and characterize detected targets, and to estimate the size and direction of motion of targets	1 minute
Military and civil command conference to determine response	1 to 3 minutes
Time for command and unit elements of silo-based forces to encode, transmit, receive, decode, and authenticate a launch order	2 to 4 minute
Time for missile crews to go through full launch procedures	1 to 3 minutes
Time for launched missile to reach a safe distance from its launch-silo	1 minute
Total time consumed in unavoidable and essential operations	7 to 13 minutes

If a short time-line attack is attempted against Russia, a Russian response aimed at launching silo-based missiles before nuclear weapons detonate on them would require time for several technical operations. Time would also be needed by political leadership to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch the silo-based missile force. The amount of time available for decision-makers to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch silo-based nuclear forces is the difference between the time it takes for warheads to arrive at targets and the time needed to carry out operations no matter what response is chosen.

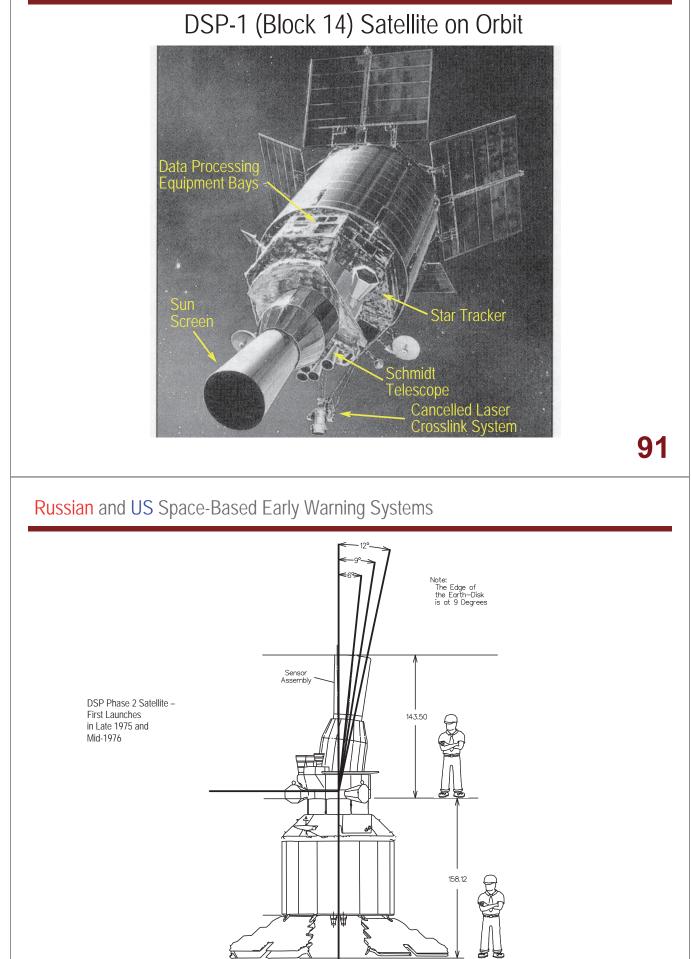
89

Russian and US Space-Based Early Warning Systems



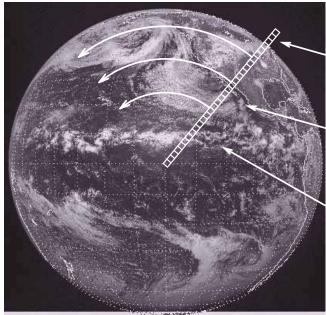
As can be seen from the above diagram, the look-down capability of the satellites make it possible to obtain warning of missile launches from all land and sea areas on the planet, providing the US with highly reliable warning of either SLBM or ICBM attack

Russian and US Space-Based Early Warning Systems



Russian and US Space-Based Early Warning Systems

Subtraction of Sunlight Background Reflected From Cloud Tops Ten Second DSP Revisit Time to Each Pixel



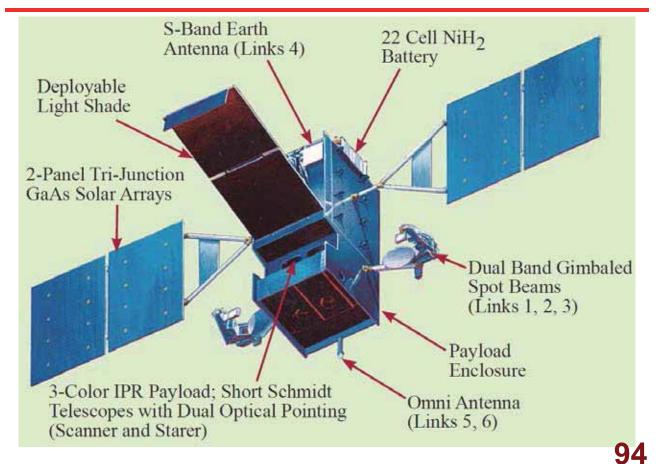
Above the Horizon Sensing

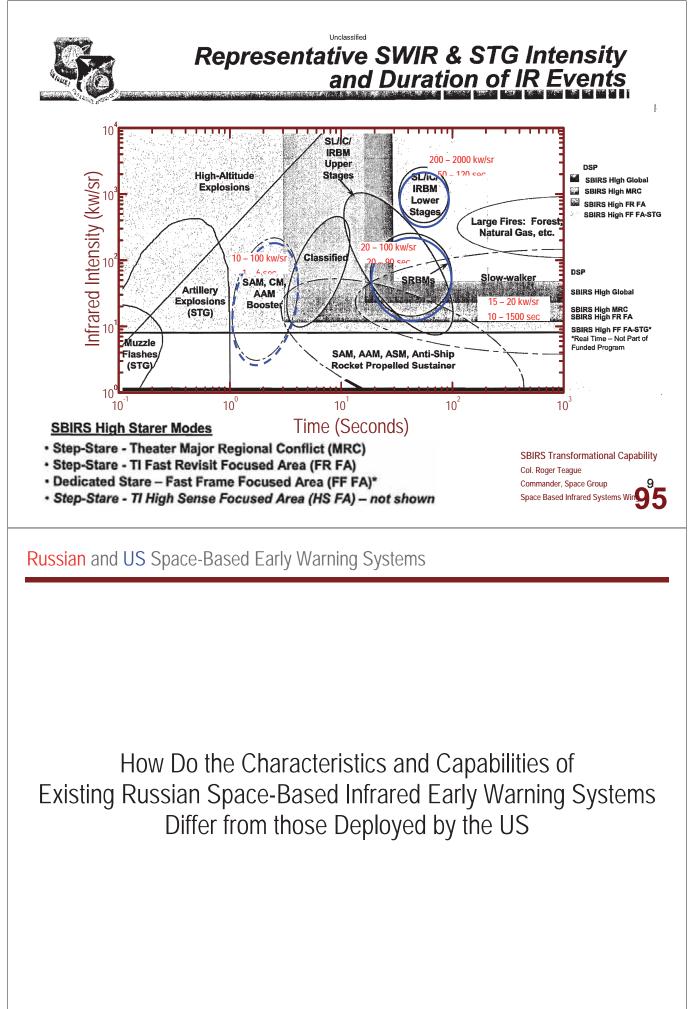
Line-Array of Independent Infrared Sensors

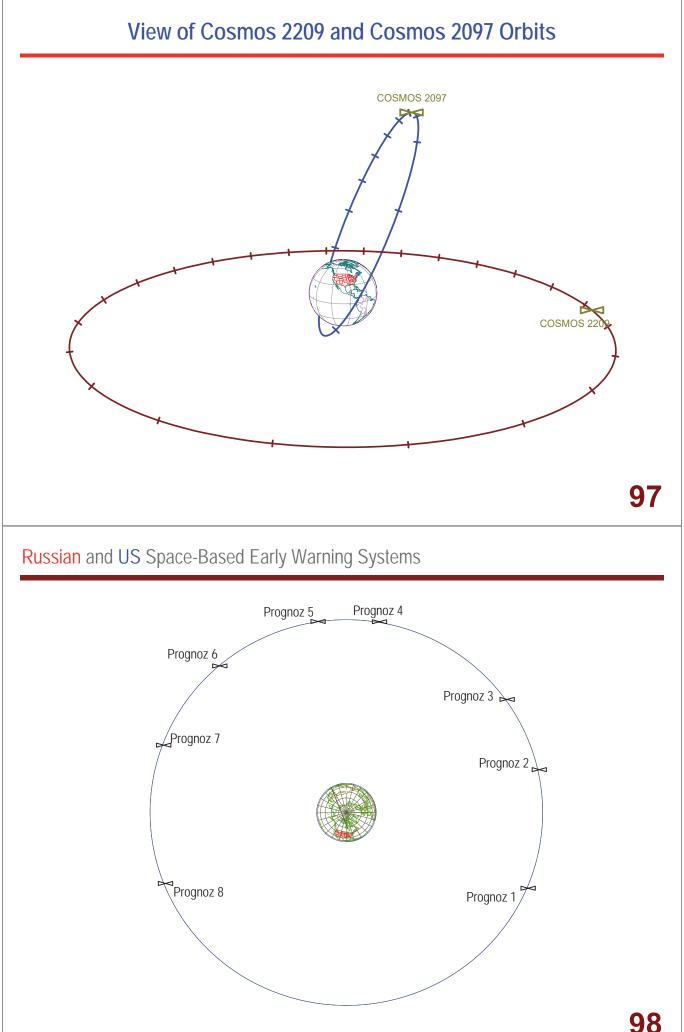
DSP Line Sensor Scans Earth-Disk from Geosynchronous Orbit

93

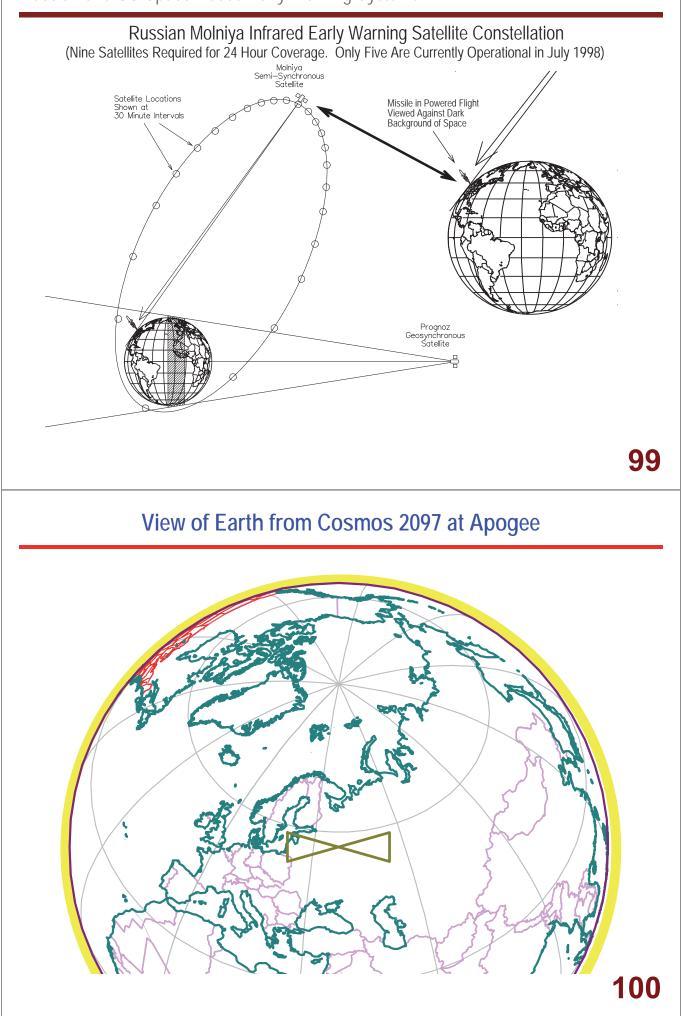
The Space-Based Infrared Satellite (SBIRS) Geosynchronous Spacecraft



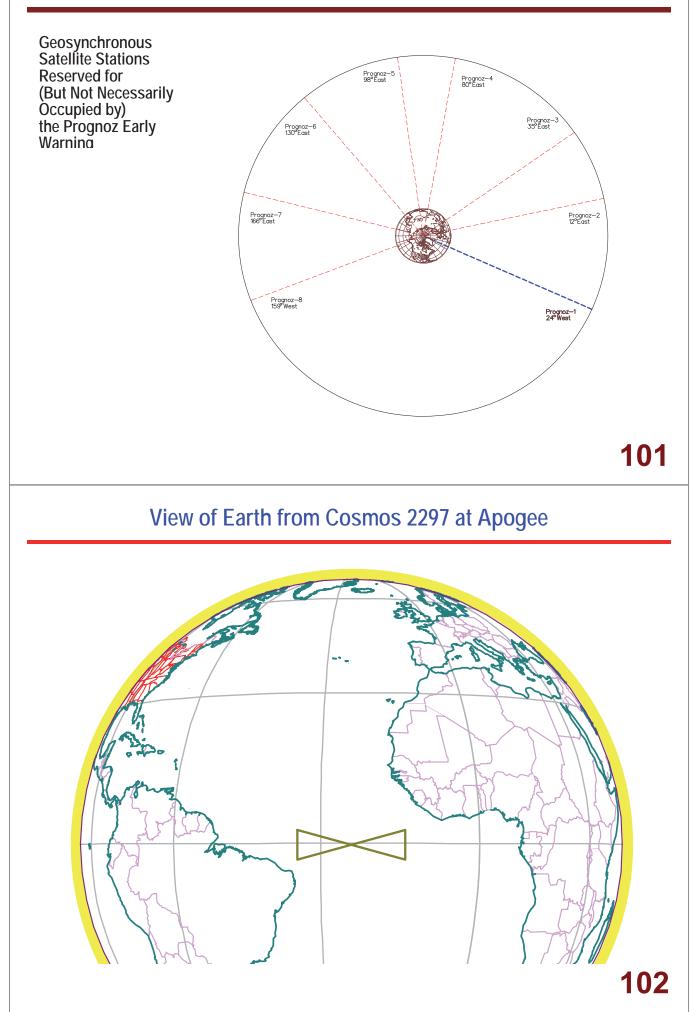


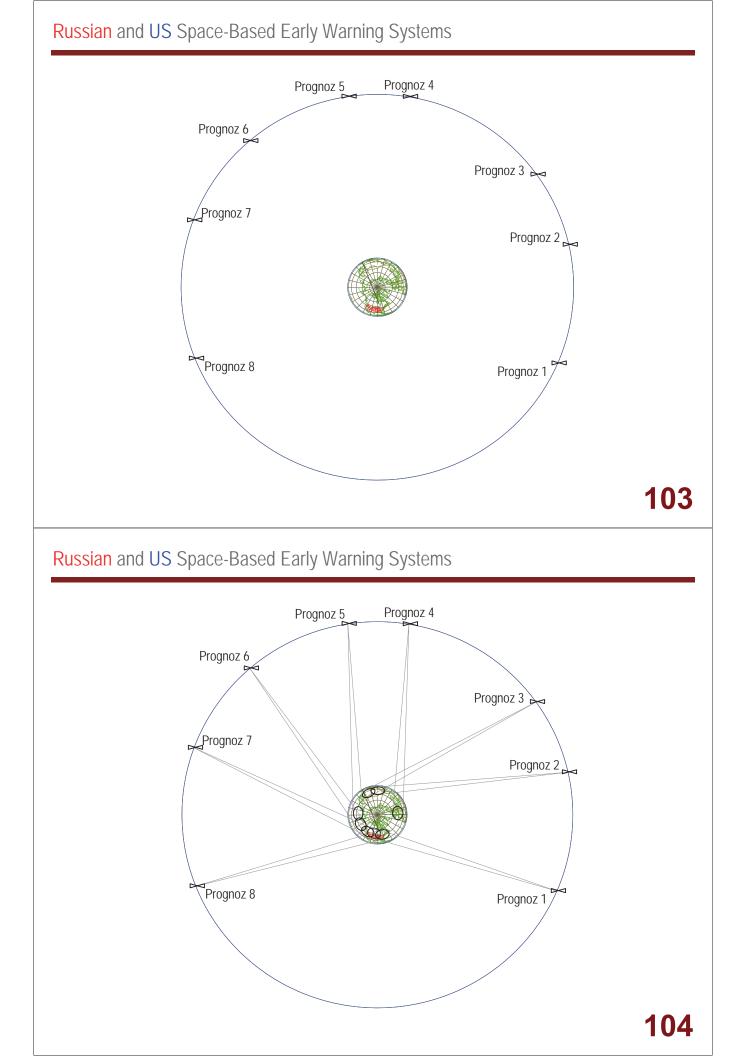


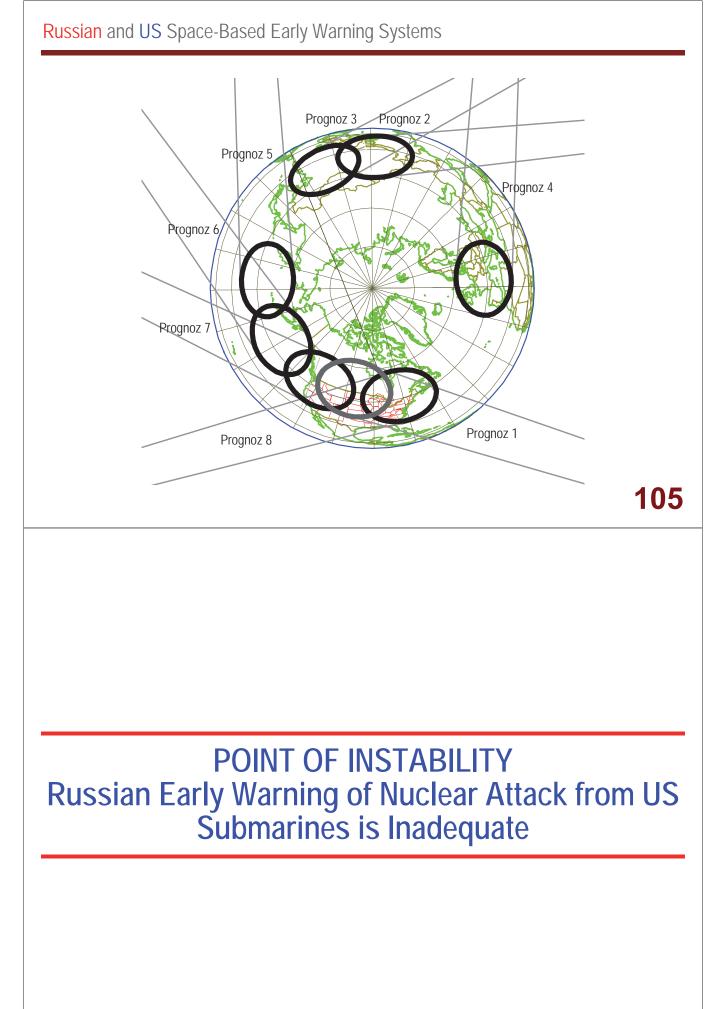


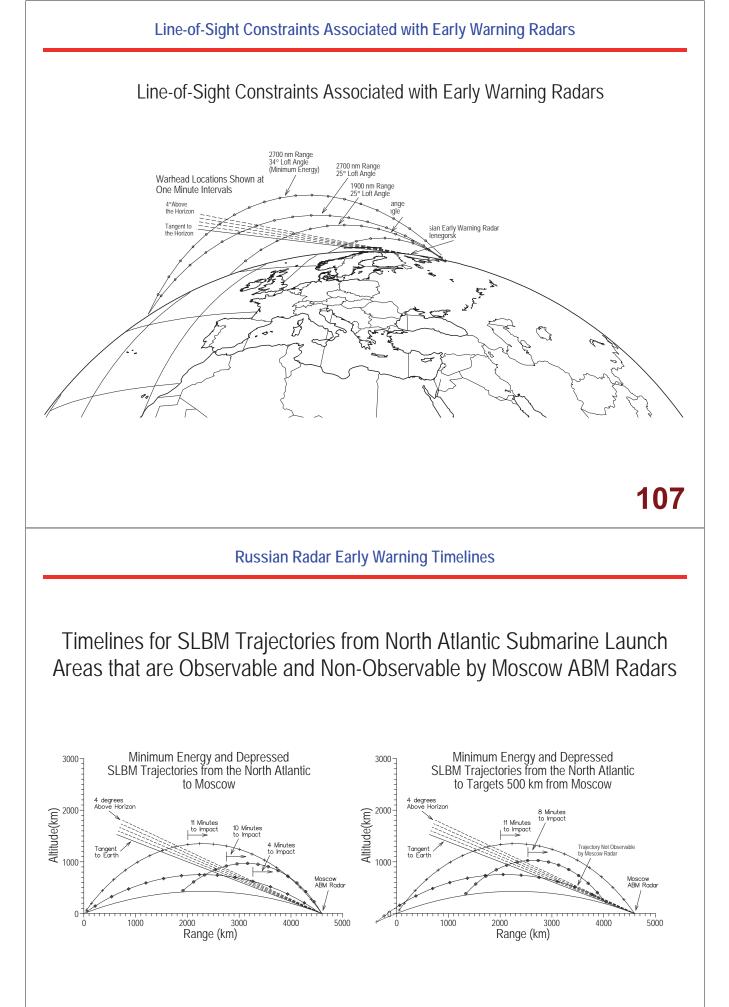


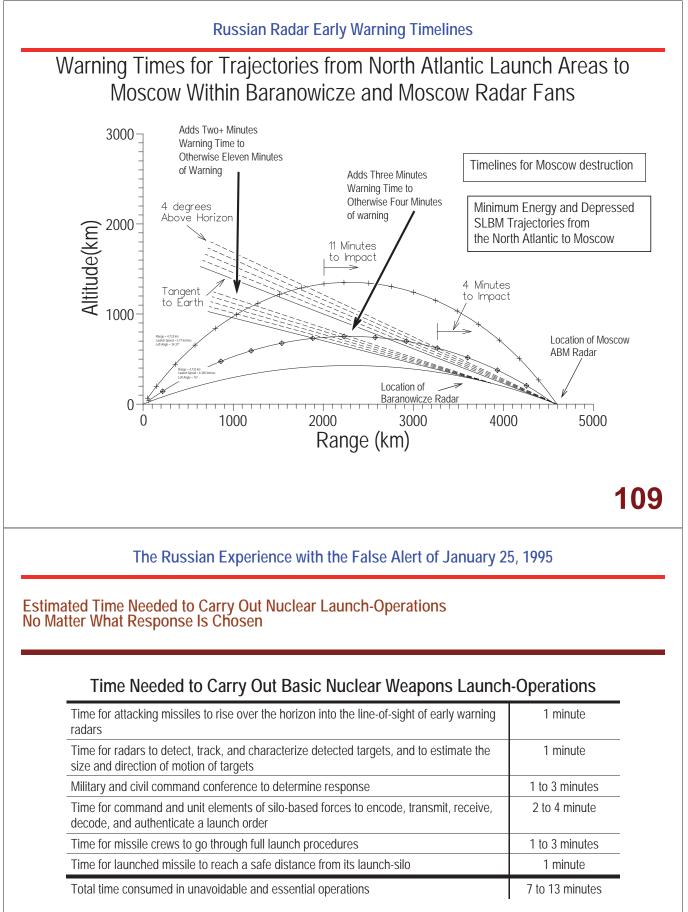
Russian and US Space-Based Early Warning Systems











If a short time-line attack is attempted against Russia, a Russian response aimed at launching silo-based missiles before nuclear weapons detonate on them would require time for several technical operations. Time would also be needed by political leadership to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch the silo-based missile force. The amount of time available for decision-makers to assess the situation and decide whether or not to launch silo-based nuclear forces is the difference between the time it takes for warheads to arrive at targets and the time needed to carry out operations no matter what response is chosen.